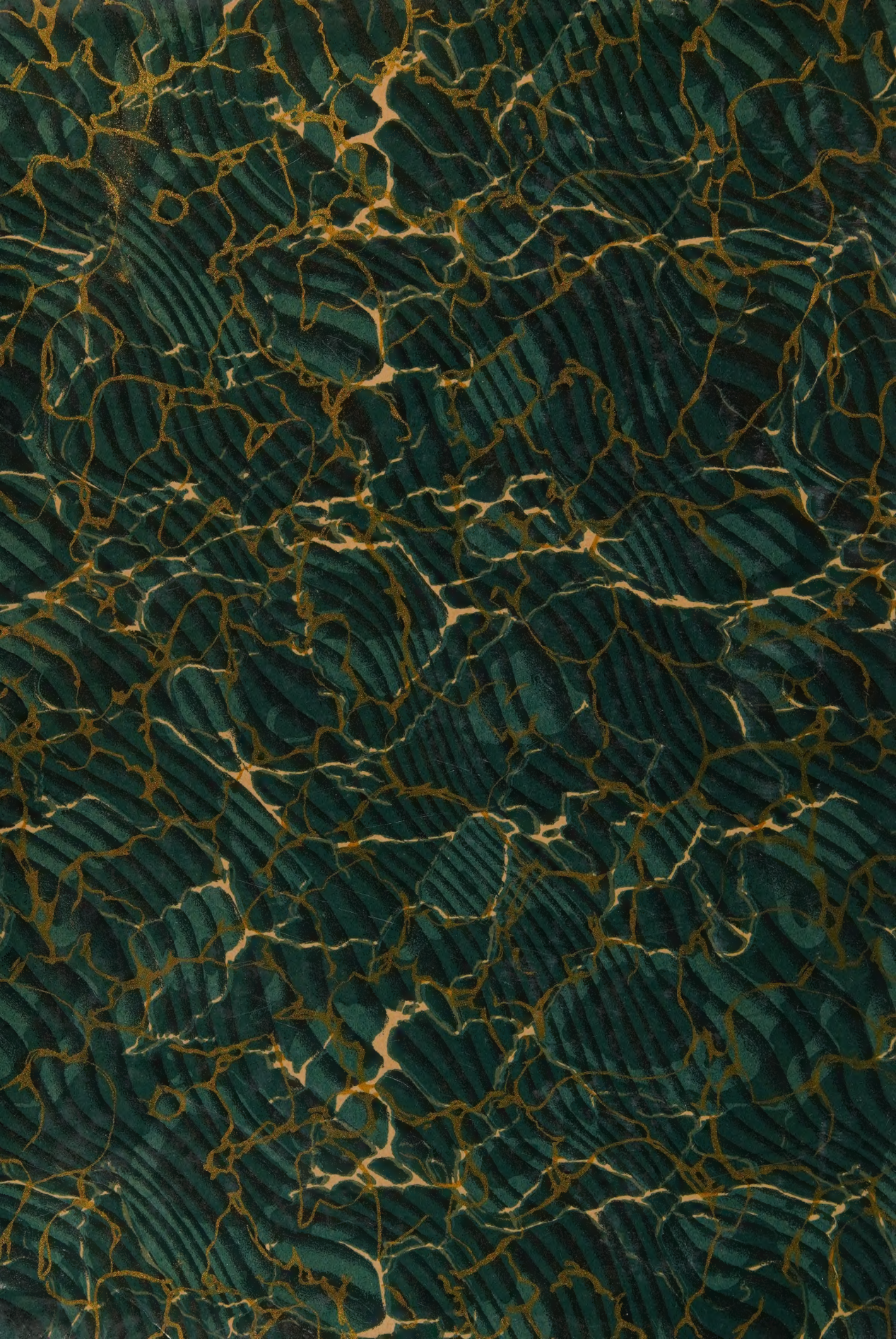

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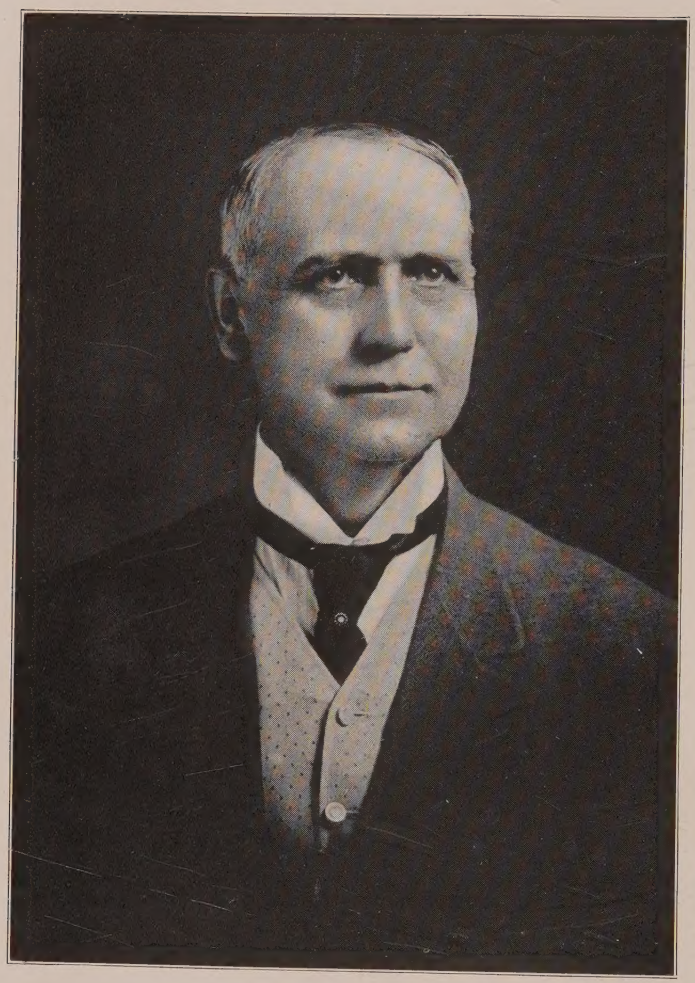

N. W. DURHAM

HISTORY

OF THE

CITY OF SPOKANE

AND

SPOKANE COUNTRY

WASHINGTON

From Its Earliest Settlement to the Present Time

By N. W. DURHAM

ILLUSTRATED

History, as it lies at the root of all science, is also the first distinct product of man's spiritual nature; his earliest expressions of what can be called thought.—*Carlyle.*

VOLUME I

SPOKANE-CHICAGO-PHILADELPHIA

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PREFACE

In the founding and building of Spokane and other cities of the Inland Empire, we find abundant material for history—a history rich in distinctive local color and abounding in achievements which well may excite our people's pride and interest.

For the assembling here, within the brief span of forty years, of a prosperous, progressive and metropolitan population, drawn from the four winds of earth and dwelling together in successful civic and industrial co-operation, constitutes a great epic achievement; and moreover, an achievement which, prior to the nineteenth century, had scarcely a parallel in all the world's long history. New York, founded in 1623, possessed a population two hundred years later that only closely corresponded to the present population of Spokane; and so late as 1840, Philadelphia, 160 years after its colonization by William Penn, fell 10,000 short of Spokane's census returns of 1910.

Men and women who came here with the founding of the town, are still among us in rugged strength and creative power; and boys and girls who filled the first classes in the public school are yet young men and women. In all this, there should be found a brave and inspiring story, and yet a narrative that will adhere with historical fidelity to truth.

To the compilation of this volume the writer has given a little more than a year of continuous and almost undivided effort; but now that his labor is ended, regret is felt that another year is lacking to impart to it somewhat of that finish which should be a distinct characteristic of any historic production. That this brief preface may not be altogether apologetic, the author may say that he has endeavored to court accuracy, and to give his readers a volume which, while adequate in detail and comprehensive in period and territory, has yet attempted to catch the spirit of the times. Assistance and encouragement are appreciatively acknowledged from Mrs. C. L. Hathaway, August Wolf, John B. Slater, Frank Johnson, H. T. Cowley, Father Louis J. Taelman, W. P. Winans, W. D. Vincent and J. E. Nessly; to the Spokesman-Review and the Chronicle for access to their invaluable files; and to the advisory board, comprising James Monaghan, James N. Glover, Mrs. W. H. Ludden, D. C. Corbin, Edwin T. Coman and Ben. Burgunder.

In the fullness of time, better histories will be penned of Spokane and the Inland Empire. The author, however, may venture a hope that in this endeavor he has gathered up some historic data, and has recorded here the testimony of pioneers which, without his labor, might have been wholly lost or clouded to posterity.

N. W. D.

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Spokane and the Inland Empire

CHAPTER I

ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF HISTORY

FIRST MENTION OF THE SPOKANES BY LEWIS AND CLARK—EARLY DAY SPANISH INFLUENCES—JEFFERSON TO JOHN JACOB ASTOR—ADVENT OF THE FUR TRADERS, 1811-12—A NIGHT OF TERROR—MASSACRE OF THE CREW OF THE TONQUIN—A FRIGHTFUL REVENGE.

Clime of the West! That to the hunter's bow,
  And roving herds of savage men wert sold;—
Their cone-roofed wigwams pierced the wintry snow,—
  Their tasselled corn crept sparsely through the mold,
Their bark canoes thy glorious waters clave,
The chase their glory, and the wild their grave.
  Look up! A loftier destiny behold!
For to thy coast the fair-haired Saxon steers,
Rich with the spoils of Time, the lore of bards and seers.

—*Lydia H. Sigourney.*

THE known and recorded history of the Spokane country runs back a hundred and five years, and within that century we shall find enough of romance and adventure, of death and daring, of wild barbaric color and civilization's glory, to make a narrative that should be worth the telling.

First mention of the Spokane Indians, the river, lake and falls, though under other names, is found in the journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition, begun in 1804 and completed in 1806. These explorers, bold and indomitable, had ascended the Missouri, wintered on the Dakota plains among the Mandan Indians in the winter of 1804-5, continued their journey to the headwaters of that stream the following spring, crossed over the Rocky mountains, and found their way, down the headwaters of the Clearwater river (by them called the Kooskooskee) to the Snake, which they termed the Lewis, and thence to and down the Columbia to the ocean. Passing there the winter of 1805-6, they started on their return the following spring, and when encamped near the present city of Lewiston, recorded this entry in their journal:

"At this place we met with three men of a nation called the Skeet-ko-mish, who reside at the forks of a large river discharging itself into the Columbia on its east side to the north of the entrance of Clark's river. This river, they informed us, headed in a large lake in the mountains, and that the falls, below which they resided, was at no great distance from the lake.

"These people are the same in their dress and appearance with the Chopunnish (the Nez Perces) though their language is entirely different. The river here called Clark's river is that which we have heretofore called the Flathead river (the Pend d'Oreille of the present day). I have thus named it in honor of my worthy friend and fellow traveler, Captain Clark. For this stream we know no Indian name, and no white man but ourselves was ever on its principal branches."

The three Indians encountered by Lewis and Clark were evidently from the middle band of the Spokanes, living at a large village at the mouth of the Little Spokane, but Lewis and Clark obviously fell into an error in attributing to them the information that the Spokane discharges into the Columbia above the Pend d'Oreille, for the latter stream falls into the greater river at a point just north of the international boundary.

Continuing, Captain Lewis wrote: "The Skeet-ko-mish nation resides in six villages and are about seventy miles distant from the Chopunnish nation and beyond a mountain which that river heads in. The Waytom lake (the Coeur d'Alene) is ten days around it, has two islands in it, and is seven days from the Chopunnish. The falls of the Lartow river a little below the lake is 150 feet, nearly perpendicular, or thereabouts."

Not so very wide of the mark, considering the explorers' means of information. The falls, in their total descent through Spokane, drop nearly 150 feet, but it can scarcely be said that they are perpendicular, or even "thereabouts."

It seems strange that so few of the names given by Lewis and Clark to Indian tribes and geographical points have been retained with settlement of the country. Clark's river has become the Pend d'Oreille below the lake, but above it is still called the Clark's fork. The Lewis has become the Snake, Waytom lake is lake Coeur d'Alene; the Skeet-ko-mish Indians the Spokanes, and the Lartow, which the explorers confused with the Spokane, is our own grewsome Hangman creek. Lartow is manifestly another spelling for the subsequent Lahtoo of General Wright's reports, and the Latah of legislative enactment.

Again we return to the journals: "The falls of Clark's river, which is only half a day's ride from the latter, falls between 400 and 500 feet and leave a continuous spray. The roads which pass up Clark's river from the falls, and that which intersects it from the falls of Lartow river are hilly and bad. The Skeet-ko-mish reside thirty miles up this river. The Skeet-ko-mish reside also on the borders of Waytom lake and on two islands within the same."

Captain Lewis's Indian informants seem to have drawn a long bow in their description of the falls on the Clark or Pend d'Oreille river. These are now known as Albani falls, and are near the town of Newport.

It is possible that wandering and adventurous white men or half breeds may have found their way to the falls of the Spokane prior to the coming of Lewis and Clark into this country, but here we are embarking on a wide sea of conjecture. Early in the nineteenth century an aged Spokane woman told the early-day fur

BIRDSEYE VIEW OF SPOKANE

Mount Carleton and Pend d'Oreille range in the distance

traders that she had once been far to the south, where she heard mission bells and saw men plowing fields, and it is within the range of probabilities that faint communications had been opened between the Indians of the Spokane country and the Spaniards in far-away California. Some color is lent to this conjecture by the resemblance between the saddles that were used by the Indians here a hundred years ago and the Spanish or Mexican saddle. Certainly the Indian cayuse ponies, which roamed over the Palouse country in large bands at the time of the Lewis and Clark expedition, came from Spanish stock, for the horse was extinct on this continent at the time of the discovery of America. Old Indians informed the early fur traders that the horse had been brought into this section within their own memory, and were fond of reciting the astonishment with which they viewed the strange animal when their parents had taken them to see it in possession of a neighboring tribe.*

Lewis and Clark returned to the east, and for several years the government of the United States put forth no effort to follow up such rights of possession as it may have acquired by this great work of exploration. Indeed, President Jefferson, who conceived and executed these explorations, appears to have entertained but vague ideas regarding the outcome of the heroic achievement, for we find him, a few years later, writing to John Jacob Astor of New York, encouraging the enterprise of that daring merchant, but holding out no expectation that either the flag or the constitution would follow him to the distant banks of the Columbia.

"I remember well having invited your proposition on this subject (wrote Jefferson to Astor) and encouraged it with the assurance of every facility and protection which the government could properly afford. I considered, as a great public acquisition, the commencement of a settlement on that point of the western coast of America, and looked forward with gratification to the time when its descendants should have spread themselves through the whole length of that coast, covering it with free and independent Americans, Unconnected With Us But By The Ties Of Blood And Interest, and enjoying like us the rights of self-government."

We come now to the advent of the fur traders—to the first commerce on the Spokane—and the establishment a hundred years ago of rival stores by Astor's Pacific Fur company and the Northwest Fur company of Canada, at the confluence of the Spokane and the Little Spokane, streams, designated then as the Pointed Heart and the Spokane. A brief resumé of the history of these companies, and the older Hudson's Bay company, is essential to a clear understanding of the stirring events that are to follow. To that end I shall quote in part from Ross Cox, who came to the northwest in 1812 as a clerk in the service of Mr. Astor's Pacific company, and in part from Irving's "Astoria," written by that great genius after study of the records entrusted to him by Mr. Astor, his friend.

* Xavier Finlay, a mixed blood, when more than 80 years of age, at the time of the establishment of Fort Colville in 1859, said to white men that he could remember when the first horse was brought into the country north of Snake river. Word came to the Indians in the Colville valley, he said, of the presence of a strange animal among the Indians in the Wilson Creek country, between Spokane and the Columbia, fleet as the wind, as large as an elk, but without horns, and docile as a deer. Moved by curiosity, a number of northern Indians, including his grandparents, journeyed to see this first horse in the northern country, and he recited how he was lifted, then a little boy, upon the back of the strange and beautiful creature, and shivered with fear when the sleek coat touched his little bare legs.

The history of the Hudson's Bay company goes back to 1670, when King Charles II of England granted a charter to a number of adventurous gentlemen ambitious to exploit the wilds of North America. Prince Rupert was made the first governor, and the company was allowed the exclusive privilege of establishing trading factories on the shores of Hudson's bay and its tributary rivers.

"While Canada belonged to France," says Cox in 'Adventures on the Columbia River,' "the Canadian traders had advanced many hundred miles beyond lake Superior, and established several trading posts in the heart of the interior, some of which the *voyageurs* still call by their original names, such as Fort Dauphin, Fort Bourbon and others. The conquest of that province opened a new source of trade to British enterprise; and while the officers of the Hudson's Bay company fancied their charter had secured them in the undisturbed possession of their monopoly, an active and enterprising rival was gradually encroaching on their territories, and imperceptibly undermining their influence with the Indians. I allude to the Northwest Fur company of Canada, which originally consisted of a few private traders, but subsequently became the first commercial establishment in British America.

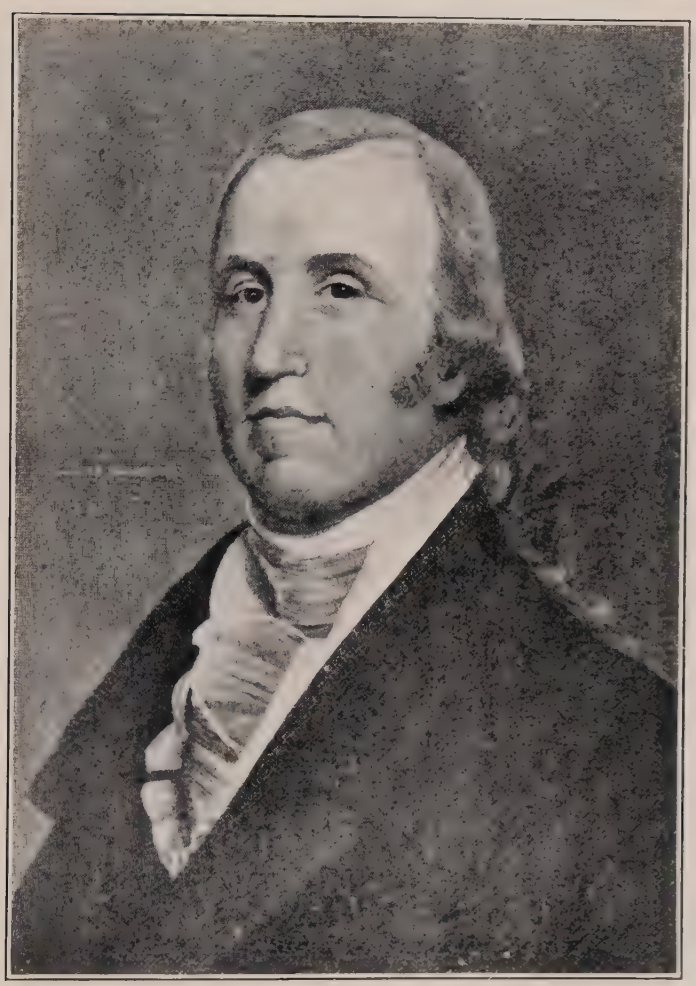
"Its first members were British and Canadian merchants. Their clerks were chiefly younger branches of respectable Scottish families, who entered the service as apprentices for seven years, for which period they were allowed one hundred pounds and suitable clothing. At the expiration of their apprenticeship they were placed on yearly salaries, varying from 80 to 160 pounds, and according to their talents were ultimately provided for as partners.

"This system, by creating an identity of interest, produced a spirit of emulation among the clerks admirably calculated to promote the general good; for as each individual was led to expect that the period for his election to the proprietary depended on his own exertions, every nerve was strained to attain the long-desired object of his wishes.

"Courage was an indispensable qualification, not merely for the casual encounters with the Indians, but to intimidate any competitor in trade with whom he might happen to come in collision. Success was looked upon as the great criterion of a trader's cleverness; and provided he obtained for his outfit of merchandise what was considered a good return of furs, the partners never stopped to inquire about the means by which they were acquired.

"The Hudson's Bay company, on the contrary, presented no such inducements to extra exertion on the part of its officers. Each individual had a fixed salary, without any prospect of becoming a proprietor; and some of them, whose courage was undoubted, when challenged to single combat by a Northwester, refused, alleging as a reason that they were engaged to trade for furs, and not to fight with fellow-subjects.

"Independently of the foregoing circumstances, the Northwest company, in the selection of its canoe men, or, as they were called, *engagés*, had another great advantage over its chartered rival. These men were French Canadians, remarkable for obedience to their superiors, and whose skill in managing canoes, capability of enduring hardships, and facility of adapting themselves to the habits and peculiarities of the various tribes, rendered them infinitely more popular in the eyes of the Indians than the stubborn, unbending, matter-of-fact Orkney men. (The chief part



WILLIAM CLARK

Of the Lewis and Clark Expedition

of the boatmen, and several of the officers of the Hudson's Bay company had been formerly natives of the Orkney islands.)

"After establishing opposition trading posts adjoining the different factories of the Hudson's Bay company in the interior, the indefatigable Northwesters continued their progress to the northwest and westward, and formed numerous trading establishments at Athabasca, Peace River, Great and Lesser Slave lakes, New Caledonia and the Columbia, etc., to none of which places did the officers of the Hudson's Bay company attempt to follow them. By these means the Northwest company became undisputed masters of the interior. Their influence with the natives was all-powerful, and no single trader, without incurring imminent danger from the Indians or encountering the risk of starvation, could attempt to penetrate into their territories.

"With the interior thus inaccessible, and the confines not worth disputing, Mr. Astor turned his attention to the opposite side of the American continent (he had been operating on the Atlantic side), and accordingly made proposals to the Northwest company to join with him in forming an establishment on the Columbia river. This proposition was submitted to the consideration of a general meeting of the wintering proprietors (the annual winter conference at Fort William, near lake Superior) and, after some negotiations as to the details, rejected.

"Mr. Astor therefore determined to make the attempt without their cooperation, and in the winter of 1809 he succeeded in forming an association called the Pacific Fur company, of which he himself was the chief proprietor. As able and experienced traders were necessary to insure success, he induced several of the gentlemen connected with the Northwest company to quit that establishment and join in his speculation. Among these was Alexander McKay, an old partner, who had accompanied Sir Alexander Mackenzie in his perilous journey across the continent to the Pacific ocean.

"It was intended in the first instance to form a trading establishment at the entrance of the Columbia, and as many more subsequently on its tributary streams as the nature and productions of the country would admit. It was also arranged that a vessel laden with goods for the Indian trade should sail every year from New York for the Columbia, and after discharging her cargo at the establishment, take on board the produce of the year's trade, and thence proceed to Canton, which is a ready market for furs of every description. On disposing of her stock of peltries at the latter place, she was to return to New York, freighted with the productions of China.

"The first vessel fitted out by the Pacific Fur company was the Tonquin, commanded by Captain Jonathan Thorne, formerly a lieutenant in the service of the United States. She sailed from New York in the autumn of 1810, and had on board four partners, nine clerks, with a number of mechanics and *voyageurs,* with a large and well assorted cargo for the Indian and Chinese trades.

"Much about the same period a party under the command of Messrs. W. P. Hunt and Donald Mackenzie left St. Louis on the Missouri, with the intention of proceeding as nearly as possible by Lewis and Clark's route across the continent to the mouth of the Columbia. This party consisted, besides the above gentlemen, who were partners, of three clerks and upwards of seventy men.

"The following year, 1811, another vessel, the Beaver, of 480 tons, commanded

by Captain Cornelius Sowles, sailed for the Columbia. She had on board one partner, six clerks and a number of artisans and *voyageurs,* with a plentiful supply of everything that could contribute to the comfort of the passengers and crew."

Ross Cox came on the Beaver as one of the clerks in the service of Mr. Astor's company.

It is not the purpose of this history to enter into the details of the setting up of the establishment at Astoria, but reference having been made to the Tonquin, the narrative would be incomplete without a brief recital of her tragic fate. From the hour she attempted to cross the Columbia river bar, "disaster followed fast upon disaster." Chief Mate Fox, with two American sailors and two Canadian *voyageurs,* who were ordered out by Captain Thorne in the long boat to sound the channel, were drowned in the breakers on the 23d of March, and the gale became so menacing that the Tonquin drew off shore and waited there two days for an abatement of the tempest.

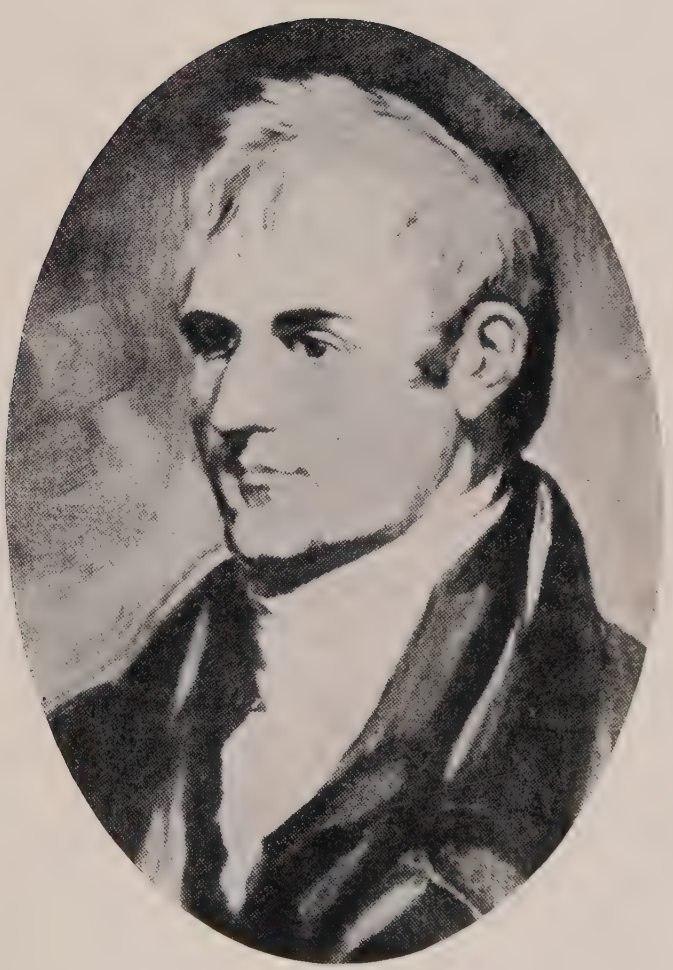
On the 25th, the wind having moderated, a second effort was made to cross the bar, and again it was necessary to order five men into the long boat for the perilous duty of going ahead to search out the channel. Aiken, one of the officers, Weekes, the blacksmith, Coles, the sailmaker, and two natives from the Sandwich islands were selected, and they too were swept into the breakers, shouting frantically for the help that could not be given. Aiken and Coles were drowned with the capsizing of the little craft, but Weekes and the Sandwich islanders clung to the boat and were carried by tide and current out to sea. They succeeded in righting the boat, but the islanders were exhausted by cold and labor and were powerless to man the oars. Weekes pulled hard till daylight, and made a landing on the long beach to the north of Cape Disappointment on the northern shore of the Columbia. One of the Sandwich islanders had died in the night, and the other was so exhausted on reaching land that he could not take an Indian trail which appeared to lead towards the river. This trail Weekes followed, and a few hours' walking brought him in sight of the Tonquin, lying at anchor in the bay. A relief party brought in his Hawaiian companion and he was restored to health.

Meanwhile the men on the Tonquin had passed a night of terror. As the long-boat was carried away, the ship struck repeatedly on the bar, and was swept by great breakers rolling in from the Pacific. She stuck upon the sands and for hours was deluged in the darkness, the people aboard expecting every minute to be their last; but with daybreak the tide and a wind from the west set her afloat and she was soon in safe waters under the shelter of the North cape.

The work of choosing a site for the establishment (Astoria), erecting buildings to shelter the stores and supplies, and discharging cargo consumed several weeks, and the Tonquin did not leave the river till June 5. With 23 persons on board she set sail for the north, and picking up an Indian interpreter on the way, soon came to a harbor on Vancouver's island. Out of that harbor the Tonquin sailed nevermore.

Accounts of the massacre which have come down to us from Cox, Irving, Franchere and others are conflicting, but on one tragic point there is complete unanimity: saving only the Indian interpreter, every soul aboard fell a victim to savage treachery and fury.

And yet the massacre could easily have been avoided, and would have been but



MERIWETHER LEWIS

Of the Lewis and Clark Expedition

for the pig-headedness of Captain Thorne, an irascible, contentious, stubborn individual who scorned all prudent counsels, and by his insolence towards the Indians invited the attack and frightful butchery that followed.

No sooner the Tonquin had come to anchor than canoes filled with Indians and ladened with rich furs were seen putting off from shore, and as the natives manifested a friendly purpose, they were taken aboard with their pelts, and the business of bartering was taken up. As the Indians brought a large number of sea-otter skins, the most precious fur taken on these shores, Captain Thorne saw visions of great profits, and began by offering trifling values. These the Indians, grown wise and wary by years of sharp trading with Yankee ships, scorned and rejected, whereupon Captain Thorne grew sulky and began to pace his deck in moody silence. An Indian chief, holding a tempting sea-otter skin, dogged his footsteps and kept holding the treasure before the irate captain, until Thorne, in a moment of uncontrollable anger snatched the pelt from the hands of the chief and with it struck him across the face.

Secretly vowing revenge, the Indians went ashore, and the interpreter and Mr. McKay, one of the partners, warned Thorne that mischief was brewing and advised him to weigh anchor and sail away. These counsels were curtly rejected, the captain affirming that he could whip three times as many savages as the whole country could muster, and pointed to his cannon and firearms in substantiation of his boast.

On the following morning, while Thorne and McKay were still asleep, several canoe loads of Indians drew to the ship's side, and the natives were permitted to come aboard. They were followed by others, and soon the deck was swarming with them in such numbers as interfered with the work of the crew. Thorne and McKay were called, and McKay urged the captain to lift anchor and sail away, but even then Thorne was obdurate for a while, and allowed the Indians to exchange furs for knives. In the meantime the interpreter had observed that a number of the natives wore mantles, and expressed a suspicion to Thorne and McKay that they were secretly armed, a fear that was soon to have frightful verification, for at a signal by the chief, the mantles were cast aside, revealing war clubs and knives, and with demoniacal yells the savages began their work of death and destruction. As the arms were all in the cabin, the officers and crew could offer little effective resistance. Captain Thorne fought with savage fury, armed only with a large clasp knife, and killed several Indians and wounded many others before he was dispatched with a war club while leaning on the tiller wheel in exhaustion. Mr. Lewis, the clerk, though mortally wounded, fought his way to the cabin, and four of seven men who were aloft when the fighting started, managed to drop to the deck and reach the same place of refuge, the remaining three having been dispatched with war clubs in the same effort.

Once in the cabin and possessed of arms, the survivors opened fire and cleared the ship.

Regarding the subsequent developments we find conflicting reports. According to one account, when some Indians approached the ship cautiously the following morning, the survivors opened negotiations and offered to surrender it without further fighting provided they be allowed to take a boat and leave unmolested. Another statement says the survivors, with the exception of Lewis, the clerk, took to

the boat under cover of darkness the night before. It is probable, though, that Lewis staid with the Tonquin to the last.

The Indian interpreter, who had been spared and taken ashore in one of the canoes, reported that when the Indians approached the ship the next morning, only one man was visible, and responding to his peaceful invitation, they went aboard in large numbers. While in the height of their exultation there came a terrific explosion of the ship's magazine, killing more than a hundred of the savages and wounding more than a hundred others. The sea was reddened with their blood, and for days afterward severed members were washed upon the shore.

The four men who escaped in the boat, unable, by reason of tide and current, to pull out to sea, were forced to land in a small cove. Overpowered by weariness and loss of sleep, they fell into a deep slumber and were captured by the infuriated Indians. One report says they were dispatched on the spot, but another recites that they were taken prisoners into the village and slowly tortured to death. The fact that Weekes, the man who made so gallant a fight for life in the breakers on the Columbia river bar, was one of the four thus murdered or tortured, deepens the pathos of this distressing tragedy of early days.

That Lewis, the clerk, meditated and executed the blowing up of the Tonquin, first enticing aboard a great number of the natives, we may scarcely doubt. He possessed a melancholy nature, and on the way out from New York had voiced a premonition that he should die by his own hand. Irving says he refused to accompany the men who attempted escape by small boat, "being disabled by his wound, hopeless of escape and determined on a terrible revenge. He now declared his intention to remain on board of the ship until daylight, to decoy as many of the savages on board as possible, then to set fire to the powder magazine, and terminate his life by a signal act of vengeance."

CHAPTER II

WHITE MEN ON THE SPOKANE

FINAN MACDONALD PROBABLY FIRST TO VIEW THE FALLS—RACE BETWEEN ASTORIANS AND THE NORTHWESTERS—BRITISHERS ESTABLISH SPOKANE HOUSE—AMERICANS LOCATE AT MOUTH OF OKANOGAN—A YEAR LATER AT MOUTH OF LITTLE SPOKANE—MR. ASTOR'S STOCK OF GOODS—HORSEFLESH STAPLE ARTICLE OF DIET—ADVENTURES OF ROSS COX—RESCUED BY FRIENDLY SPOKANES—BUFFALO WEST OF THE ROCKIES—TRADING WITH THE INDIANS—DUEL AT SPOKANE HOUSE—GAY LIFE IN THE BALL ROOM—LIFE OF PERIL AND HARDSHIP—PASSING OF THE BRIGADES—A MOTLEY CREW.

INASMUCH as the events in the preceding chapter touched the earlier history of Spokane and the Inland Empire at important points, the author has attempted to describe them with some particularity. They signalized the very first effort by an American citizen to establish commerce in a permanent form on the Columbia river and its interior tributaries, and portions of the Tonquin's cargo were transported to the interior in canoes and bateaux for the founding of trading posts at the mouth of the Okanogan and the forks of the Spokane and Little Spokane.

We know not for a certainty the name of the first adventurous white man to gaze upon the wild cataracts of the Spokane, but unquestionably the distinction of having been one of the first goes to David Thompson, astronomer, engineer and naturalist in the service of the Northwest Fur company.* In his "Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay company," George Bryce informs us that—

"In July, 1811, reports began to reach the traders at Astoria that a body of white men were building a fort far up the Columbia. This was serious news, for if true, it meant that the supply of furs looked for at Astoria would be cut off. An effort was made to find out the truth of this rumor, without success, but immediately after came definite information that the Northwest company agents were erecting a post at Spokane. This was none other than David Thompson, the emis-

*T. C. Elliott of Walla Walla, a painstaking student of northwestern history, believes that the Northwesters established Spokane House in 1810, and that the work was probably done by Finan MacDonald, one of Thompson's men. That Thompson explored the Pend d'Oreille lake and river region in 1809-10, and wintered that year at a trading post near the Flathead Indians in Montana, and was at Spokane House in the spring of 1811. "Skeetshoo was the designation given by Thompson to the Spokane river, and to the lake later known as the Coeur d'Alene." Thompson was then en route by horseback to Kettle Falls, where he built canoes for his descent of the Columbia.—"David Thompson, Pathfinder, and the Columbia River," an address delivered at Kettle Falls on the occasion of the centennial celebration in 1911.

sary of the Northwest company sent to forestall the building of Astoria's fort. Though too late to fulfill this mission, on July 15, 1811, the doughty astronomer and surveyor, in his canoe manned by eight men and having the British ensign flying, stopped in front of the new fort. . . . After waiting for eight days, Thompson, having received supplies and goods from McDougall (in command at Astoria) started on his return journey. With him journeyed up the river David Stuart, who, with eight men, was proceeding on a fur and trading expedition. Stuart had little confidence in Thompson, and by a device succeeded in getting him to proceed on his journey and leave him to choose his own site for a fort. Going up to within 140 miles of the Spokane river, and at the junction of the Okanogan and Columbia, Stuart erected a temporary fort to carry on his first season's trade."

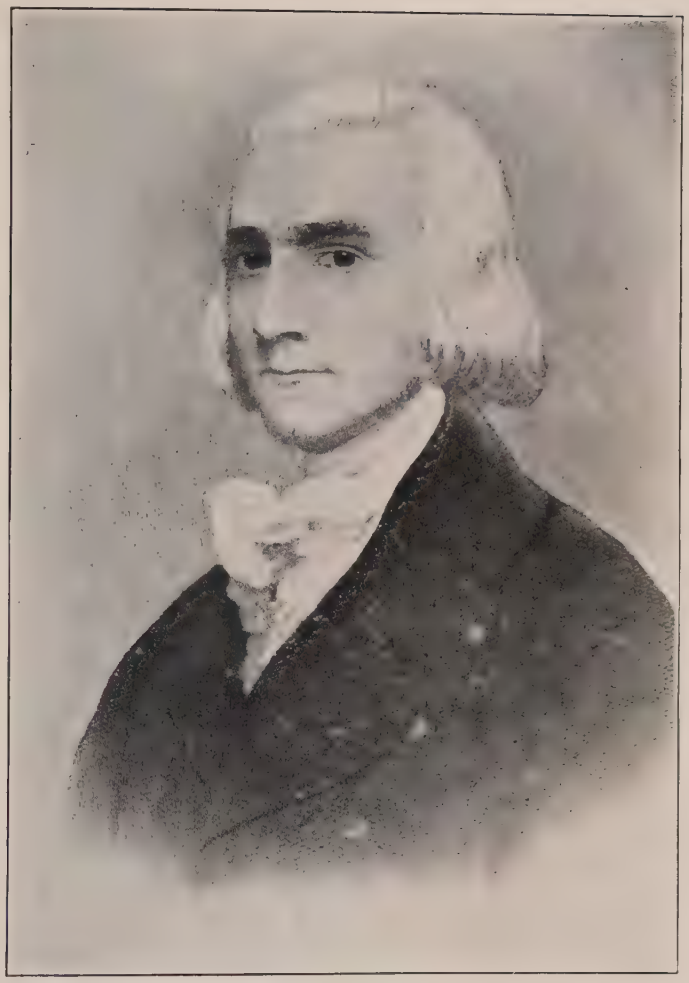
It seems probable that if Mr. Astor had not exposed his hand in his preliminary negotiations for a partnership with the Northwesters, Thompson would not have been dispatched to the far northwest, and the Pacific Fur company would have enjoyed an undisputed opportunity to seize the strategic points and thus become strongly entrenched well ahead of its cunning and daring rivals.

This was not, however, Thompson's first appearance upon the upper waters of the Columbia. From the same authority it is learned that—

"In 1909 Thompson determined on extending his explorations southward on the Columbia river," and that "a short distance south of the international boundary he built a post in September of that year."

Thompson returned to the east, but came back, and in July, 1811, started on a descent of the Columbia that was to give him the record of the first white man to follow that stream to its confluence with the Snake, Lewis and Clark having descended by way of the Clearwater and the Snake. At the mouth of the Spokane he erected a pole and tied to it a half sheet of paper, claiming the country north of the forks as British territory. This notice was seen by a number of Astor employes, for Ross states that he observed it in August, "with the British flag flying upon it."

Franchere has recorded a more circumstantial account of the invasion of the Northwesters. On June 15, ten days after the Tonquin had sailed away to destruction, "some natives from up the river brought us two strange Indians, a man and a woman. They were not attired like the savages on the river Columbia, but wore long robes of dressed deerskin, with leggings and moccasins in the fashion of the tribes to the east of the Rocky mountains. We put questions to them in various Indian dialects, but they did not understand us. They showed us a letter addressed to 'Mr. John Stuart, Fort Estekatadene, New Caledonia.' Mr. Pillet then addressing them in the Knisteneaux language, they answered, although they appeared not to understand it perfectly. Notwithstanding we learned from them that they had been sent by a Mr. Finnan McDonald, a clerk in the service of the Northwest company, who had a post on a river which they called Spokan; that having lost their way, they had followed the course of the Tacousah-Tesseh, the Indian name of the Columbia; that when they arrived at the falls, the natives made them understand that there were white men at the mouth of the river; and not doubting that the person to whom the letter was addressed would be found there, they had come to deliver it.



JOHN JACOB ASTOR

"We kept these messengers for some days, and having drawn from them important information respecting the country in the interior, west of the mountains, we decided to send an expedition thither, under the command of Mr. David Stuart; and the 15th of July was fixed for its departure."

Here appears, perhaps for the first time in printed record, the name "Spokan," and these wandering natives who had found their way to the mouth of the Columbia, in all probability were of that tribe. Lewis and Clark, it will be recalled, had heard of the river as the Skeet-ko-mish, but an explanation of this seeming conflict in nomenclature is found in the fact that the Indians had no well established name for any of the rivers of this western country, each tribe or band applying its own local name to that portion of the stream flowing through its particular section. In this way it frequently was found that a single river bore half a dozen or even more appellations.

Stuart's expedition to the interior comprised four clerks—Pillet, Ross, McLennon and Montigny, and two natives from the Sandwich islands. Their three canoes were well ladened with provisions and goods needed for a trading establishment.

"The place which he pitched upon for his trading post (we quote now from 'Astoria') was a point of land about three miles in length and two in breadth, formed by the junction of the Oakinagan with the Columbia. The former is a river which has its source in a considerable lake, and the two rivers, about the place of their confluence, are bordered by immense prairies covered with herbage, but destitute of trees. The point itself was ornamented with wild flowers of every hue, in which innumerable humming-birds were banqueting nearly the livelong day.

"The situation of this point appeared to be well adapted for a trading post. The climate was salubrious, the soil fertile, (Okanogan boosters will please take notice) the rivers well stocked with fish, and natives peaceable and friendly. There were easy communications with the interior by the upper waters of the Columbia and the lateral streams, while the downward current of the Columbia furnished a highway to Astoria.

"Availing himself, therefore, of the driftwood which had collected in quantities in the neighboring bends of the river, Mr. Stuart and his men set to work to erect a house, which in a little while was sufficiently completed for their residence; and thus was established the first interior post of the company."

And thus was established the first American commerce within the broad confines of the Inland Empire. Momentous beginning, squalid though it seemed in the little depot built of driftwood from the banks of the Columbia, of a commerce and an industry which has now attained a magnitude far transcending the wildest flights of the imagination of the merchant prince who, from his office in New York had launched his daring enterprise and thereby contributed powerfully to the strengthening of our title to this broad northwest at a time when British statesmanship and British enterprise were striving mightily to set their red ensign forever in these skies.

We come now to the founding, in the summer of 1812, of Astor's trading post at the mouth of the Little Spokane, some ten miles northwest of the present city of Spokane. It will interest our present day merchants, and the public as well, to take a hurried inventory of that first stock of merchandise to be vended in Spokane county. As we have seen, the Northwesters had beaten the Astorians to this point, but as David Thompson had traveled overland from eastern Canada, and

been deserted on the way by a large part of his expedition who had become discontented or alarmed and returned to civilization, it is evident that he could not have set up much of an establishment at this site. The fact that he was destitute of supplies when he arrived at Astoria, and was under the necessity of begging from the Americans, may be accepted as proof that he had not left much at his so-called post on the Spokane, probably nothing at all beyond some impedimenta which he was glad to lay aside. Thompson was unaware, when he left the Spokane country for the mouth of the river in July, 1811, that an American establishment had been erected there, and it is not probable, if he had had supplies to leave on the Spokane, that he would have ventured empty-handed down the Columbia, living from hand to mouth.

Mr. Astor's stock, selected especially to appeal to Indian nature, included guns and ammunition, spears, hatchets, knives, beaver traps, copper and brass kettles, white and green blankets; blue, green and red cloths; calicoes, beads, rings, thimbles, hawksbells and other gewgaws. For provisions, there were beef, pork, flour, rice, biscuits, tea, sugar and a moderate quantity of rum and wines.

With this cargo a large expedition left Astoria June 29, 1812, the party including three partners, nine clerks, fifty-five Canadians, twenty Sandwich islanders, and Messrs. Crooks, McClelland and R. Stuart, who, with eight men were to proceed with dispatches to St. Louis. It traveled in bateaux and light built canoes, the former carrying eight men, the latter six. The goods were packed in bales and boxes, and the liquids in kegs holding on an average, nine gallons. Ross Cox informs us that from thirty to forty of these packages were placed in each vessel, and the whole was covered by an oilcloth or tarpaulin, to preserve them from wet. Each canoe and barge had from six to eight men, rowing or paddling, independent of the passengers.

Extraordinary precautions were taken to guard against attack by the thieving Wishram Indians at the Cascades of the Columbia, where a long portage was required around the rough water. The expedition arrived at the foot of the portage on the evening of the fourth of July, and preparations were made for action. Each man was given a musket and forty rounds of ball cartridge, and over his clothes wore an elkskin shirt, reaching to the knees. It was entirely arrow proof, and at eighty or ninety yards could not be penetrated by a musket ball. Besides the muskets a number had daggers, short swords and pistols; "and when armed cap-a-pie," says Cox, "we presented a formidable appearance."

So formidable, in fact, that the Indians, though gathered around in numbers and looking enviously upon such stores of wealth, had not the hardihood to assail the strangers. But at midnight, when the weary *voyageurs* were in a sound slumber, and the dark mountains and forests were but faintly illumined by the dying campfires, they were suddenly aroused and thrown into frightful confusion by the report of a gun and the cries of Mr. Pillet, one of the clerks, that he had been shot. "Every one instantly seized his arms and inquired on which side was the enemy; but our apprehensions were quickly appeased on learning it was merely an accident. One of the gentlemen, in examining the musket of a Sandwich islander, to see if it was primed, handed it to him at full cock; and just as the islander had taken it, the piece went off and the contents lodged in the calf of poor Pillet's leg, who naturally enough exclaimed that he was shot. This was, however, in our present circumstances, a disagreeable event, as it rendered Mr. Pillet not only incapable of

fighting, but required three or four men to carry him in a litter over the various portages. The wound was dressed with friar's balsam and lint, the ball extracted, the next day, and in about a month afterward he was able to walk."

At a point near The Dalles the party purchased five horses from the Indians. "The value of the goods we paid for each in England would not exceed five shillings," says the historian of the expedition. "As these horses were intended for the kettle, they were doomed to instant destruction. Our comparatively recent separation from the land of bread and butter caused the idea of feeding on so useful and noble an animal to be at first highly repugnant to our feelings; but example, and above all, necessity, soon conquered these little qualms of civilization, and in a few days we almost brought ourselves to believe that the animal on which we fed once carried horns, was divided in the hoof, and chewed the cud."

Horseflesh, in fact, was to become the staple diet at the posts on the Spokane and the Okanogan, and it is recorded that eighty cayuses were consumed in a single winter at Spokane.

After their association with the filthy, fish-eating, canoe-squatting Indians around the mouth of the Columbia, the party were inclined to look upon the more cleanly interior tribes with an approving and indulgent eye. "The Wallah-Wallahs were decidedly the most friendly tribe we had seen on the river. They had an air of open, unsuspecting confidence in their manner that at once banished suspicion and ensured our friendship. There was a degree of natural politeness, too, evinced by them on entering their lodges, which we did not see practiced by any others. We visited several families in the village, and the moment we entered, the best place was selected for us, and a clean mat spread to sit on; while the inmates, particularly the women and children, remained at a respectful distance, without manifesting any of the obtrusive curiosity about our arms or clothing, by which we were so much annoyed among the lower tribes."

Mercenary immorality, we are informed, was unknown among them, in admirable contrast to the oil-besmeared women on the coast. Cox found that "the females were distinguished by a degree of attentive kindness totally removed from the disgusting familiarity of the kilted ladies below the rapids, and equally free from an affection of prudery; and I believe no inducement would tempt them to commit a breach of chastity."

At the junction of the Columbia and the Snake, present site of Pasco and Kennewick, the adventurers encamped for three days, while buying horses for their journeys inland. David Stuart and party then proceeded up the Columbia in their canoes, to the post at the mouth of the Okanogan, and Donald McKenzie and his party up the Snake river, to establish a trading post on its upper reaches.

"The natives of this district," writes Cox, "are called the Pierced-nose Indians, but as French is the language in general use among traders in this country, owing to most of their workmen being Canadians, we commonly called them *Les Nez Percés*. They do not differ much from the Wallah-Wallahs in their dress or language, but are not so friendly, and demand higher prices for their horses. Their habitations are covered with large mats fixed on poles; some are square, others oblong, and some conical. They are of various sizes, from twenty to seventy feet long, and from ten to fifteen feet broad. These dwellings are pretty free from vermin, and are easily changed when occasion requires.

"The women wear leathern robes which cover the shoulders, part of the arms, the breasts, and reach down to their legs. The men have robes nearly similar, but not so long, with leggings which reach up half the thigh, and are fastened to a belt round the waist with leather thongs. They are clean, active and smart-looking, good hunters and excellent horsemen. They enjoy good health, and with the exception of a few sore eyes, did not appear to have any disorder. They are fond of their children and attentive to the wants of their old people. Their saddles are made of dressed deerskin, stuffed with hair; the stirrups are wooden, with the bottoms broad and flat, and covered over with raw skin, which when dry becomes hard and lasts a long time. The bridles are merely ropes made out of the hair of the horses' tails, and are tied round their under jaw."

After the purchase of twenty-five horses, the party proceeded up the Snake, some on land with the horses, but the greater part still in the canoes. In this manner they continued to the mouth of the Palouse river, where more horses were purchased, for here they were to leave the river and go overland to Spokane. The canoes and bateaux were stored away in a snug place and entrusted to the care of the chief of the village at that point, and as a reward for his oversight he was given a "fathom of blue cloth," an axe and a knife; and to his wife were given some strings of white and blue beads and three dozen hawkbells for her *chemise de cuir*. The village here comprised about forty mat-covered tepees.

Some conception of the toilsome character of a journey as then made to the interior may be gleaned from the fact that this party, leaving Astoria June 29, took till August 7 to reach the mouth of the Palouse on Snake river, and the preparations at that point consumed eight days more, so it was not until the 15th that it took up the overland journey for the Spokane, under the guidance of an Indian employed at the Palouse village.

The party now consisted of one proprietor, Clarke, four clerks, twenty-one Canadians, and six Sandwich islanders, with the Indian guide, and traversed the intervening Palouse country between the Snake and the Spokane in safety, the only incident of note having been the separation of Ross Cox from the brigade and his consequent loss and wanderings, alone, without means of making fire, and scantily attired, for a period of fourteen days, when he finally staggered into the camp of some friendly Indians on the Spokane, emaciated from hunger and hardship, and with feet so swollen and bleeding that he could scarcely walk.

One report alleges that Cox, who was a red-headed and somewhat impetuous Irishman, persisted in lagging along the way, and having been reprimanded by Clarke became insubordinate, and still persisting in his refusal to keep up with the party, was left far behind in the hope that it would serve as a wholesome lesson. Cox himself offers an entirely different and quite plausible explanation—in effect that attracted by the beauty of the banks of a little stream where the expedition had made a noonday pause, he strolled along till he came to a natural arbor and lay down to rest. Overcome by weariness and the heat of the August sun, he fell into a sound slumber from which he awakened several hours later to discover that the party was gone and he left alone in a wild and savage land. He followed the trail until it was lost on rocky ground, and then climbed a high hill, but the cavalcade was nowhere to be seen. His only clothing was a pair of nankeen trousers, a gingham shirt and a pair of worn moccasins, and he suffered intensely at night from cold

and exposure. Not having even a pistol, his only means of subsistence were wild berries and roots, excepting one meal at a point where a party of Indians had made their camp the night before and left around their fire the remnants of some grouse upon which they had dined. In his description of his adventures, Cox seems to have exaggerated his experiences with wolves, bears and rattlesnakes, but for the rest his narrative is obviously a faithful record of his troubles.

Rev. Samuel Parker, who was sent into this country in 1835 by the American Board of Foreign Missions, and traversed the Spokane country that year, makes light of Cox's adventures and writes him down an arrant nature faker. Describing the Spokane woods, Parker says: "These are the woods in which Ross Cox was lost, about the circumstances of which he gives a very interesting description, but which, so far as I have had as yet an opportunity to judge, contains far more fiction than truth. But his multitude of growling bears and howling wolves and alarming rattlesnakes, of which I have seen only one, may yet come out from their lurking places in hostile array."

Cox's account of his ultimate rescue by a family of the Spokanes is so pleasingly descriptive of the natural kindliness of "our first citizens of Spokane," that I incorporate it here:

"On advancing a short distance into the meadow (where he had seen horses) the cheering sight of a small column of gracefully ascending smoke, announced my vicinity to human beings, and in a moment after two Indian women perceived me. They instantly fled to a hut which appeared at the farther end of the meadow. This movement made me doubt whether I had arrived among friends or enemies, but my apprehensions were quickly dissipated by the approach of two men, who came running to me in the most friendly manner. On seeing the lacerated state of my feet, they carried me in their arms to a comfortable dwelling covered with deer skins. To wash and dress my torn limbs, roast some roots and boil a small salmon, seemed but the business of a moment. After returning thanks to that great and good Being in whose hands are the issues of life and death, and who had watched over my wandering steps, and rescued me from the many perilous dangers I encountered, I sat down to my salmon, of which it is needless to say, I made a hearty supper.

'The family consisted of an elderly man and his son, with their wives and children. I collected from their signs that they were aware of my being lost, and that they, with other Indians and white men, had been out several days, scouring the woods and plains in search of me. I also understood from them that our party had arrived at their destination, which was only a few hours' march from their habitation. They behaved to me with affectionate solicitude, and while the old woman was carefully dressing my feet, the men were endeavoring to make me comprehend their meaning.

"As it was too late, after finishing my supper, to proceed farther that night, I retired to rest on a comfortable couch of buffalo and deerskins. I slept soundly, and the morning of the thirty-first was far advanced before I awoke. After breakfasting on the remainder of the salmon, I prepared to join my white friends.

"A considerable stream, about ninety yards broad, called Coeur d'Alene river, flowed close to the hut. (The name invariably attached in early days to that part of the Spokane flowing between the lake and the mouth of the Little Spokane.) We crossed the river in a canoe, after which they brought over three horses, and having

enveloped my body in an Indian mantle of deerskin, we mounted and set off in a smart trot in an easterly direction.

"We had not proceeded more than seven miles when I felt the bad effects of having eaten so much salmon after so long a fast. I had a severe attack of indigestion, and for two hours suffered extreme agony; and but for the great attention of the kind Indians, I think it would have proved fatal.

"About an hour after recommencing our journey, we arrived in a clear wood, in which, with joy unutterable, I observed our Canadians at work hewing timber. I rode between the two natives. One of our men, named Francois Gardepie, who had been on a trading excursion, joined us on horseback. My deerskin robe and sunburnt features completely set his powers of recognition at defiance, and he addressed me as an Indian. I replied in French by asking how our people were. Poor Francois appeared electrified, exclaimed *"Sainte Vierge!"* and galloped into the wood vociferating: *'Oh mes amis, mes amis il est trouvé! Oui, oui, il est trouvé!'* (Oh, my friends, my friends, he is found! Yes, yes, he is found!)

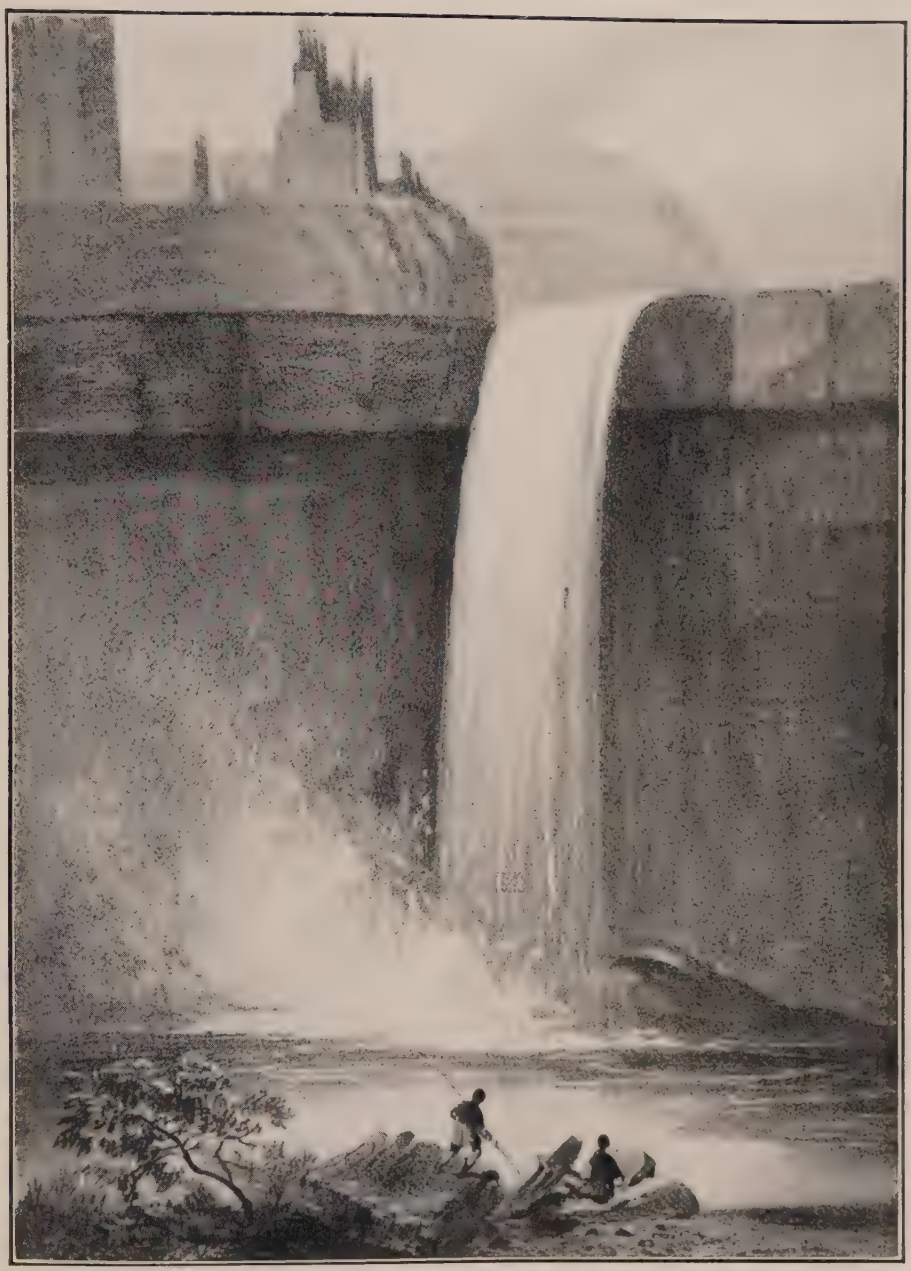
" *'Qui? qui?'* asked his comrades, *'Monsieur Cox, Monsieur Cox,'* replied Francois; *'le voila! le voila!'* (There he is, there he is!)

"Away went saws, hatchets and axes, and each man rushed forward to the tents where we had by this time arrived. It is needless to say that our astonishment and delight at my miraculous escape were mutual. The friendly Indians were liberally rewarded, the men were allowed a holiday, and every countenance bore the smile of joy and happiness."

The site chosen for the Spokane post was the neck of land lying between the Spokane and Little Spokane rivers, a short distance above the joining of the two waters. Cox describes it as thinly covered with pine and other trees, and close to a trading post of the Northwest company, under the command of McMillan, one of their clerks, who had ten men with him. The Northwest company had two other posts in the interior, one about 240 miles from Spokane House, in a northeasterly direction, for trading with the Flatheads, the other about 200 miles north of the Spokane, "among a tribe called the Cootonais (Kootenais) in whose country there are plenty of beavers, deer, mountain sheep, and, at times, buffaloes."

That buffalo* were to be found among the Kootenais, occupying as they did the wild and deeply wooded mountains and valleys of the upper Columbia, may be questioned. While there is abundant testimony that buffalo had formerly roamed over the great plains between the Rocky mountains and the Cascades, they had become extinct here prior to the advent of the first white men, and the tribes living west of the Rocky mountains had long been under the necessity of making long hunting trips into the country of the Blackfeet for their supplies of robes and dried buffalo meat. In these expeditions the interior tribes, notably the Flatheads and the Coeur d'Alenes, had suffered frightful losses from savage attacks on their hunters by the Blackfeet, and a fierce and implacable feud had grown up between these tribes and

* From the journal of Dr. George Suckley, surgeon U. S. A., who descended the Pend d'Oreille in a canoe in the autumn of 1853, I take this interesting excerpt: "Buffalo were formerly in great numbers in this valley, as attested by the number of skulls seen and by the reports of the inhabitants. For a number of years past none had been seen west of the (Rocky) mountains; but, singular to relate, a buffalo bull was killed at the mouth of the Pend d'Oreille river on the day I passed it. The Indians were in great joy at this, supposing that the buffalo were coming back among them.



FALLS OF THE PALOUSE

As drawn by artist with Governor Stevens' Expedition, 1853

the wild warriors of the plains. As the Blackfeet had come into contact with the fur traders operating east of the Rocky mountains, and had become possessed of firearms and ammunition before the establishment of trading posts west of the Rocky mountains, the Indians of the Spokane country suffered a terrible disadvantage in their wars, and hence were eager to meet the western traders and exchange their furs for guns and powder and ball.

The origin of the name Flathead, as applied by the French trappers and *voyageurs* to the superior tribe occupying the country on the western slopes of the Rockies, is veiled in mystery. It does not appear that these Indians had ever adopted the practice of flattening the heads of their infants; certainly they were not given to that custom when the white men came into the country, a strange custom that was confined to a few tribes seated around the mouth of the Columbia. It may be the name was bestowed in derision or anger, since the term *"tête plate"* or Flathead has long been in use among the French as a term of reproach or villification. Rostand employs it in "Cyrano de Bergerac" when he causes de Bergerac, in his angry outburst against Le Facheux, to exclaim:

"Enorme, mon nez! Vil camus, sot camard, tête plate!"

As the Northwest company had established posts among these Indians, the Astor people decided to set up rival establishments, and clerk Pillet was dispatched with six men to locate a post among the Kootenais, and Farnam and Cox were sent from Spokane House to establish one among the Flatheads. Their mission achieved, the latter returned to the Spokane in time to share in the New Year's festivities, which were conducted on a scale of comparative magnificence. Clarke had built a snug and roomy dwelling house of four rooms and a kitchen; another commodious structure for the men, and a capacious store for the furs and goods, "the whole surrounded by high paling and flanked by two bastions with loopholes for musketry." So the party were in a position to take their ease, and the gay and care-free Frenchmen enjoyed to their fullest zest the Christmas and New Year *"regales."* On such festive occasions flour and sugar were served out to the men for cakes, and a generous allowance of rum and wine to wash down the unwonted luxuries of the day.

"I passed the remainder of the winter at this place," run the Cox chronicles, "and between hunting, reading, fishing, etc., we contrived to spend the time agreeably enough. We lived principally on deer, trout and carp (more probably suckers or whitefish), and occasionally killed a fat horse as a substitute for beef. Custom had now so far reconciled us to the flesh of this animal, that we often preferred it to what in Europe might be regarded as luxuries. Foals or colts are not good, although a few of our men preferred them. A horse for the table should not be under three years nor above seven. The flesh of those which are tame, well fed and occasionally worked, is tender and firm, and the fat hard and white; it is far superior to the wild horse, the flesh of which is loose and stringy, and the fat yellow and rather oily. We generally killed the former for our own table, and I can assure my readers that if they sat down to a fat rib, or a rump steak of a well fed four-year-old, without knowing the animal, they would imagine themselves regaling on a piece of prime ox beef. In February we took immense quantities of carp in Spokane river (the Little Spokane) above its junction with the Pointed Heart, and in a few weeks after the trout came in great abundance.

"The Spokans we found to be a quiet, honest, inoffensive tribe; and although

we had fortified our establishment in the manner above mentioned, we seldom closed the gates at night. Their country did not abound in furs, and they were rather indolent in hunting. Their chief, Illumspokanee, or the Son of the Sun, was a harmless old man who spent a great portion of his time between us and Mr. McMillan. We entered into a contract with that gentleman to abstain from giving the Indians any spirituous liquors, to which both parties strictly adhered. Mr. Clarke, who was an old trader himself, had often witnessed the baneful effects of giving ardent spirits to Indians, while he was in the service of the Northwest company, at all whose establishments on the east side of the Rocky mountains it was an almost invariable custom. . . . By this arrangement both parties saved themselves considerable trouble and expense, and kept the poor natives in a state of blissful ignorance. In other respects also we agreed very well with our opponent, and neither party evinced any of the turbulent or lawless spirit which gave so ferocious an aspect to the opposition of the rival companies on the east side of the mountains.

"The great object of every Indian was to obtain a gun. Now a good gun could not be had under twenty beaver skins; a few short ones we gave for fifteen; and some idea of the profit may be formed when I state that the wholesale price of the gun is about one pound seven shillings, while the average value of twenty beaver skins is about twenty-five pounds. Two yards of cloth, which originally cost twelve shillings, would generally bring six or eight beavers, value eight or ten pounds; and so on in proportion for other articles. But they were satisfied and we had no cause to cŏmplain.

"The Spokans are far superior to the Indians of the coast in cleanliness, but by no means equal in this respect to the Flatheads. The women are good wives and most affectionate mothers; the old, cheerful and complete slaves to their families; the young, lively and confiding; and whether married or single, free from the vice of incontinence.

"Their village was situated at the point formed by the junction of the two rivers. Some houses were oblong, others conical, and were covered with mats or skins according to the wealth of the proprietor. Their chief riches are their horses, which they generally obtain in barter from the Nez Perces, in return for the goods which they obtain from us for their furs. Each man is therefore the founder of his own fortune, and their riches or poverty are generally proportioned according to their activity or indolence. The vice of gambling, however, is prevalent among them, and some are such slaves to it that they frequently lose all their horses.

"The spot where 'the rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep' is about midway between the village and the fort, and has rather a picturesque effect at a distance. When a man dies several horses are killed, and the skins are attached to the ends of long poles, which are planted in the graves. The number of horses sacrificed is proportioned to the wealth of the individual. Besides the horseskins, deer and buffalo robes, leather shirts, blankets, pieces of blue, green and scarlet cloth, strips of calico, moccasins, provisions, warlike weapons, etc., are placed in and about the cemetery; all of which they imagine will be more or less necessary for the deceased in the world of spirits.

"As their lands are much infested by wolves, which destroy the foals, they can not rear horses in such numbers as the Nez Perces, from whom they are obliged to

purchase them annually. They never kill any for their own use, but felt no repugnance to eat the flesh at our place."

Affairs were not altogether harmonious between the rival establishments that first winter on the Spokane, for Pillet, a clerk of the Astor forces, fought a duel with pistols with Montour, a clerk of the Northwesters. They fired at six paces—"both hits; one in the collar of the coat, and the other in the leg of the trousers. Two of their men acted as seconds, and the tailor speedily healed their wounds."

Spokane House was the popular rendezvous for the different posts and detached trading parties operating all over the Inland Empire. Many a gay gathering and many a lively social diversion could the sentinel pines and downlooking mountains narrate today if they but had the power of speech. The establishment boasted a ball-room, and there on wintry nights, to the strains of flute and fiddle, the vivacious French Canadians and more stolid young Scotch chaps trod a measure with the copper-tinted belles of the Spokanes, the Nez Perces and other neighboring tribes. Forgotten then, in the entrancement of Terpsichore, were their weary marches by field and forest and mountain trail; their dismal bivouacs in winter snows or summer's deluge. Loquacious Pierre, and mercurial Jean, and quick-tempered Louis cast away their memories of dreadful toil by perilous portage, or snapped their fingers at the thought of coming travail, when the breast-straps should cut the flesh as they tugged at the lines of deep-ladened bateaux dancing on the swift waters of the Columbia, the Spokane, the Flathead and the "Cootonai."

In fancy we may conjure back the stirring scene: the deep ball-room, lighted by the great hearthfire and flaring flambeaux of pine knots; the Scotch gentlemen, each in the tartan of his clan; the Americans, decked out in some treasured piece of bright colored raiment of the period, brought from distant New York, and the French Canadians in plume and sash and gaily colored capote.

And what a contrast without, where the winter moon spread her cold beams on a landscape of woody mountains and snowy plains, while the dark waters of the Spokane went tearing to the mighty Oregon, and the greater river ran sullen to the sea.

It was a hard, wild life, and few who embraced it survived to see again the pleasant landscapes of their boyhood homes, or hear on sunny Sabbath morning the deep-toned bells of worship calling across the smiling fields.

"It is worthy of remark," observes Parker, who traversed this country in 1835, 'that comparatively few of all those who engage in the fur business about and west of the Rocky mountains, ever return to their native land and their homes and friends. Mr. P. of Fort Walla Walla told me that to keep up their number of trappers and hunters in the country west of the mountains, they were under the necessity of sending out recruits annually, about one-third of the whole number. Captain W. has said that of more than 200 who had been in his employment in the course of three years, only between thirty and forty were known to be alive. From this data it may be seen that the life of hunters in these far western regions averages about three years. And with these known facts, still hundreds and hundreds are willing to engage in the hunter's life and expose themselves to hardships, famine and death. The estimate has been made from sources of correct information, that there are 9,000 white men in the north and in the great west, engaged in the various departments of trading, trapping and hunting. This number includes Americans, Britons, Frenchmen and Russians."

Life at Okanogan offered none of the lively diversions that were the accompaniment of a winter sojourn at Spokane House. In a letter by McGillivray, a year later to a friend at Spokane, we find a graphic pen picture of that dreary outpost of the company:

"Oakinagan, Feb., 1814.—This is a horribly dull place. Here I have been, since you parted from us, perfectly solus. My men, half Canadians and half Sandwich islanders. The library wretched, and no chance of my own books until next year, when the Athabasca men cross the mountains. If you or my friends at Spokan do not send me a few volumes I shall absolutely die of ennui.

"The Indians here are incontestably the most indolent rascals I ever met; and I assure you it requires no small degree of authority, with the few men I have, to keep them in order. Montignier left me on the twenty-third of December to proceed to Mr. McDonald at Kamloops. On his way he was attacked by the Indians at Okanogan lake, and robbed of a number of his horses. The natives in that quarter seem to entertain no great friendship for us, as this is not their first attempt to trespass on our good nature. My two Canadians were out hunting at the period of the robbery, and the whole of my household troops merely consisted of Bonaparte, Washington and Caesar (three natives of Hawaii). Great names, you will say; but I must confess, that much as I think of the two great moderns, and highly as I respect the memory of the immortal Julius, among these thieving scoundrels 'a rose by any other name would smell as sweet.' The snow is between two and three feet deep, and my trio of Owyhee generals find a sensible difference between such hyperborean weather and the pleasing sunshine of their own tropical paradise. Poor fellows! They are not adapted for these latitudes, and I heartily wish they were at home in their own sweet islands, and sporting in the 'blue summer ocean' that surrounds them.

"I have not as yet made a pack of beaver. The lazy Indians won't work; and as for the emperor, president and dictator, they know as much about trapping as the monks of La Trappe. I have hitherto principally subsisted on horseflesh. I can not say it agrees with me, for it nearly produced a dysentery. I have had plenty of pork, rice, arrowroot, flour, taroroot, tea and coffee; no sugar. With such a variety of *bonnes choses* you will say I ought not to complain; but want of society has destroyed my relish for luxuries, and the only articles I taste above par are souchong and molasses.

"What a contrast between the manner I spent last year and this. In the first with all the pride of a newly-created subaltern, occasionally fighting the Yankees, *à la mode du pays;* and anon, sporting my silver wings before some admiring *paysanne* along the frontiers. Then what a glorious winter in Montreal, with captured Jonathans, triumphant Britons, astonished Indians, gaping *habitants,* agitated beauties, balls, routs, dinners, suppers; parades, drums beating; colors flying, with all the other 'pride, pomp and circumstance of glorious war.' But 'Othello's occupation's gone,' and here I am, with a shivering guard of poor islanders, buried in snow, sipping molasses, smoking tobacco, and masticating horseflesh. But I am sick of the contrast!"

Certainly a vivid one, and made by a gentleman of evident culture and literary attainment.

CHAPTER III

BRITISH FLAG SUPPLANTS THE STARS AND STRIPES

TAKING THE FURS DOWN THE COLUMBIA—INDIAN THIEF HANGED AT MOUTH OF PALOUSE—GREAT BRITAIN AND AMERICA AT WAR—ASTOR BETRAYED BY HIS PARTNERS AT ASTORIA—HIS GREAT ENTERPRISE RUINED—BRITISH SEIZE ASTORIA—EXPEDITION MASSACRED ON HEADWATERS OF THE SNAKE—REMARKABLE ESCAPE OF PIERRE DORION'S SQUAW.

Ay, tear her tattered ensign down!
Long has it waved on high.
And many an eye has danced to see
That banner in the sky.

—*Oliver Wendell Holmes.*

WITH the coming of spring, 1813, Spokane House became a scene of lively preparation for the springtime brigade down the Columbia to Astoria, or Fort George as it was soon to become by the fortunes of war, and the stars and stripes to be supplanted by the British flag. Leaving poor Pillet, who, between his accidental shooting at the Cascades, his duel on the Spokane and other minor untoward experiences was evidently in an unhappy frame of mind, to keep guard on the Spokane with four assistants, the brigade set out on the 25th of May for the mouth of the Columbia. It had twenty-eight horses packed heavy with the season's catch, and reached Snake river at the mouth of the Palouse, or Pavilion river as it then was called by the French, on the thirtieth of May. Here the canoes were found in safety, barring a few nails which the Indians had extracted for their own needs, and while the brigade lay there to await repairs, a tragic incident occurred that was to lead, as we shall later learn, to a far more tragic *dénouement*.

During the night a thief or thieves had entered the tent in which Mr. Clarke slept, and stole from his *garde-vin* a valuable silver goblet. Hastily summoning the Indians of the village, Clarke told them that he had overlooked previous thefts on the occasion of his coming into their country, believing that his indulgence then would win better treatment in future; but that he was mistaken, for his lenience then had led to this bolder theft, and he saw that he must now deal with them in a more resolute manner. He accordingly announced that if the stolen property were returned he would pardon the offender, but if not, he should hang the thief if he could find him.

The chief and others expressed a willingness to aid in the recovery of the stolen articles, but the day passed with no results. That night a watch was set, and an Indian detected in the act of entering one of the tents. When discovered he fled to a canoe, but was seized as he was stepping into it. An alarm was given, the whole camp was soon routed from their slumbers, and a search showed that several valuable articles were missing, most of which were found in the bottom of the canoe. The thief refused to give any account of the other missing articles, and as he had been remarkably well treated by the party, Clarke resolved, in view of this and the aggravated nature of the robbery, to put his threat into execution. A gallows was ordered erected, and the culprit's hands and feet having been bound, Clarke assembled all the Indians of the village and made a speech, declaring that the prisoner had violated his confidence, abused the rights of hospitality and committed an offense for which he ought to suffer death.

The Indians assented to this proposition and repudiated the prisoner, affirming that he did not belong to their tribe, but was an outlaw from another village, and they had all been afraid of him. The thief offered the most violent resistance to his execution, and screamed in a frightful manner as he was launched into eternity. An account of the subsequent appalling revenge taken by the relatives of this Indian will appear in another chapter.

Great news awaited the Spokane brigade on its arrival, June 11, 1813, at Astoria. "We found all our friends in good health," says Ross Cox, "but a total revolution had taken place in the affairs of the company. Messrs. John George McTavish and Joseph LaRocque of the Northwest company, with two canoes and sixteen men, had arrived a few days before us. From these gentlemen we learned, for the first time, that war had been declared the year before between Great Britain and the United States; and that in consequence of the strict blockade of the American ports by British cruisers, no vessel would venture to proceed to our remote establishment during the continuation of hostilities; added to which, a trading vessel which had touched at the Columbia in the early part of the spring, had informed our people that the ship Beaver was blocked up in Canton."

Himself a British subject, and holding friendly feelings towards the Northwesters, Cox states lightly and defends a transaction that at best was shameful enough —a too ready betrayal by old Northwesters in Mr. Astor's service, of his interests and property into the hands of their former masters. We quote Cox's version: "These unlucky and unexpected circumstances, joined to the impossibility of sustaining ourselves another year in the country without fresh supplies, induced our proprietory to enter into negotiations with Mr. McTavish, who had been authorized by the Northwest company to treat with them. In a few weeks an amicable arrangement was made, by which Mr. McTavish agreed to purchase all the furs, merchandise, provisions, etc., of our company at a certain valuation, stipulating to provide a safe passage back to the United States, either by sea or across the continent, for such members of it as chose to return, and at the same time offering to those who should wish to join the Northwest company and remain in the country the same terms as if they had originally been members of that company. Messrs. Ross, McLennon and I took advantage of these liberal proposals, and some time after Mr. Duncan McDougal, one of the directors, also joined the Northwest.

The Americans, of course, preferred returning to their own country, as also did Mr. Gabriel Franchere and a few other Canadian clerks."

The phrase, "to their own country," has now a half humorous ring, but there was no humor to the situation then. The Americans were down and out, their occupany of the Columbia River country had ended in failure, and it was known that a British war vessel was sailing to these shores to capture Astoria, pull down the American flag and take possession of the country for the British empire.

Gabriel Franchere, has left, in his "Narrative of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America," a harsher report of the perfidy of McDougal and other agents of Mr. Astor. The Astorians were surprised one day, late in the autumn of 1812, by the appearance of two canoes, bearing the British flag, and having between them a third canoe flying the American colors. These British canoes brought J. G. McTavish and Angus Bethune of the Northwest company, the vanguard to a flotilla of eight canoes loaded with furs under the conduct of John Stuart and McMillan. The American canoe bore a small party of Astorians, who had met the Northwesters near the Cascades, and on learning the news brought by them, had returned to the mouth of the Columbia.

McTavish delivered to McDougal a letter addressed to the latter by Angus Shaw, his uncle, one of the partners of the Northwest company, advising him that the ship Isaac Todd, bearing letters of marque, had sailed from London in March under convoy of the British frigate Phoebe, with orders from the government to seize the American establishment at Astoria, which had been misrepresented to the admiralty as an important colony founded by the government of the United States.

A little later the eight canoes came into the offing and the Northwesters, to the number of seventy-five men, went into camp on the beach near the Astor fort. Here was a hostile expedition, with confessed designs against the Astoria enterprise, but McDougal, Mr. Astor's agent on the ground, and bound by every obligation of fidelity and decency to guard his great trust, received it in friendship and even benevolence, for the Northwesters were destitute of provisions and were supplied from Mr. Astor's stores while awaiting the expected arrival of a British war ship.

The upshot of the negotiations that followed was the sale of the vast Astor interests to the rival institution at a price not exceeding one-third of its true value.

"It was thus," lamented Franchere, "that after having passed the seas and suffered all sorts of fatigues and privations, I lost in a moment all my hopes of fortune. I could not help remarking that we had no right to expect such treatment on the part of the British government, after the assurances we had received from Mr. Jackson, his majesty's charge d'affaires, previously to our departure from New York. But as I have just intimated, the agents of the Northwest company had exaggerated the importance of the factory in the eyes of the British ministry; for if the latter had known what it really was—a mere trading post—and that nothing but the rivalry of the fur traders of the Northwest company was interested in its destruction, they would never have taken umbrage at it, or at least would have never sent a maritime expedition to destroy it."

The frigate Phoebe failed to put in appearance, but in her stead the British sloop-of-war Raccoon arrived on November 30. When first sighted, the Northwesters, now in possession of Astoria, were uncertain as to her nationality, and a fear arose that she might bear American arms. They met this danger, though, with

a very different spirit and resolution from that which had been exhibited by McDougal when facing the possibility of an appearance of a British vessel. McDougal went down the bay in a small boat, under instructions to ascertain the nationality of the newcomer, and to represent himself either as an American or a British subject, according to the flag that she might be found to fly. Meanwhile the precious furs stored at the fort were hastily loaded into canoes and hurried up the river to a hiding place in the thickets of a little entering stream.

"From the account given in this chapter," says Franchere, "the reader will see with what facility the establishment of the Pacific Fur company could have escaped capture by the British force. It was only necessary to get rid of the land party of the Northwest company—who were completely in our power—then remove our effects up the river on some small stream and await the result. The sloop-of-war arrived, it is true; but as, in the case I suppose, she would have found nothing, she would have left after setting fire to our deserted houses. None of their boats would have dared follow us, even if the Indians had betrayed to them our lurking place. Those at the head of affairs had their own fortunes to seek, and thought it more for their interest, doubtless, to act as they did, but that will not clear them in the eyes of the world, and the charge of treason to Mr. Astor's interests will always be attached to their acts."

It seems improbable that the Indians would have betrayed the hiding place of the Astorians, if this expedient had been adopted. McDougal had taken as wife a daughter of Chief Concomly, and the aged one-eyed chieftain seems to have been unable to fathom the quick shiftiness of his son-in-law; for when the Raccoon appeared in the bay, Concomly quickly assembled his warriors, marched them into the presence of his son-in-law, and never doubting that McDougal was loyal to his trust, volunteered to aid him in battle against the invader. He proposed that he should station his warriors in the thickets on shore, and when the "King George men" attempted a landing he would open a hot fire on them from cover. When McDougal declined this hostile alliance, the old chief shook his head in sadness and disgust, and the assurances of his son-in-law, that the war vessel was bringing friends, was too much for the simple intellect of the old father-in-law.

When Captain Black, having brought the Raccoon to anchor in front of the establishment, saw the primitive appearance of the fort, he could scarcely believe his eyes. He had been led to believe that the Americans had built there a great and wealthy establishment, and all through the long voyage he and his fellow officers had indulged anticipations of the rich prize money that would come to them with the fall of Astoria. He inquired if there were not larger and more pretentious buildings somewhere in the vicinity, and when told that he had seen the entire establishment, cried out:

"Is this the fort about which I have heard so much talking? D—n me, but I'd batter it down in two hours with a four-pounder!"

And when he learned of the canny transaction by which the rich furs of the enemy had passed to a British subject, and his last expectation of prize money went vanishing into thin air, he grew furiously angry, and demanded the taking of an inventory of the property purchased of the Americans, "with a view to ulterior measures in England for the recovery of the value from the Northwest company."

OLD BLOCKHOUSE OF HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY ON MARCUS FLAT, STEVENS COUNTY, WASHINGTON

But as he cooled off the ludicrousness of the affair evidently dawned on his sense of humor, for the "ulterior measures" were never taken.

Less than $40,000 was allowed by the Northwest company for furs worth in excess of $100,000, and goods and merchandise intended for the Indian trade were taken over at less than a third of their true value. The following estimate was made of the furs on hand and the prices paid for them compared with their real value:

17,705 lbs. beaver parchment, valued at.	$ 2.00	worth	$ 5.00
465 old coat beaver, valued at.....	1.66	worth	3.50
907 land otter, valued at.....	.50	worth	5.00
68 sea otter, valued at.....	12.00	worth	$45 to 60.00
30 sea otter, valued at.....	5.00	worth	25.00

Nothing was allowed for 179 mink skins worth 50 cents each; twenty-two raccoons, worth 40 cents each; twenty-eight lynx, worth $2 each; eighteen fox, worth $1 each; one hundred and six fox, worth $1.50 each; seventy-one black bear, worth $4 each; and sixteen grizzly bear, worth $10 each.

But the deed was done, and could not be cured by repining or reproaches; and with Astoria also went Spokane House, Okanogan and the other trading posts of the Astor company. Captain Black of the sloop-of-war took possession of Astoria in the name of his Britannic Majesty, floated the British flag above it, and rechristened the place "Fort George." As this official act carried with it a claim to all the territory in possession of British subjects, Spokane passed under the British ensign, and continued British territory till, the war ended, by the treaty of Ghent the contracting powers agreed to restore the status ante-bellum, and surrendered each the territory it had acquired by conquest or occupation from the opposing power, when Astoria was theoretically returned to the United States, although the Northwest company remained there in undisputed possession for a number of years.

Let us now take up the sequel to Mr. Clarke's ill-advised hanging of the Indian thief at the mouth of the Palouse river.

A few months subsequent to this event, John Reed, a warm-hearted old Irishman, was sent with a party to trap beaver in the country around the upper reaches of Snake river, consisting of four Canadians, Giles Le Clerc, Francois Landry, Jean Baptiste Turcot, and Andre La Chappelle, and two half breed hunters, Pierre Dorion and Pierre Delaunay. Pierre Dorion was a son of that French Dorion who had accompanied Lewis and Clark across the continent. Dorion *père* had taken a Sioux wife, and the product of that alliance was a numerous progeny as wild and adventurous as the wild west had ever yielded. It is narrated that the Dorion family were participants in numerous drunken debauches, and that on one of these occasions, the son Pierre engaged in a rough and tumble fight on the cabin floor with his worthy parent, and in a drunken rage was just in the act of scalping the author of his being, when the elder Dorion cried out: "Oh, my son, my son. Don't do that. You are too *honorable* to take your father's scalp!" An appeal which Pierre could not resist.

When Wilson P. Hunt, who had been entrusted with the leadership in 1810 of Mr. Astor's overland expedition from Montreal to the Columbia, was strengthening his party at St. Louis, he employed Pierre Dorion as interpreter, and with Pierre on that frightful journey came his squaw and their two children. Mr. Hunt's party

took eleven months to traverse the vast expanse between northern Missouri and the mouth of the Columbia, suffered the loss of several members by drowning and destitution, and experienced hardships, dangers and sufferings far greater than those encountered by Lewis and Clark. But through them all the Dorions came unscathed, Madame Dorion, in fact increasing the party by one en route; and when Reed was dispatched on this detached hunting trip, along went Pierre and his heroic squaw.

Irving has treated the events that followed with a graphic pen:

"In the course of the autumn, Reed lost one man, Landry, by death. Another one, Pierre Delaunay, who was of a sullen, perverse disposition, left him in a moody fit, and was never heard of afterward. The number of his party was not, however, reduced by these losses, as three hunters, Robinson, Hoback and Rezner, had joined it.

"Reed now built a house on the Snake river for their winter quarters; which being completed, the party set about trapping. Rezner, Le Clerc and Pierre Dorion went about five days' journey from the wintering house, to a part of the country well stocked with beaver. Here they put up a hut and proceeded to trap with great success. While the men were out hunting, Pierre Dorion's wife remained at home to dress the skins and prepare the meals. She was thus employed one evening about the beginning of January, cooking the supper of the hunters, when she heard footsteps, and Le Clerc staggered, pale and bleeding, into the hut. He informed her that a party of savages had surprised them while at their traps, and had killed Rezner and her husband. He had barely strength left to give this information when he sank upon the ground.

"The poor woman saw that the only chance for life was instant flight. With great difficulty she caught two of the horses belonging to the party. Then collecting her clothes and a small quantity of beaver meat and dried salmon, she packed them upon one of the horses and helped the wounded man to mount upon it. On the other horse she mounted with her two children, and hurried away from this dangerous neighborhood, directing her flight to Mr. Reed's establishment. On the third day she descried a number of Indians on horseback proceeding in an easterly direction. She immediately dismounted with her children, and helped Le Clerc to dismount, and all concealed themselves. Fortunately they escaped the sharp eyes of the savages, but had to proceed with the utmost caution. That night they slept without fire or water; she managed to keep her children warm in her arms, but before morning poor Le Clerc died.

"With the dawn of day the resolute woman pursued her course, and on the fourth day reached the house of Mr. Reed. It was deserted, and all round were marks of blood and signs of a furious massacre. Not doubting that Mr. Reed and all his party had fallen victims, she turned in fresh horror from the spot. For two days she continued hurrying forward, ready to sink for want of food, but more solicitous about her children than herself. At length she reached a range of the Rocky mountains, near the upper part of the Walla Walla river. Here she chose a wild, lonely ravine as her place of winter refuge.

"She had fortunately a buffalo robe and three deerskins; of these, and of pine bark and cedar branches, she constructed a rude wigwam, which she pitched beside a mountain spring. Having no other food, she killed the two horses and smoked the flesh. The skins aided to cover her hut. Here she dragged out the winter with no other company than her two children. Toward the middle of March her provi-

sions were nearly exhausted. She therefore packed up the remainder, slung it on her back, and, with her helpless little ones, set out again on her wanderings. Crossing the ridge of mountains, she descended to the banks of the Walla Walla, and kept along them until she arrived where that river throws itself into the Columbia. She was hospitably received and entertained by the Walla Wallas, and had been nearly two weeks among them when two canoes passed."

These proved to contain a party from Astoria, ascending the Columbia to Fort Okanogan, the occupants of which were surprised by hearing a childish voice cry out in French:

"Arrêtez donc! arrêtez donc!" (Stop there, stop there!) It was one of Dorion's children, joyously hailing friends; and it is pleasing to add that the party generously rewarded the friendly Walla Wallas for their kind treatment of the brave widow and her children.

Although the supposition was never actually verified, it was believed by the Astorians that the Reed party were massacred by relatives of the Indian hanged at the mouth of the Palouse. It was known that they were greatly enraged by that high-handed act of vengeance, and friendly Indians had frequently warned the traders that the family and friends of the victim were threatening retaliation.

CHAPTER IV

ODD CHARACTERS AT SPOKANE HOUSE

INDIANS PASSIONATELY FOND OF TOBACCO—HALCYON DAYS FOR THE SPOKANES—A FIERY HIGHLAND SCOT—TAKING AN INDIAN WIFE—WAR NARROWLY AVERTED—FLATHEAD GIRLS SCORN WHITE SUITORS—OTHERS NOT SO FASTIDIOUS—GARDENS PLANTED ON THE SPOKANE—STRANGE INDIAN CHIEF NEAR LOON LAKE—REMARKABLE CAREER OF A FREE TRADER.

The pipe, with solemn interposing puff,
Makes half a sentence at a time enough.
The dozing sages drop the drowsy strain,
Then pause and puff—and speak, and pause again.

—*Cowper.*

AFFAIRS at Spokane House were little altered by the change of ownership, government and flag. The brigades came and the brigades went between the Spokane and the Columbia. The *voyageurs* tugged at the cordelle quite as hard as before, and the thieving Wishram Indians at the Cascades grew even more thievish, and attacked with growing audacity the various parties as they made the arduous portage. The officers and their men fared as before on dried salmon, horse meat, and in a pinch now and then, on stewed dog.

Occasionally supplies ran low at Spokane House, and the Indians watched longingly for the coming of the brigade with new stocks of tobacco and ammunition. On one occasion, these commodities were entirely lacking for two months, and when the supplies finally arrived there was great rejoicing of savage hearts. "The whole tribe assembled round the fort and viewed with joy the kegs of powder and the bales of tobacco as they were unloaded from the horses," says Cox. "A large circle was formed in the courtyard, into the center of which we entered, and having lit the friendly calumet, smoked a few rounds to celebrate the meeting. A quantity of tobacco was then presented to each man, and the chief delivered an oration."

"My heart is glad to see you," he said; "my heart is glad to see you. We were a long time very hungry for tobacco, and some of our young men said you would never come back. They were angry and said to me, 'The white men made us love tobacco almost as much as we love our children, and now we are starving for it. They brought us their wonderful guns, which we traded from them; we threw by our arrows as useless, because we knew they were not so strong to kill the deer as the guns; and now we are idle with our guns, as the white men have no fire-powder

or balls to give us, and we have broken our arrows and almost forgotten how to use them. The white men are very bad and have deceived us.' But I spoke to them and I said, 'You are fools; you have no patience. The white men's big canoes are a long time coming over the great lake that divides their country from ours. They told me on going away that they would come back, and I know they would not tell lies.'"

Turning, then, to the assembled Indians, he continued: "Did I not tell you that the white men would not tell lies? You are fools, great fools, and have no patience. Let us now show our joy at meeting our friends; and tomorrow let all our hunters go into the plains, and upon the hills, and kill birds and deer for the good white men."

The red hunters kept their promise, and for several weeks following the tables at Spokane House were plentifully supplied with grouse, wild geese and ducks.

These were halcyon times for the Spokanes. The fur traders had brought them many of the good things of civilization, and as yet few of its curses. By a compact, faithfully kept, between the rival establishments, intoxicants were withheld from these children of the forests and the plains; the white man had not yet appropriated their lands, nor driven the edible game from the country. They had brought more comfortable raiment, beautiful ornaments of glass and brass, knives, axes and hatchets, the luxury of tobacco and many good things to eat. A market had been made for the Indians' furs, and with the goods exchanged for these peltries, the Spokanes bought buffalo robes from the tribes to the east, and many horses from their neighbors, the Nez Perces. From comparative poverty they had been lifted into prosperity. Small wonder then, that they idolized these "good white men," and dwelt with them in love and friendship. And small wonder too, that in after years, when the old men recalled the happy, prosperous years before General Wright swept into their country with "hoof and with steel" and destroyed their great bands of horses and burned their granaries and storehouses, "the tears ran down their cheeks like rain."

One of the odd characters at Spokane House was McDonald, a tall, red-headed Scot from the Highlands. Until a youth he had heard no other tongue than Gaelic, but the educational advantages of Glasgow had given him, at one time, a pretty good knowledge of pure English. Then he drifted across the water to Canada, and added French to his vocabulary. Years of experience on the frontier had taught him several Indian dialects, and now at Spokane House he had fallen into a habit of mixing his thoughts "in a most strange and ludicrous *melange*." When angry he would swear in half a dozen tongues at once. His great height of six feet four, broad shoulders, bushy whiskers, and long red locks that had not felt the scissors for years, gave him a wild and uncouth appearance, though he was at heart good-natured and inoffensive, easily thrown into a passion and as easily mollified. He had acquired a Spokane wife and two children, and passed most of his time among his wife's relatives, by whom and by the Indians generally he was respected and beloved.

One day, just as the men were sitting down to dinner, a workman, followed by a native, burst into the dining room and urged the company to hasten to the village and prevent bloodshed, as McDonald was about to fight a duel with one of the chiefs. They ran to the Indian encampment, where McDonald was found, shifting

a shotgun from one hand to the other, while he urged the chief to come on and fight.

"You rascal, you dog, you toad!" he shouted; "will you fight?"

"I will," the chief replied in temperate tones, "but you're a foolish man. A chief should not be passionate. I always thought the white chiefs were men."

"I want none of your jaw. I say you cheated me. You're a dog! Will you fight?"

"You are not wise," answered the chief. "You get angry like a woman; but I will fight. Let us go to the woods. Are you ready?"

"Why, you d—d rascal," retorted McDonald, "what do you mean? I'll fight you here. Take your distance like a brave man, face to face, and we'll draw lots for the first shot, or fire together, whichever you please."

"You are a greater fool than I thought you were," remarked the placid Indian; "whoever heard of a wise warrior standing before his enemy's gun to be shot at like a dog. No one but a fool of a white man would do that."

"What do you mean?" asked McDonald; "what way do you want to fight?"

"The way that all red warriors fight: Let us take our guns and go into the woods; you get behind one tree, and I will stand behind another, and then we shall see who will shoot the other first."

"You are afraid, and you are a coward."

"I'm not afraid, and you are a fool."

"Come on then; d—n my eyes if I care! Here's at you your own way."

They were starting for the trees when the men interfered, had the combatants disarmed, and induced the wild Scot to return to the fort.

For sheer love of fighting McDonald occasionally joined the Flatheads in their warlike excursions into the country of the Blackfeet, on the eastern slopes of the Rocky mountains. The following anecdote, which was related to Cox, by several Indians, will show his steady courage and reckless disregard of danger:

In the summer of 1812, at the buffalo plains, they fell in with a strong party of Blackfeet, and a severe contest followed. McDonald was to be seen in every direction, in the hottest of the fire, cheering and animating his friends; and they at length succeeded in driving the Blackfeet to take shelter in a thick cluster of trees, from whence they kept up a constant and galling fire on the Flatheads, by which a few were killed and several wounded. In vain he exerted all his influence to induce his friends to storm the trees and drive the enemy from his cover. The Flathead mode of attack was extremely foolish, and productive of no benefit; for each warrior advanced opposite the spot from which the Blackfeet fired, and after exchanging a random shot into the trees, instantly galloped away.

McDonald, vexed at this puerile method of fighting, offered to take the lead himself to dislodge the enemy; but, with the exception of the war chief, they all refused to join him. He therefore resolved to try the effect of example, and putting his horse into a smart trot, rode opposite the place from whence the chief fire of the Blackfeet proceeded. He then dismounted, took deliberate aim at the head of a fellow which had just popped from behind a tree, and fired. The bullet entered the Blackfoot's mouth and he fell. A shower of balls instantly whizzed about McDonald and his horse; but he, undismayed, reloaded, while his friends besought him to retire. He covered another in the same manner, who also fell, after which he calmly remounted and galloped to his party uninjured. A prisoner who was subsequently

taken said that the only two killed who had taken refuge among the trees, were both shot in the head by the "big white chief," as they termed McDonald.

A few years later McDonald suffered wounds in one of these forays against the Blackfeet from which he never quite recovered. A bullet brought him down, when half a dozen savages rushed upon him and began hacking his skull with their tomahawks. The scalping-knife was out, and poor McDonald would soon have been dispatched had not the war chief and several others of the Flatheads rushed to his relief, and, after killing three of the Blackfeet, rescued their courageous ally.

In the winter of 1814-15 occurred an incident which threatened, for a while, to impair the friendly relations between the traders and the Spokanes. One of the junior clerks, grown weary of the single state, resolved to seek an Indian wife, and engaged the interpreter to make inquiries in the village regarding the eligible list of unmarried women. A comely damsel, 17 years of age, listened approvingly to the interpreter's overtures, and the negotiations were successfully taken up with her mother and brothers, her father having died a few years previously. Blankets and kettles were presented to her principal relatives, and beads, hawkbells and other trifles dear to the Indian heart were distributed among the other members of the community.

Then followed the delivery of the bride to her future lord and master of the paleface race. Her mother brought her to the gate of the fort about 9 o'clock in the evening, and after an apathetic and matter-of-fact parting, the young damsel was delivered to one of the men's wives, called "the scourer," who thoroughly cleansed her head and body of the paint and grease with which she had been decorated according to the savage idea of personal adornment. After these ablutions, she was passed along to the dressmaker, who cast aside her leathern chemise and decked her out in softer raiment of civilization. "And the following morning, when she appeared in her new habiliments," runs the chronicle, "we thought her one of the most engaging females that we had previously seen of the Spokane nation."

For several days everything went merry as a marriage bell, and the young couple seemed devotedly attached to each other; but one afternoon the occupants of the fort were alarmed by the sudden appearance of a number of well mounted young warriors, who galloped into the courtyard of the fort, armed and apparently bent on serious business. The young bride, when her eye fell on the foremost horseman, scented trouble and promptly fled for refuge into the storeroom, where she concealed herself.

Dismounting, the leader of the band demanded a council with the principal white chief, requesting, at the same time, that the other chiefs would also appear and listen to his complaint. These having assembled, he addressed them, in substance as follows:

"Three snows have passed away since the white men came from their own country to live among the Spokanes. When the Evil Spirit thought proper to distress the white people by covering the water of the rivers with ice, so that they could not catch any fish, and sent snow over all the mountains and plains, by means whereof their horses were nearly destroyed by wolves,—when their own hunters, in fact, could not find an animal, did the Spokanes take advantage of their afflictions? Did they rob them of their horses like Sinapoil (San Poil) dogs? Did they say, the white men are now poor and starving; they are a great distance from their own

GRAND COULEE IN THE BIG BEND COUNTRY

Sketched by artist with Governor Stevens

MARCUS WHITMAN'S GRAVE

Near Walla Walla

SITE OF THE ASTOR TRADING POST, ESTABLISHED IN 1811

OLD FORT WALLA WALLA

On the Columbia

OLD FORT OKANOGAN

Founded in 1811 by John Jacob Astor. Sketched in the '50s by Governor Stevens' Expedition

country and from any assistance, and we can easily take all their goods from them, and send them away naked and hungry? No, we never spoke or even thought of such bad things. The white men came among us with confidence, and our hearts were glad to see them; they paid us for our fish, our meat and our furs. We thought they were all good people, and in particular their chiefs; but I find we were wrong in so thinking."

Here the native orator paused for a moment, and then, resuming, added: "My relations and myself left the village several days ago for the purpose of hunting. We returned home this morning. Their wives and their children leaped with joy to meet them, and all their hearts were glad but mine. I went to my tepee and called on my wife to come forth; but she did not appear. I was sorrowful and hungry, and went into my brother's tepee, where I was told that she had gone away and had become the wife of a white chief. She is now in your house. I come, therefore, white men, to demand justice. I first require that my wife be delivered up to me. She has acted like a dog, and I shall live no more with her; but I shall punish her as she deserves. And in the next place I expect, as you have been the cause of my losing her, that you will give ample compensation for her loss."

The interpreter was directed to explain that the grievance of the injured husband lay against the relatives of the woman, and not against the white people; that if the young chief had been aware that she was married he would not have coveted her or taken her to his lodge; that he was willing to give her former lord reasonable compensation for his loss, but he could not deliver her to him to be punished, and would not surrender her unless the husband would agree not to hurt her.

The angry and jealous Indian refused to make any promise, and insisted on the woman's restitution, but as the traders had reason to fear that her life would be taken, they refused to yield.

The old chief next addressed the young Indian, and his persuasions induced him to relinquish his claim on the young squaw, in consideration of a gun, 100 rounds of ammunition, three blankets, two kettles, a spear, a dagger, ten fathoms of tobacco and a quantity of smaller articles. In return for all this wealth, he bound himself never to injure the girl or annoy her or her new husband.

Notwithstanding these demands were considered exorbitant, the traders thought it wise to accede to them rather than disturb the friendly relations which had hitherto existed between them and the Spokanes.

After the Indian had been put in possession of his reward, the pipe of peace was solemnly smoked, perceiving which the object of all the controversy, knowing that it signified her safety, came out from her place of concealment and walked boldly by her former lord. No sign of recognition passed between them, "and neither anger nor regret seemed to disturb the natural serenity of his cold and swarthy countenance."

The interpreter here mentioned was none other than Pierre Michel, son of a reputable Canadian by an Indian mother, and a fine fellow withal. He was held in high esteem by the Flatheads, and like the big, red-headed McDonald, had accompanied this tribe on two of their war excursions against the Blackfeet, where he had won great fame by his courage and marksmanship. Many a trader and *voyageur* had aspired to an alliance matrimonial with these superior natives, but in every instance, with the sole exception of young Michel, their overtures had been rejected. Cox,

who passed the greater part of one winter among the Flatheads, thus describes the success of the interpreter:

"Michel wanted a wife, and having gained the affections of a handsome girl about 16 years of age, and niece to the hereditary chieftain, he made a formal proposal for her. A council was thereupon called, at which her uncle presided, to take Michel's offer into consideration. One young warrior loved her ardently, and had obtained a previous promise from her mother that she should be his. He, therefore, with all his relations, strongly opposed her union with Pierre, and urged his own claims, which had been sanctioned by her mother. The war-chief asked him if she had ever promised to become his wife. He replied in the negative.

"The chief then addressed the council, and particularly the lover, in favor of Michel's suit, pointing out the great services he had rendered the tribe by his bravery, and dwelling strongly on the policy of uniting him more firmly to their interests by assenting to the proposed marriage, which, he said, would forever make him as one of their brothers. His influence predominated, and the unsuccessful rival immediately after shook hands with Michel, and told the young woman as he could not be her husband, he hoped she would always regard him as her brother. This she readily promised to do, and so ended all opposition.

"The happy Pierre presented a gun to her uncle, some cloth, calico and ornaments to her female relatives, with a pistol and handsome dagger to the defeated suitor. He proceeded in the evening to the chief's lodge, where a number of her friends had assembled to smoke. Here she received a lecture from the old man, her mother and a few other ancients on her duty as a wife and mother. They strongly exhorted her to be chaste, obedient, industrious and silent; and when absent with her husband among other tribes, always to stay at home and have no intercourse with strange Indians.

"She then retired with the old women to an adjoining hut, where she underwent an ablution, and bade adieu to her leathern chemise, the place of which was supplied with one of gingham, to which was added a calico and green cloth petticoat, and a gown of blue cloth.

"After this was over she was conducted back to her uncle's lodge, when she received some further advice as to her future conduct. A procession was then formed by the two chiefs, and several warriors carrying blazing flambeaux, to convey the bride and her husband to the fort. They began singing war-songs in praise of Michel's bravery, and of their triumphs over the Blackfeet. She was surrounded by a group of young and old women, some of whom were rejoicing and others crying. The men moved on first, in a slow, solemn pace, still chanting their warlike epithalamium. The women followed at a short distance; and when the whole party arrived in front of the fort, they formed a circle and commenced dancing and singing, which they kept up about twenty minutes.

"After this the calumet of peace went round once more, and when the smoke of the last whiff had disappeared, Michel shook hands with his late rival, embraced the chiefs, and conducted his bride to his room. While I remained in the country they lived happily together."

Other Indian women of the Spokane country were not so fastidious as the Flathead girls about taking up domestic relations with the white men. Many of them were eager for such an alliance, considering that it elevated them above their

sisters and assured them a life of less drudgery and slavish obedience to lord and master. Many a clerk, *voyageur* and even partner was pleased to take an Indian woman to his bosom, and a gay life of extravagance some of these Indian wives led, to the everlasting impoverishment of their white consorts.

The first attempt at cultivation of the soil at Spokane House was made in the spring of 1813, when turnips, potatoes, cabbage and other vegetables were planted and returned a good crop. The quantity was increased the following spring, and by the autumn of 1814 the post boasted of an abundance of the good things of the garden. That year, also, the brigade from Astoria brought up a cock, three hens, three goats and three hogs, to the great astonishment of the Indians, who called the poultry the white men's grouse, the goats the white men's deer, and the hogs the white men's bear. They inquired if all such animals were tame in the white men's country, and when answered in the affirmative, asked, if they should catch some wild animals in this country, could the white men domesticate them. They were told to make the effort, and the traders would see what could be done, whereupon they brought in a young bear, which was tied in the sty with the hogs and cared for by one of the Canadians, who taught him to dance, beg and play many tricks, much to the delight and entertainment of the Indians.

In their trading expeditions the men from Spokane House roved widely over the vast interior, and some of their expeditions took them to the Kettle Falls of the Columbia, about 90 miles north of Spokane. As the basin at the foot of the falls there resembled a boiling caldron, the French gave it the designation *"La Chaudiere,"* and the Indians living in a nearby village, *"Les Chaudieres."* It was remarked that "cleanliness could not be ranked among their virtues; their habitations are filthy in the extreme, and the surrounding atmosphere is impregnated with the most noxious effluvia, produced by the piscatory offals which lie scattered about their dwellings."

About midway between Kettle Falls and Spokane House was found a small tribe of some fifteen families, speaking a mixed dialect akin to both the Kettle Indians and the Spokanes, but more closely approaching the Spokane tongue. They were inoffensive and received the white men with marked demonstrations of friendship. The chief of this tribe was described as an extraordinary being, the Indians alleging that he belonged to the epicene gender. He wore a woman's dress, garnished with beads, thimbles and small shells, and dressed his hair after the feminine fashion, but possessed a rough beard and masculine voice. The visitors were informed that he never gambled or associated with either sex, and by both men and women was regarded with fear and awe, who looked upon him as a being supernatural. He was usually attended by two or three children, to whom he paid great attention, and it was their chief occupation to catch his horses, of which he possessed a great number, collect provisions, make fires and cook his meals. When these wards attained a suitable age, he gave them a portion, secured their marriage and dismissed them, after which he selected from the largest and poorest families the needed number of new recruits, the parents offering no opposition and apparently being glad to have them so well placed.

From this strange chief the visitors purchased a number of horses, and found him liberal and candid in his dealings. He entertained a profound scorn for falsehood, and if one of his wards was detected in a lie, the chief promptly dismissed him from his service, and under no consideration would he ever take back the delinquent.

This chief seldom visited Spokane House, but when called upon by the traders there, he exhibited a courteous hospitality which, they declared, was superior to anything they had ever met elsewhere.

"He was communicative and inquisitive and ridiculed the follies of the Indians in the most philosophical manner. Of these he inveighed principally against gambling, and their improvident thoughtlessness in neglecting to provide, during the summer and autumnal months, a sufficient quantity of dried salmon for the spring, which is the season of scarcity, by which neglect they have been frequently reduced to starvation. He had heard of McDonald's quarrel with the Indian, which he adduced as one of the bad effects of gambling and added, 'Had the Spokane been foolish enough to follow the foolish custom of your countrymen, it is probable one of you would have been killed about a foolish dispute arising out of a bad practice which every wise man should avoid.' "

This strange but wise personage inquired minutely about the laws and customs of the white people, their form of government, marriages and ideas of a future state, and approved most of them as they were explained to him; but he could not reconcile his judgment with the British law of primogeniture and the custom of dueling. The first he pronounced gross injustice, according there with the American idea, and as for the code, he thought no one but a man bereft of his sense would resort to a duel in settlement of real or fancied wrongs, an opinion which has since come to be generally shared by civilized nations.

This strange being was a person of unusual thrift and prevision. His lodge was completely covered with deerskins, and was quite waterproof; and the interior was neat and orderly, the floor spread over with clean mats. In one corner were stored his provisions, carefully preserved in leather and mat bags, and these he shared with a generous hand in periods of scarcity and destitution. "In fact he wanted nothing that could add to his happiness or comfort," remarked an observer, "and possessed a degree of calm contentment uncommon among savages, and which would put to the blush much of the philosophical wisdom of civilized man."

We are given to a belief that the Spokane country is a new land, whose history and development were not brought in touch with civilization until a generation ago; and while this conception is in a measure true, it nevertheless is equally true that a hundred years ago, men who had shared in ancient wars—in France, in Scotland, in Canada and the American colonies—were here in commerce and adventure, and looked out upon the valleys, the mountains and the waters that form our pleasing prospect of today.

Of these was Jacques Hoole, who, at the advanced age of 90, was still active as a "free trader" in the regions around Spokane House, and bartered here the furs taken by his skill, industry and prowess. He was a native of France, and when a youth served in the French army. He fought on the fatal field of Culloden, nearly 170 years ago, and was there wounded and taken prisoner. After an exchange of prisoners he was sent to Canada, was present when the noble Wolfe suffered his death wound on the plains of Abraham, and helped to carry the Marquis de Montcalm into Quebec after he had received his death wound.

Upon the conquest of Canada by the British, Jacques retired from the French army, married and took to farming; but on the breaking out of the war of the revolution, he left the plough and enlisted with the British arms, and from a wound

suffered at that period he carried in his old age a slight lameness that was perceptible in his long tramps by these western woods and waters.

After the revolution, troubles fell thick on the head of the old veteran. The patriot forces had destroyed his farm, his children were disobedient and his wife faithless, and he sought surcease from his sorrows in the wild life of a free trapper in the remote northwest. Even to the hour of his tragic death he retained much of the elasticity and all of the sprightly temperament of his youth and the characteristic volatility of the French. By the Canadians he was held in high respect, and their daily salutation of *"Bon jour, père,"* was always acknowledged by a bow and a responding *"Merci, merci, mon fils."* ("Good morning, father;" "Thanks, thanks, my son.")

While trapping beaver, in a wild and sequestered valley on the western slopes of the Rocky mountains, he was surprised and slain by a predatory band of Blackfeet. His body was found by some friendly Flatheads, close by a beaver-dam. They had fired a bullet through his head, and in accordance with their inhuman custom had torn the few remaining white hairs away with the scalp. His clothes were left upon him, but his horses, traps and arms had been appropriated by his slayers.

CHAPTER V

TRAVEL BETWEEN SPOKANE AND ASTORIA

NAVIGATING THE COLUMBIA A CENTURY AGO—FRENCH AND IROQUOIS VOYAGEURS—RANGING OVER THE VAST INTERIOR—MELONS AND CUCUMBERS GROWN AT SPOKANE—THE GRAND COULEE—INDIAN METHOD OF HUNTING DEER—HORSE-RACING IN SPOKANE VALLEY—DELIGHTFUL TIMES IN 1815—ICE-BOUND ON THE COLUMBIA—SHOCKING TRAGEDY ON THE UPPER RIVER—VICTIMS RESORT TO CANNIBALISM—NORTHWEST COMPANY ABSORBED BY ITS HUDSON'S BAY RIVAL.

IN TRANSPORTING supplies from Astoria to Spokane, or furs from this post to the lower Columbia, the brigades resorted in part to navigation and in part to pack-trains, the sharp and foaming descent of the Spokane river between the trading post and the Columbia making impossible the use of canoes and bateaux at this end of the voyage.

A more inspiring sight it would be difficult to imagine than the passing, on some bright day of summer, of one of these brigades as it was swept swiftly along by the mighty current of the Columbia. One of the larger canoes or bateaux would be manned by a crew of eight or even a dozen motley *voyageurs*. These, with the Astor company and the Northwesters, were usually French Canadians, half breeds or Iroquois Indians; but with the later coming of the Hudson's Bay company and its absorption of the Northwest, a number of Orkney island men were brought into the country. The positions which called for the greatest skill and dexterity were in bow and stern, and these men were known respectively as foreman and steersman; the others as middlemen.

The French Canadians were a joyous, kindly-hearted lot, and it was a particularly dark and depressing day when their spirits flagged or the rough music of their boat songs (the *chansons l'avirons*) were not heard rolling across the water and echoing back from cliff and mountain-side. When engaged in the hard service of working these brigades against wind and current, or portaging around the many obstructions in the stream, these *voyageurs* were most voracious eaters. Incredible statements are made of their gastronomic capacity; their daily allowance, it is said, was ten pounds of meat to the man, or eight pounds if the ration were free of bone. Allowance should be made, however, for the fact that they had neither bread nor vegetables, and for weeks at a time their sole subsistence was meat, soup and occasionally tea.

Some of the expeditions to the interior would proceed in mass to the post at the mouth of the Okanogan, and there break up into smaller expeditions to Spokane

House, to the Kettle falls of the Columbia, or perhaps even to the higher reaches of the Columbia bordering on the Arrow lakes; and once a year a brigade worked its way beyond the Arrow lakes to the Canoe river, and thence over the Rocky mountains to the headwaters of the Athabasca, down which stream they glided on their way to the great rendezvous of Fort William.

Occasionally a detachment would leave the main body at the confluence of the Columbia and the Snake, to ascend the latter stream to outposts in the Clearwater regions.

At other times the Spokane brigade would leave the Columbia forty miles above the mouth of the Snake, transferring the canoe lading to pack-train, and then march across the great plains to the Spokane. Reporting one of these expeditions, Cox leaves an interesting description of one of the deep coulees of the Big Bend country, obviously Moses or Grand.

"During this journey, which occupied five or six days, we did not meet a single native; and with the exception of a few stunted red cedar trees, and some juniper, birch and willow, the country was divested of wood. Early on the morning of the second day we entered a remarkable ravine, with high, bold and rocky sides, through which we rode upwards of twenty miles, when we were obliged to leave it in order to follow our direct course. The soil in this ravine is a fine, whitish colored clay, firm and hard. There is little vegetation except on the sides, where clusters of willow and choke-cherry are occasionally met with. While we rode through it we passed several small lakes, round the shores of which I picked up some very fine pebbles of the agate species, exceedingly hard and possessing great delicacy and variety of shading. The banks of the Columbia, from the falls up to Lewis river (the Snake) abound with pebbles of the same description; some of which I brought home and had cut. They take a beautiful polish, and in the opinion of lapidaries far exceed the carnelian in value.

"The following day we passed two warm springs, one of which was so hot that in a short time water in a saucepan might be easily boiled over it. They were both highly sulphuric, but we had not time, nor indeed were we prepared to analyze their properties.

"On leaving the canoes we expected to have reached Spokane on the third day; but in consequence of having no guide, joined to the difficulty of finding water, we took double the time on which we had calculated. Our provisions had failed, and we were about killing one of our jaded horses, when we came in sight of some lean deer, two of which we shot. This supply brought us to Spokane House, which place we reached on the 12th of May."

Stewart, McMillan, Cox, Mackenzie and Montour passed a most pleasant summer that year, 1815, at Spokane House. Their garden throve "like a green bay tree," and in addition to potatoes and other roots and esculents, experiments with melons and cucumbers gave gratifying results. "The Indians, who at first would not touch any thing which we planted, began at length to have such a relish for the produce of the garden that we were obliged to have sentinels on the watch to prevent their continual trespasses."

Much as the natives relished these products of the deep, rich soil of the Spokane country, all efforts by the traders to induce them to cultivate gardens of their own proved ineffective. When they were told that by these means they could insure

an abundance of food in winter and spring and thus prevent the recurrence of famine, they replied that such work would interfere with their hunting and fishing, and moreover would discourage their squaws from collecting wild roots and fruits in autumn, and render them lazy.

Several excursions were made that summer for the purpose of becoming better acquainted with the neighboring Indians and to acquire a closer knowledge of the country; and, spurred by a lively curiosity to know more about the deep coulee, which they had encountered while traveling across the Big Bend region, a second trip of exploration was made out to that vast fissure in the crust of the earth.

"It is computed to be about eighty miles in length," runs the report of that excursion, "and presents all along the same rocky and precipitous sides. The pathways are so steep and dangerous that even Indians in passing them are obliged to dismount, and loaded horses must be partly lightened. Some of the horses, by missing their footing, have been killed, and many severely injured in descending these precipices. The bottom throughout consists of the same firm, white soil, interspersed with small lakes. Several bold insulated rocks are scattered here and there throughout the ravine, some of which exceed a quarter of a mile in circumference and are partially clothed with choke-cherry and other inferior kinds of vegetation.

"From small horizontal channels worn on the sides of the rocks, and which seemed to indicate the action of water, we were led to imagine that this valley was formerly one of the channels of the Columbia, the course of which we supposed must have been changed by one of those extraordinary convulsions in the natural world, the causes of which are beyond human knowledge."

At that time on the broad plateau between the Spokane and the Okanogan, hunters found, at certain seasons, numbers of small deer. Lewis and Clark had noted the presence of these animals and classed them as antelopes, which they closely resembled in form and swiftness, but the fur traders questioned the correctness of this classification, since the antlers were quite different from the horns of the antelope as described by naturalists. They were found in prime condition by early autumn, when excellent sport was had in hunting them, and their flesh was pronounced sweet and delicate.

In hunting these deer the Indians had a method of their own. After a herd had been located, some members of the hunting party, by making a long detour, obtained a position in front of it, while those in the rear fired the dry bunch grass. Running before the flaming wind, the deer were intercepted by the hunters, and great numbers were killed with arrows.

The wolves, too, according to the traders, had a concerted plan for preying on these defenseless creatures of the plains. It was declared that a band of wolves would form a semi-circular line and drive a herd to the edge of the Grand coulee; and then, by drawing in their fang-snapping cordon, would so completely hem in the victims as to leave them no alternative between leaping to death and destruction over the rocky cliffs or falling an easy prey to the ravenous band of four-footed hunters.

That was a warm summer on the Spokane. During the days of mid-summer the temperature ranged from eighty-four to ninety-six degrees, and on the fifth of July, when a great horse-race was the attraction, the thermometer recorded 111 in the shade.

Horse-racing was then royal sport on the Spokane gravel plains, before baseball had been invented or league teams were disporting before thousands of enthusiastic "fans."

The precise location of the race-course is lost in the mists of antiquity, but it could not have been far from the present site of the city. Ross Cox locates it "on the plains between the Coeur d'Alene and Spokane lands," and in addition to speedy horses owned by these tribes other racers were there from the land of the Flatheads, and several had been brought down from the Colville country by the Chaudieres. "There were some capital heats and the betting ran high." The horses were ridden by their owners, and it was no uncommon sight for twenty-five or thirty to run in a straightaway five mile heat. "The course was a perfect plain, with a light gravelly bottom, and some of the rearward jockies were occasionally severely peppered in the face from the small pebbles thrown up by the hoofs of the racers in front."

Franchere informs us that these Indians were passionately fond of horse-races, and bet their possessions with a recklessness that often reduced them to poverty. The women rode as well as the men. For bridle they used a cord of horsehair, which they attached around the animal's mouth. With that he was easily checked, and by laying a hand on his neck, was made to wheel to this side or that. The saddle was a cushion of stuffed deerskin, very suitable for the purpose for which it was designed, rarely hurting the horse and not fatiguing the rider so much as the American saddles. The saddles for women were furnished with the antlers of a deer, and resembled the high pommeled saddles of the Mexican women.

"They procure their horses from the herds of these animals which are found in a wild state between the northern latitudes and the gulf of Mexico, and which some times count a thousand or fifteen hundred in a troop," says this informant. "These horses come from New Mexico and are of Spanish race. We even saw some which had been marked by a hot iron by Spaniards. Some of our men, who had been at the south, told me that they had seen among the Indians, bridles, the bits of which were of silver. The form of the saddles used by the females proves that they have taken their pattern from the Spanish ones destined for the same use."

When the first white men entered this country they found the Indians adept in the use of the lasso and the capturing of wild horses.

Those were, indeed, pleasant, languorous summer days in the valley of the Spokane, "the most pleasant and agreeable season I enjoyed in the Indian country," writes Cox. "Hunting, fishing, fowling, horse-racing and fruit-gathering occupied the day; while reading, music, backgammon, etc., formed the evening pleasures of our small but friendly mess."

We are further informed that the heat of the day was generally moderated by cooling breezes. "Towards the latter end of August, and during the month of September, about noon, the thermometer generally stood at eighty-six, while in the morning and evening it fell to thirty-five or thirty-six;" a weather record that might easily be duplicated now by one of the official reports of Weather Observer Stewart.

Lamentably these transitory delights could not continue indefinitely in the rough life of a fur trader. Winter was approaching, a winter of deep discontent and dire hardships and privations by frozen river and wind-swept plain.

The Spokane brigade was late that autumn (1815) in its descent of the Colum-

STEPTOE BUTTE

Most famous land mark in Palouse country. Formerly called Pyramid Butte

bia to Fort George, as Astoria had now come to be known, and November was well advanced when Keith, Montour, Mackenzie and Cox, with fifty *voyageurs* and Rivet, the interpreter, started on the return trip to the interior. Winter set in early, and at the mouth of the Snake much drift ice was encountered which threatened injury or destruction to the cedar bateaux and such of the canoes as were constructed of birch bark. Ice jams were soon met, and the work of portaging around them, in the severe temperature, exhausted the men. For three days they struggled at this dreadful toil, the spirits of the men falling to the lowest ebb.

After a cheerless breakfast a delegation presented itself before the tent occupied by the clerks and sent in word that they wished to speak to Mr. Keith, the commander, and when he appeared at the tent opening, Bazil Lucie, one of the best and most obedient men in the brigade respectfully asked leave to speak for his fellows. His comrades, he said, were reduced to the lowest degree of weakness by the unexpected hardships they had encountered, and had become convinced that they could not by any possibility overcome the long chain of rapids and ice jams that lay before them. At the same time they wished it to be understood that their protest was not expressed in a mutinous spirit; they were willing and ready to make the last effort that lay within their strength, but felt themselves incapable of further endeavor.

Mr. Keith's first feeling was of anger and indignation. The protest was so at variance with the customary spirit of Canadian *voyageurs* that he feared, for a moment, that he would have to deal with a dangerous degree of insubordination; but when he looked upon the dejected figures of his men, and read in their faithful eyes the sorrow which attended their reluctant remonstrance, he realized that his momentary anger was unworthy of a being of humane principles, and addressed them in a sympathetic spirit, assuring them that he did not find fault with their action and regretted that he could not provide them with a more comfortable wintering ground.

For it had become apparent that the brigade would be unable to ascend the Columbia to Okanogan, but would have to go into winter quarters on the bleak and wind-swept bank of the river and await the coming of spring and the breaking up of the ice blockade which now held them in its unrelenting grip.

Fortunately an abundance of driftwood was near at hand, and of this some of the men were set at work gathering a large store, while others were occupied in piling the trading goods in a safe position; and yet others, with the assistance of the canoes, tarpaulins and sails, constructed beds and shelter for the expedition.

This winter encampment was probably in the vicinity of Badger mountain, Douglas county, for the records state that about ten miles distant, in the midst of extensive plains there rose a high and conically shaped hill, which the traders named Mt. Nelson, and which, on having been climbed by Keith and one of the clerks, afforded a commanding viewpoint from which they looked out over "a widely extended prospect of the great plains in their wintry clothing; their undulations reminded us of the ocean, when the troubled waves begin to subside after a storm." Vainly they strained their eyes to catch a glimpse of animate nature. "Neither man, nor fowl, nor cattle, nor beasts, nor creeping thing met our longing and expectant gaze. Silent desolation reigned all around."

We may readily believe that the time passed heavily enough. "Our traveling library," writes Cox, "was on too small a scale to afford much intellectual enjoy-

ment. It only consisted of one book of hymns, two song-books, the latest edition of Joe Miller, and Darwin's Botanic Garden. The Canadians could not join us in the hymns, and we endeavored in vain to tune our pipes for profane harmony. 'Yankee Doodle,' the 'Frog's Courtship' and the 'Poker' were the only three that came within the scope of our vocal ability."

A few men who had been sent afoot to Fort Okanogan returned early in January with sixteen lean and hungry cayuses and eight of these, after a few days' rest, were loaded with a part of the goods and supplies, and Mr. Keith, taking with him the greater number of the men, set off for the post at the mouth of the Okanogan.

"Mackenzie and I passed six more melancholy weeks in this spot," says Cox, "during which period we did not see an Indian. Our time would have passed heavily enough, only that we fortunately agreed on no single subject. Episcopacy and Presbyterianism, with all their offshoots formed a prolific source of polemic recreation; and when we became tired of the mitre and the kirk, we traveled back to Ossian and the Culdees. We argued on the immutability of the Magellanic clouds. We discussed the respective merits of every writer to whom the authorship of Junius has been attributed. We differed on the best mode of cooking a leg of mutton; and we could not agree as to the superiority of a haggis over a harico, or of Ferintosh over Inishowen. Plum pudding and rice each had its champion; and when he rose in all his strength and thought to destroy me with the plentiful variety of a Scotch breakfast, I at once floored him with the solid substantiality of an English dinner. Thus with empty stomachs and half-famished bodies, we argued on luxuries while we anticipated starvation.

"Poor Mackenzie," adds Cox in a footnote. "In 1828 I received a letter from the Columbia announcing the melancholy intelligence that he and four of his men had, the preceding year, been surprised by the savages on Fraser's river, who barbarously murdered the entire party."

But spring came early and released the party from the ice-grip, for about the middle of February, under the genial influence of a strong Chinook wind, the Columbia opened, and on the 16th they tried once more their fortunes by water, and after many narrow escapes arrived at Okanogan twelve days later, "with empty stomachs and exhausted bodies."

Neither Franchere nor Ross seems to have foreseen the building of a town, much less an imperial city, by the falls of the Spokane. The latter had his eye on the mouth of the Okanogan as the site of the future commercial depot of the vast interior. The situation there he thought "admirably adapted for a trading town. With a fertile soil, a healthy climate, horses in abundance for land carriage, an opening to the sea by the Columbia, and a communication to the interior by it and the Okanogan; the rivers well stocked with fish, and the natives quiet and friendly, it will, in my opinion, be selected as a spot preeminently calculated for a site of a town, when civilization (which is at present so rapidly migrating towards the westward) crosses the Rocky mountains and reaches the Columbia."

But "man proposes and God disposes" and the traders of a hundred years ago, however keen-sighted and far visioned, could not foresee the revolution that was to come with the locomotive and the building of a vast and intricate system of railroads, whose masters were to wrest the growing tonnage of the future from the rivers and

the seas and contribute to the building of cities by sites that could not be approached by the light canoe and the cedar bateau of the daring *voyageur.*

The brigade that came up from Fort George, spring of 1817, was the largest that had ever ascended the Columbia. It left that post under a salute of seven guns, and comprised five Scots, two Englishmen, one Irishman, thirty-six Canadians, twenty Iroquois Indians, two Nipissings, one Cree and three half-breeds; nine natives of the Sandwich islands, and one boy, a servant, two women and two children. Two barges and nine large canoes were required for the transportation of this party and the average lading to each boat was nearly a ton exclusive of the weight of passengers and crews.

This expedition, on its way to Fort William, on lake Superior, arrived at the mouth of Canoe river, north of the Arrow lakes on the upper Columbia, without notable accident or incident. At that point, as seven of the men had become invalided, it was decided to return them to Spokane House rather than subject them to the hardships and dangers of the long voyage over the mountains and the vast plains of western Canada. Out of this action there was to develop one of the most horrible tragedies of which western annals contain a record.

The best canoe was assigned the party of six Canadians and Holmes, the English tailor, and although only two of the men were able to work, it was thought that the current would carry them in three days to Kettle Falls, from whence they could easily reach Spokane. As the stock of provisions was limited, barely sufficient was assigned them for this period. They separated from their companions with gloomy forebodings, and some of them predicted that they would nevermore see their families and friends in distant Canada.

The current of the Columbia, now swollen by melting snow fields, carried them in ease and safety to the upper Dalles or narrows. Here they disembarked, but in an effort to lower the canoe through the foaming waters, the line broke or was torn from the grasp of the weakened men, and the little craft swept away to destruction. As they had lacked either the providence or the strength to remove their scanty supply of provisions, these together with their blankets and most of their clothing, were carried away with the canoe, leaving them stranded on a wild and inhospitable shore, ill, destitute and discouraged.

As no other course lay before them, they set out feebly on foot in an endeavor to follow the windings of the river to the Indian settlements far below. As the beaches were inundated, they had frequently to take to the wooded mountains, tearing their way along through the dense undergrowth, falling now and then from weariness or complete exhaustion, and one by one abandoning hope and yielding to the blackness of despair. Macon, a *voyageur,* was first to perish under these ordeals, and his famished and desperate comrades, driven now to the horrors of cannibalism, divided his remains equally among them, and this shocking subsistence maintained life for a few days. Owing to the torn and swollen state of their feet, they could not advance more than two or three miles daily. Holmes, the tailor, followed Maçon; and one by one the others lay down and died until there remained only La Pierre and Dubois. Later La Pierre was found on the shore of upper Arrow lake, by some Indians in a canoe, and by them was brought down the river to Kettle Falls. The sole survivor declared that in self-defense he had been driven to cut the throat of Dubois, who, as he contended, had risen in the night and first attempted to kill

him with a clasp-knife. He was brought to Spokane, where his conflicting stories created suspicion, which was later intensified by the statements made by the Indians who had picked him up, and he was subsequently sent to Canada for trial; but as the evidence against him was circumstantial, he was acquitted.

We have traced the manner and the methods whereby the interests of the Pacific Fur company (the Astor enterprise) were appropriated, through treachery and cowardice, by the Northwest company. It now remains to narrate the events which later led up to the acquisition of the Northwest company by the Hudson's Bay people.

At no time within the period covered by these narratives had the Hudson's Bay company obtained a foothold west of the Rocky mountains; but in the country east of the mountains the keenest and most unscrupulous rivalry had arisen between these conflicting adventurers. Under-handed methods were later succeeded by open warfare—the taking of forts by armed attack, the besieging of others until their inmates perished of starvation, and other equally lawless and desperate methods. The spirit of that contest is well reflected in a letter, written in 1816 from a Northwest trader to a friend at Spokane:

"You already know the strong opposition that came into the country, the greatest part of which went to Athabasca and Slave lake. You must also have heard of their success at the former place, having been obliged from starvation to give themselves up to the Northwest, although your old friend (our Mr. Clarke of Spoane House, who had gone over to the Hudson's Bay people), swore he would rather die than come under any obligation to our people. He lost seventeen men by famine. At Slave lake they were more successful; but at the different establishments they had in other parts of the country, they lost thirteen more by starvation. Last June they received a mortal blow from the Cossacks of Red river (half-breeds), of which affair, as I was on the spot a few days later, I shall give you a detail. You of course know that two of our forts were taken, and all the property, and that Captain Cameron (a proprietor of the Northwest company) was made prisoner. The forts were subsequently burned.

"Mr. A. McDonnell, who was stationed at Qu'appelle river, held his fort in defiance of them. He was threatened with destruction if he made any attempt to pass downward. His opponent, however, started with his men, and returns of furs and provisions, but those blackguard Brules (also half-breeds) fell in with them, took them all prisoners, and carried the property to Mr. McDonnell. No blood was shed on this occasion. Some time after, Mr. McDonnell, being anxious for the arrival of the gentlemen from the northward, sent a party of five Canadians with two carts loaded with provisions for us by land; and the above blackguards took upon themselves to accompany them to the number of fifty. On passing by the colony, at the distance of two miles, they were stopped by the governor and twenty-six men well armed. The Brules were at that time but thirteen, including the Canadians. A few words arose between the governor and our men. The former ordered his men to fire, when two only, with much reluctance, obeyed. The fire was immediately returned by the Brules, when seven instantly fell. A retreat was begun by the Hudson's Bay people, but out of twenty-six only four escaped. The Brules had only one man killed and one wounded. They took the fort, with a great quantity of arms

and ammunition, and have sworn vengeance against every description of Hudson's Bay men."

This was bad business—a degree of frenzied enterprise which comported but poorly with the British boast about law and order; but it needs to be remembered that there existed then in western Canada no law or authority beyond the rule of the fur traders and the authority which they maintained by force of arms.

Such warfare was, of course expensive, and joined to the ruinous competition which had driven the rivals to a policy of bidding higher and higher for the produce of the traps, threatened, if indefinitely continued, to bankrupt one or the other, or possibly both of the contesting companies. Back in Montreal and London, where declining dividends impressed the stockholders with the reprehensible nature of the conflict, an agitation soon started in the interest of peace, and negotiations were entered into which culminated in the purchase by the Hudson's Bay people of all the interests of the Northwest company, including Spokane House and other posts in the interior and on the Columbia.

CHAPTER VI

AMUSING AND TRAGIC INCIDENTS

DANCING WITH SPOKANE NYMPHS—PETER SKENE OGDEN AND HIS INDIAN WIFE—FRENCH THE PREVAILING LANGUAGE OF THE COUNTRY—LOUIS LA LIBERTE'S WOUNDED PRIDE —THRILLING ADVENTURE WITH A GRIZZLY BEAR—ROUGH LIFE OF THE FREE TRADERS—KEEN COMPETITION—FORCED RIDE WITH A SUPPLY OF TOBACCO—SPOKANE WOMEN GREAT SLAVES—SHOCKING DOUBLE ACT OF REVENGE.

ROSS, who came out on the Tonquin in 1811, and made frequent trips to the interior, has recorded a graphic picture of Spokane House as it appeared a hundred years ago: "There all the wintering parties, with exception of the northern district, met. There they all fitted out; it was the great starting point. . . . At Spokane House there were handsome buildings; there was a ballroom even, and no females in the land so fair to look upon as the nymphs of Spokane; no damsels could dance so gracefully as they, none were so attractive. But Spokane House was not celebrated for fine women only; there were fine horses also. The race-ground was admired, and the pleasures of the chase often yielded to the pleasures of the race. Altogether Spokane House was a delightful place."

This breathes a spirit of badinage, but relatively, as rough conditions then went at this and other posts, it sketches a picture that is fairly true.

Among the notable traders who yielded to the blandishments of the Spokane ladies of that dim and distant day was Peter Skene Ogden, who took for wife a remarkable woman of that tribe. She bore him several children, and carried into a serene old age a reputation as a faithful and dutiful spouse and a kind and attentive mother. She followed the fortunes of her white master to the lower Columbia, and dwelt for many years at Fort Vancouver and Oregon City. She died, at the age of 86, at Lac La Hache, British Columbia. Ogden failed to ratify the alliance with a formal marriage, even when pressed to do so as he lay upon his couch of death. To the urgent solicitation of good old Dr. McLoughlin he made answer that if many years of public recognition of the relation and of his children did not constitute sufficient proof, no formal words of priest or magistrate could help the matter. Ogden left a valuable estate, and this irregularity invited a vigorous contest of his will by relatives in England, but the dispute was amicably compromised through the efforts of Sir George Simpson, the executor of the will.

Ogden, who came from an influential colonial family, revealed in his boyhood a daring and adventurous spirit which lured him, while yet a youth, into the western wilds. He had been for a while, in the service of John Jacob Astor as a

clerk, presumably at Montreal, but a little later, in 1811, he attached himself, at the age of 17, to the Northwest company, and operated for several years in the wild country to the east of the Rocky mountains. He came upon the Columbia in 1818, and two years later, by his zeal, courage and indefatigable industry, was made a partner in the Northwest company, and later became chief factor of the Hudson's Bay company. Ogden was a frequent sojourner at Spokane House, and was here at intervals till the post was abandonel to the elements and the use of the Indians of the neighborhood.

From a manuscript in the Spokane city library, "Spokane House; History of an Old Trading Post," I am permitted by the author, William S. Lewis of this city, to make the following extracts:

"After spending several days in looking for a suitable site, for his trading post, Clarke finally decided upon a beautiful point of land at the juncture of the Spokane and Little Spokane rivers. . . . The site selected was one of considerable beauty as well as commercial advantage. The Little Spokane, emerging from a narrow, heavily wooded valley, flows along parallel to the main river for a mile or so before joining it. To the east are high, bald granite hills; and to the west gravel benches rise, overgrown with bunch-grass and occasional pines. On the alluvial bottom, midway between the two rivers and a short distance from their juncture, the post known as Spokane House was established. . . .

"A stout stockade, twelve feet high, was erected; this was flanked with two square bastions, each armed with a light four-pounder of brass, and with loop-holes cut in the upper story for use of musketry. This defense proved unnecessary, as the local tribe of Indians was very honest and inoffensive, and the post gates were seldom closed at night. The only use the four-pounders were ever put to was that of making noise for local celebrations. Within the stockade thus built, to make the following extracts:

"The main trading building was an oblong structure, built of peeled logs of uniform size, the greater length extending north and south, and the sides facing the two rivers.

"The framework of the roof, doors and windows was of hewn timbers, carefully fitted and fastened with wooden pegs, in place of nails, and the roof was shingled with shakes cut from cedars growing along the banks of the Little Spokane.

"In the middle of this trading building, on each side, an opening seven feet high and eight feet wide was cut, forming a passage-way. Each side of this was built up breast high, as a counter, to protect the wares of the traders from the thieving propensities of the Indians. Indians desiring to trade could come into the building from either side, up to the log railing, behind which some of the clerks and men were always stationed in care of the merchandise.

"Annexed to the trading building was a room in which the furs were stored for transportation to Astoria.

"Clarke was an old and experienced Indian trader. As soon as his buildings were completed, he assembled the neighboring Indians, made several speeches, displayed his fine buildings and his wealth, and then gave a grand ball in honor of his men and the Indians—the first big social event in the history of our section. . . .

"By a separate agreement (at the time the Astor interests passed to the North-

west company) Spokane House and property was sold to the Canadians for a band of Indian horses, to be delivered the following spring.

"Under the management of the Northwest company, Spokane House was, for several years, an important trading center, though the post proved to be in a rather out of the way location, 150 miles from the better fur regions, furs being scarce in the immediate neighborhood, and the local Indians being but indolent hunters. Gradually, as the local fur-bearing animals were destroyed, the business became less and less lucrative, yet the post continued to be retained, largely as a matter of sentiment and personal comfort. It was the Mecca for all the fur traders; the climate was delightful, the Indians friendly; all the wintering parties of the district met at Spokane; all fitted out here—it was a great starting point. Trappers, after their months of solitary labor, were eager for the attractions of the post. The buildings were unusually handsome and commodious; the post even boasted of a ballroom, and the graceful native dancers were in great demand as partners. There were many fine horses about the place, and many a man wagered the earnings of a year upon the race-course. Deer were plentiful; trout and other fish filled the streams; and savory steaks of bunch-grass fed cayuses, a great delicacy at Spokane House, were famous throughout the Rocky mountains. . . .

"When, March 26, 1821, the Northwest company was absorbed by the Hudson's Bay company, Spokane House passed to the ownership of the latter. But the fur trade on the lower Columbia was now on the decline, and Spokane House was abandoned in 1825, and a new Hudson's Bay post established on the Columbia river, a short distance above Kettle Falls, called Fort Colville."

W. P. Winans, who went to Colville in July, 1861, where he lived until 1873, says, in a manuscript relative to the earliest settlements in that valley: "When the war of 1812 forced the Astor party to sell to the Northwest Fur company in 1813, they abandoned one of the posts at the mouth of the Little Spokane, and located it in the Colville valley, about 1816. When the Hudson's Bay company, in 1821, absorbed the Northwest Fur company, they built a stockaded fort at this trading post, on the south bank of the Columbia river, about a mile above Kettle Falls, and called it Fort Colville.

"When the writer visited, in 1870, the location of these posts on the Spokane and at the mouth of the Okanogan river, all that remained to indicate that once there had been buildings and people living there were the mounds made by fallen chimneys and the graves of the dead, although Fort Okanogan was occupied and maintained as a trading post for about fifty years, the last man in charge being a half-breed named Francis Desotel, who in 1862 abandoned it, moving the goods up to the Similkimeen river, about eighty miles north, and established a trading post there.

"Either William Frazier or Archibald MacDonald built Fort Colville and named it after the then London governor of the Hudson's Bay company. It was next to Vancouver in importance. Here the accounts or statements from all the posts in the Pacific northwest were made up for transmission, via the Columbia river to Boat Encampment, through Athabasca pass, via Jasper House and York factory on Hudson Bay, and thence by ship to England. It was maintained until 1870, when the Hudson's Bay company moved into British territory.

"The first time I visited Fort Colville was in August, 1861. Then there was a stockade enclosing it, about 250 feet square and twelve or fourteen feet high, in good repair, with square towers or bastions at opposite corners enclosing the houses. I saw it again in July, 1904. The stockade was gone, but some of the old storerooms and one of the bastions built in 1827, and the frame dwelling houses of the chief trader, built in 1863, were standing, the property being then owned by Donald McDonald, son of Angus McDonald, the chief trader, who claimed it as a homestead in 1870. During the thirteen years I resided in Colville valley, many times I enjoyed the society of Mr. Angus McDonald, the chief trader, who dispensed hospitality after the manner of the Scotch lairds of his ancestral home.

"I have an illustration in mind. A party of about fifteen of us concluded we would pay our respects to Mr. McDonald on New Year's day, 1864, and have a sleighride too. So we got a pair of bobsleds, with a big wagon box and four horses, and drove the fifteen miles to the Hudson's Bay company post. Mr. McDonald received us with courtly grace and abundant cheer. After the usual greetings, we spent a short time socially, and were about to return that afternoon, but he would have none of it. We must stay to dinner and spend the night with him. We consented, and the dinner was served, on what he called a 'field table,' in a large room twenty by thirty feet. Next to the walls on the floor were spread fur robes; the space left in the center was covered with white table cloths, and on this white field table, say ten by twenty feet, were placed the dishes with provisions. The thirty guests, which included our party and about as many more, being the principal farmers of the valley, assembled around this festal board, and, reclining on the robes, we leisurely partook of the bountiful supply before us, and listened to our host relate incidents of chase or exploration, or conflict and treaty with the natives of the Northwest. Thus we spent some hours, retiring about midnight to our beds.

"While he was entertaining us, at the same time there were assembled in other buildings of the fort, as their yearly custom was, the former employes of the company and their families, numbering over 100, who usually spent the holiday week with him, having the best time in their lives in feasting, social mirth, music and dancing.

"Angus McDonald came to this country in 1840, as a clerk for the Hudson's Bay company, was sent to Fort Hall, and was there with Captain Grant. Was married in 1843 to a daughter of a Nez Perce chief. Came to Colville and took charge of the post about 1850, and remained with the Hudson's Bay company as long as they maintained trading posts in United States territory. Some of his children having taken up their residence in the Flathead country, he moved to that section, living near them the last few years of life. He died February 1st, 1889, over 72 years of age."

There remain some odds and ends of anecdote and adventure, and a few fragments of historic incident, to round out the section of this volume that deals with the picturesque period of the fur-trader. Those were brave and daring times, a hundred years ago, when the British flag floated over the Inland Empire, and our first citizens were a medley aggregation of canny Scots and volatile French Canadians, of Iroquois and Spokanes, of half breeds and Sandwich islanders, with now and then a "mountain man," free trapper and half savage American from the Kentucky frontier.

French was the prevailing tongue, and traces of that language are stamped forever on the nomenclature of our mountains, lakes and rivers. They are written on our waters in such names as Pend d'Oreille (ear-ring), Coeur d'Alene (sharp-hearted), Palouse, (a grassy region), Nez Perces (pierced noses), and many others.

Some of the Scotch clans were so numerously represented in the Spokane country that the *voyageurs,* in order to escape confusion of names, resorted to distinctive nicknames. There were, for example, Mr. Mackenzie *le rouge* (the red), Mr. Mackenzie *le blanc* (the white), Mr. Mackenzie *le borgne* (the one-eyed), Mr. Mackenzie *le picoté* (the pock-marked); Mr. MacDonald *le grand* (the big), Mr. MacDonald *le prêtre* (the priest), Mr. MacDonald *le bras croche* (the crooked arm). Ross Cox narrates an amusing incident growing out of this custom; and since the leading character was probably the ancestor of the Liberty family whose name we have perpetuated in Liberty lake, the anecdote has a fitting place in a history of Spokane.

Mr. Shaw, one of the agents, had passed many years in the interior, and was by the *voyageurs* called Monsieur Le Chat (the cat). On quitting the Indian country he married a Canadian lady, by whom he had several children. Some years after this event, one of his old foremen, Louis La Liberté, went to Montreal to spend the winter. He had heard of his old *bourgeois'* marriage and was anxious to see him. Mr. Shaw was walking on the Champ de Mars with a couple of officers, when La Liberté spied him. He immediately ran up, and seizing him by both hands, exclaimed:

"Ah, mon cher Monsieur Le Chat, comment vous portez-vous?"

"Très bien, Louisson."

"Et comment se porte Madame La Chatte?"

"Bien, bien, Louisson, elle est très bien."

"Et tous les petits Chatons?"

("Ah, my dear Monsieur Cat, how do you do?" "Very well, Louison." "And how is Madame Cat?" "Well, well, Louisson, she is very well." "And all the little Kittens?")

By this time Mr. Shaw, a trifle embarrassed before his fine army friends, thought it advisable to check La Liberté's effusiveness and with a rather brusque reply turned away, leaving Louisson astonished and indignant over his cool reception.

La Liberté, adds Cox, was an extraordinary old man; he had several fine daughters by an Indian wife and became father-in-law to three proprietors. He was therefore proud of his connections, and feeling indignant at Mr. Shaw's supposed cavalier treatment, adopted an eccentric method of manifesting his resentment.

He ordered a coat to be made of fine green cloth, with silver buttons; a vest of crimson velvet, with carnelian buttons, braided sky-blue pantaloons, Hessian boots with gold tassels and silver heels; a hat, feathers and silk sash. And thus accoutered, with a long calumet in his right hand, and a splendidly ornamented smoking-bag in his left, he proceeded to the Champ de Mars during a regimental parade, and observing Mr. Shaw walking in company with some ladies and gentlemen, he vociferated:

"Ha, ha, Monsieur Le Chat, voyez ma veste! voilà les boutons! En avez-vous de même? Ha, ha, Monsieur Le Chat! regardez mes bottes; je suis ferré d'argent!

Je suis le beau-père de Monsieur McDinnill! Monsieur Mackenzie est mon gendre; et je me sacre de tous les Chats, et de toutes les Chattes!"

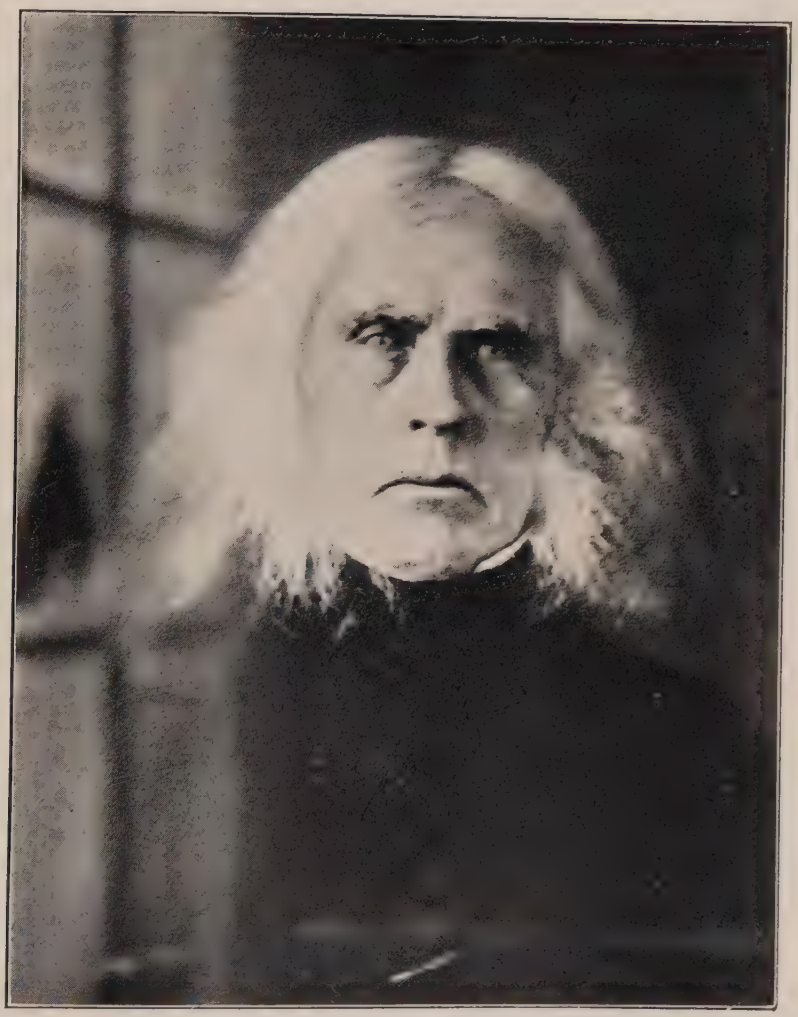
(Ha, ha, Monsieur Cat, see my vest! There are the buttons; have you any like them? Ha, ha, Monsieur Cat, see my boots! I am shod with silver. I am the father-in-law of Monsieur McDinnill; Monsieur Mackenzie is my son-in-law; and my curses on all the Cats, male and female!")

Some of his friends, who previous to his leaving home observed him drinking a quantity of rum, followed him to the parade ground, and with much difficulty at length succeeded in forcing him away, while the old man every now and then lifted up a leg, and challenged any Shaw or officer on the ground to show silver heels to his boots.

There is reason to believe, from the abundance of testimony which comes down to us from early days, that the bear, and particularly the grizzly, was far more formidable and ferocious a hundred years ago than at the present day. This belief is borne out by the journals of Lewis and Clark, always coldly scientific and judicial, as well as by the circumstantial narratives of hunters and trappers. The Indians looked upon the grizzly as a foe deeply to be dreaded, and no greater distinction could come to a warrior than that won by killing one of these monsters of the forests, a feat which entitled the hunter ever after to wear a necklace of the claws of the vanquished bear. In making this statement the author is aware that the conclusion might seem to run counter to the careful and undoubtedly correct opinions of Mr. W. H. Wright, the well known naturalist and author of Spokane, whose many years of first-hand study of the grizzly of the Pacific coast have won for him a place as supreme authority on the subject now under discussion. Reflection, however, makes it apparent that these seemingly contradictory statements of the nature of the grizzly bear are not necessarily incompatible. One may accept Mr. Wright's present day judgment and not have to reject the testimony of a hundred years ago.

Before the advent into this country of the whites, the Indians possessed no more formidable weapons than the bow, the spear and the club. Thus lightly armed, it is apparent that they would approach the grizzly with exceeding caution, and he in turn had learned by association that man was relatively a timid being, one easily overcome in a struggle at close quarters; and this gave him boldness and aggression. Naturally, when the first white men entered the country, the grizzly was ready to face them and to fight, and was slow to learn caution and fear of the inferior guns then in use. But with the country's settlement and the appearance of more deadly rifles, he has been taught a different lesson. He has learned that the white man can kill the bear, and kill at long range.

An adventure experienced in the spring of 1816 by a party of ten Canadians who had been sent from Spokane House on a trading excursion along the Pend d'Oreille river, was well attested by all the members at the time. The third evening after they had quitted the fort on the Spokane, while sitting around a campfire, dining on the choice bits of a deer, a half-famished bear sprang from behind a tree, clasped one of the startled *voyageurs* in his embrace, and ambled off with his terror-stricken burden a distance of some fifty yards. Here the Canadian was dropped, and a large bone of the deer from which he had been eating the meat was seized from his grip.



DR. JOHN McLOUGHLIN

Chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, at Vancouver, in the '40s

As soon as the startled campers had partly recovered from the alarm occasioned by this audacious act, Baptiste Le Blanc, a half-breed hunter, seized his gun and was about to fire when his arm was arrested by some of his companions who feared that a shot would kill their companion. Louisson, the kidnaped *voyagèur*, attempted to escape, now that the bear had dropped him and was picking at the bone, but the grizzly growled in anger and again seized him, this time in a more vise-like grip. Louisson screamed out in agony and exclaimed:

"Tire! Tire! mon cher frère, si tu m'aimes! Tire, pour l'amour du bon Dieu! A la tête! à la tête! (Shoot, shoot, my dear brother, if thou lovest me! Shoot, for the love of the good God! At the head, at the head!")

Le Blanc fired, and his well directed ball wounded the bear, which, in its rage scratched the face of Louisson, leaving marks that permanently marred his visage. At this juncture the men rushed in on the wounded bear and dispatched it with their long hunting knives.

Scattered through the Spokane country and other regions west of the Rocky mountains were a number of free traders. These, as a rule, had served out their time with the fur companies, and preferred to continue in the country rather than be returned east under the terms of their contract. They generally had Indian families, and some of them practiced polygamy. They brought their produce to the company stores, to exchange for goods, or, in some cases for a money credit at Montreal. "From their constant exposure to the sun," says one observer, "these men are as irretrievably bronzed as the native Indians, from whom, owing to their long separation from their countrymen, they differ but little, either in their habits or their mode of living."

Captain Bonneville, describing these vagrant wanderers of the wilderness, has said that "they come and go, when and where they please; provide their own arms, horses and other equipments; trap and trade on their own account, and dispose of their skins and peltries to the highest bidder. Sometimes, in a dangerous hunting ground, they attach themselves to the camp of some trader for protection. Here they come under some restrictions; they have to conform to the ordinary rules for trapping, and to submit to such restraints and to take part in such general duties as are established for the good order and safety of the camp. In return for this protection and their camp-keeping, they are bound to dispose of all the beaver they take to the trader who commands the camp, at a certain rate per skin; or, should they prefer seeking a market elsewhere, they are to make him an allowance of from thirty to forty dollars for the whole hunt."

Washington Irving, who gained access to the extended notes of Captain Bonneville, continues with the following free transcription:

"The wandering whites who mingle for any length of time with the savages have invariably a proneness to adopt savage habitudes; but none more so than the free trappers. It is a matter of vanity and ambition with them to discard everything that may bear the stamp of civilized life, and to adopt the manners, habits, dress, gestures, and even walk of the Indian. You can not pay a free trapper a greater compliment than to persuade him you have mistaken him for an Indian brave; and in truth, the counterfeit is complete. His hair, suffered to attain to a great length, is carefully combed out, and either left to fall carelessly over his shoulders, or plaited neatly and tied up in otterskins or parti-colored ribbons.

A hunting-shirt of ruffled calico of bright dyes, or of ornamented leather falls to his knee; below which curiously fashioned leggings, ornamented with strings, fringes and a profusion of hawkbells, reach to a costly pair of moccasins of the finest Indian fabric, richly embroidered with beads. A blanket, of scarlet or some other bright color, hangs from his shoulders, and is girt round his waist with a red sash, in which he bestows his pistols, knife, and the stem of his Indian pipe; preparations either for peace or war. His gun is lavishly decorated with brass tacks and vermilion, and provided with a fringed cover, occasionally of buckskin, ornamented here and there with a feather.

"His horse, the noble minister to the pride, pleasure and profit of the mountaineer is selected for his speed and spirit and prancing gait, and holds a place in his estimation second only to himself. He is caparisoned in the most dashing and fantastic style; the bridle and crupper are weightily embossed with beads and cockades; and head, mane and tail are interwoven with an abundance of eagle plumes which flutter in the wind. To complete this grotesque equipment, the proud animal is bestreaked and bespotted with vermilion, or with white clay, whichever presents the most glaring contrast to his real color."

The Spokanes, like all other Indians of the interior, were inordinately fond of tobacco, and to gratify their appetite would resort to industry when all other motives were powerless to lure them from their habits of indolence. No business, however trifling in importance, could be transacted until the negotiants had been indulged in an extended preliminary smoke.

A party would arrive at the fort with the produce of their traps, deposit it on the floor and gravely squat around the heap in a circle. Thereupon the trader would light his long peace pipe and go through a ceremonial performance, directing first his face to the east, giving a solemn puff in that quarter, and then repeating the performance with his face towards the other cardinal points of the compass. After a few short quick puffs, he would then pass the pipe to the chief, who would go through the same ritual, after which the calumet would be handed to the Indian next on his right, who would give a few whiffs and then pass it along. In this way the pipe would pass from hand to hand until the tobacco burned out, when the trader would present the party with a quantity of tobacco for individual smoking, which they would generally finish before taking up the business of barter, remarking that they had been "a long time very hungry for a smoke."

The smoking over, each man divided his skins into different lots, and made it known to the trader that he was ready for business, indicating his wants and that he was ready to trade each little pile for some particular article or articles. The business transacted, another smoking match followed preliminary to their departure for their village or encampment. The traders at Spokane House found them "shrewd, hard dealers, not a whit inferior to any native of Yorkshire, Scotland or Connaught in driving a bargain."

At times, before the Astor posts had passed to the control of the Northwesters, competition was as keen between these rivals as nowadays between competing commercial travelers from Spokane, Portland and Seattle. An incident in the spring of 1813 will illustrate both the Indian love of tobacco and the keen rivalry then existing between the Astorians and the Northwesters.

One forenoon, at 11 o'clock, Mr. Clarke at Spokane House received a letter by

courier from Mr. Farnham, who had been dispatched a few days previously with a party to trade with the Flatheads in the country to the east, informing him that he had fallen in with a large band of Flatheads who had a rich supply of furs, the produce of their winter's efforts; that his rival, Mr. McDonald, was also on the ground, but that both himself and McDonald were quite out of tobacco, and all business was at a standstill. Farnham added that the one who should get the first supply of tobacco would, by treating the Indians to a grand smoking feast, obtain their furs, and urged the utmost endeavor to expedite the sending of a supply. It was absolutely necessary, he said, that the tobacco be delivered to him that night, to prevent the Indians treating with McDonald, with whom they had had a longer acquaintance than with Farnham.

The rival traders were then at the falls of the Pend d'Oreille, near the present town of Newport, seventy-two miles distant from Spokane House, and Mr. Clarke at first despaired of victory, considering it impossible for any horse to cover that distance in the limited hours of daylight that remained. He was about giving up the contest as hopeless when one of his clerks volunteered to make the effort if Clarke would allow him to ride a noted horse of his own, called Le Bleu. The offer was accepted, the saddle thrown on Le Bleu, and at 12 o'clock the clerk galloped away from Spokane House to the encouragement of cheers from the men. His course lay, for much the greater part of the way, the length of the valley of the Spokane, and the trail being in excellent condition, no difficulty was encountered so long as there remained a glimmer of daylight, and the rider had open country before him. The last ten miles of the way lay in forest, and dusk descending, the rider was delayed by darkness and obstructions of underbrush and fallen trees; but persistence triumphed, and as he came out of the woods his eye was gladdened by the glare of campfires along the portage.

The thick twist was soon in the hands of Farnham, word quickly ran through the encampment that tobacco had arrived, and in an incredibly brief time clouds of smoke were floating above the heads of white trader and Indian warrior. The Flatheads thanked Mr. Farnham for his extraordinary efforts to indulge them, and promised that he should have all their furs; but to clinch the compact he suggested that they deposit their packages overnight in his tent, enjoy themselves meanwhile in unlimited free smoke, and take up the business of barter the following morning. This they readily accepted, and the Astorians got the last fur the day after, notwithstanding two of their rivals came in a few hours later with a quantity of tobacco, dispatched also from Spokane House as soon as the Northwesters there had scented the meaning of the hurried departure of their competitors. The Canadians were deeply chagrined by the success of the Americans and upbraided the Flatheads for having deserted them for strangers; but the latter philosophically replied that since the Astorians had been the first to gratify their hungry cravings for tobacco, it would have been ungrateful for them not to reciprocate; and as for such debts as were owing from them to the Canadians, they promised faithfully to cancel them in future dealings.

Le Bleu was described by an admirer at the time as "a noble animal, between fifteen and sixteen hands high, seven years of age, admirably built, and derived his name from his color, which was a dappled white and sky-blue. He was also a prime racer, and had beaten all competitors on the turf."

Cox credits the Spokanes as "an honest, friendly tribe," adding that "they are good hunters, but somewhat indolent, fond of gambling, despotic husbands, but indulgent fathers. Their women are great slaves, and most submissive to marital authority. They did not exhibit the same indifference to the superior comforts of a white man's wife as that displayed by the Flathead women, and some of them consequently became partners of the *voyageurs*. They made excellent wives, and in general conducted themselves with propriety. Although the Spokane men are extremely jealous, and punish with severity any infidelity on the part of their wives, they themselves are not overscrupulous in their own conduct."

In this connection the same authority narrates a tragic incident at Spokane House: "Slavish and submissive as the Spokane women are, they do not tamely submit to the occasional lapses of their husbands, an instance of which occurred in the summer of 1815, while I was at Spokane House. One of the tribe, named Singelsaascoghaght, (or the horse) from his great swiftness and dexterity in riding, was a tall and rather handsome Indian. He was remarkable for his gallantries. His wife had for some time suspected him of carrying on an intrigue, and being constantly on the watch, she soon discovered that her suspicions were not groundless. The very night of the discovery, while he was in a profound sleep, she inflicted on him a dreadful injury, of which he died before morning. On the intelligence becoming public, a crowd of his relations assembled around the lodge, to whom she openly avowed herself as the author of his death, stating at the same time her reasons for committing the dreadful act; but she had scarcely finished when an arrow from her husband's brother quivered in her heart. Her relations instantly collected. Guns, arrows and tomahawks were in instant requisition, and before we could arrive to check the bloody conflict, two men and two women had fallen victims. Our presence restored tranquility, and as the sufferers on each side were equally divided, we experienced no great difficulty in bringing about a reconciliation, and each party rested satisfied with its respective loss."

By the same writer the Pointed Hearts, or, as the Canadians called them, *Les Coeurs d'Alenes,* (Hearts of Awls) were described as a small tribe inhabiting the shores of a lake about fifty miles to the eastward of Spokane House. "Some of this tribe occasionally visited our fort with furs to barter, and we made a few excursions to their lands. We found them uniformly honest in their traffic, but they did not evince the same warmth of friendship for us as the Spokanes, and expressed no desire for the establishment of a trading post among them. They are in many respects more savage than their neighbors, and I have seen some of them often eat deer and other meat raw. They are also more unfeeling husbands, and frequently beat their wives in an unfeeling manner."

These two tribes had been at war about twenty years before the advent of the white traders, arising out of an incident of a Trojan nature, but at the period of these writings were at peace, and intermarried and appeared to be on terms of perfect friendship.

By both tribes the women were condemned to a life of great drudgery. They collected the firewood, carried the water, cooked the food, prepared the raiment, dressed the skins and gathered and dried the winter's store of roots and berries. When

a hunter killed a deer, he merely cut out the tongue or removed enough for a single meal, and on his return to the encampment dispatched his wife to carry in the body, she having for guidance in this task notches cut on trees by her hunter husband. The women, however, seemed quite contented in their subordinate position, notwithstanding its harships and their almost total lack of influence in tribal matters.

CHAPTER VII

EARLY DAY MISSIONS IN THE INLAND EMPIRE

CRUDE MISSION EFFORTS OF CATHOLIC IROQUOIS—EMBLEM OF THE CROSS ON THE COLUMBIA—INDIAN PILGRIMAGE TO ST. LOUIS—ARRIVAL OF REV. SAMUEL PARKER IN 1835—HIS TRAVELS IN THE SPOKANE COUNTRY—ARRIVAL OF WHITMAN AND SPALDING WITH THEIR BRIDES—OVERLAND JOURNEY OF EELLS AND WALKER WITH THEIR BRIDES—ADVENTURES ON THE PLAINS AND IN THE MOUNTAINS—ARRIVAL AT WHITMAN MISSION NEAR WALLA WALLA.

The groves were God's first temples. Ere man learn'd
To hew the shaft and lay the architrave,
And spread the roof above them,—ere he framed
The lofty vault, to gather and roll back
The sound of anthems; in the darkling wood,
Amid the cool and silence, he knelt down,
And offer'd to the Mightiest solemn thanks
And supplication.

—*William Cullen Bryant.*

WITH the earliest advent of the white man in this region, bringing with him arms, implements, food, attire and customs different from those of the natives; keen curiosity was created in the Indian mind regarding the source of his superior civilization and gifts. Some slight efforts were made by Captains Lewis and Clark to enlighten the savage intellect with respect to the Bible and Christianity, but the results were necessarily meager, both from the limitations of the aboriginal mind and an exceedingly imperfect knowledge of the Indian tongues. Native conception of the benefits of Christianity was chiefly if not wholly material rather than moral, and after these explorers had left the country, a belief arose in the minds of the more intelligent chiefs and head men that possession and knowledge of the white man's "book" would supply their people with the key to civilization and the mechanic arts.

A few years after the departure of Lewis and Clark, a number of Christianized Iroquois Indians, who had been attached to fur trading establishments in Canada, found their way over the Rocky mountains and fraternized with some of the tribes inhabiting the Inland Empire, notably the Flatheads and tribes along the Columbia. Zealous to spread the light of the gospel, these Catholic Iroquois attempted in a crude way to convert the tribes to Christianity. When David Stuart, a partner in John

Jacob Astor's Pacific Fur company, was ascending the Columbia in the spring of 1811 to establish a trading post at the mouth of the Okanogan, he observed that religious services or ceremonies were being conducted by one of these Iroquois missionaries, and from that circumstance named the cascades at that point "Priest Rapids," and Priest Rapids they remain to the present day.

Considerable results probably attended these missionizing efforts, for the Reverend Samuel Parker, sent out here by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1835 to explore the country and choose sites for Protestant missions, reported finding along the Columbia in eastern Washington, a number of Indian graves over which rudely constructed crosses had been lifted by pious hands. "The night of our arrival," says Parker, "a little girl, of about six or seven years of age, died. The morning of the 12th they buried her. Everything relating to the ceremony was conducted with great propriety. The grave was dug only about two feet deep; and with their hands they fill up the grave after the body is deposited in it. A mat is laid in the grave; then the body wrapped in its blanket, with the child's drinking cup and spoon, made of horn; then a mat of rushes is spread over the whole.

"In this instance they had prepared a cross to set up at the grave, most probably having been told to do so by some Iroquois Indians, a few of whom, not in the capacity of teachers, but as trappers in the employ of the fur companies, I saw west of the mountains."

Apparently unconscious of a spirit of bigotry, and unmindful that he was sewing dragon seeds of discord that would bring fruits of bitter controversy between Protestant and Catholic missions, Parker added:

"As I viewed a cross of wood made by men's hands of no avail to benefit either the dead or the living, and far more likely to operate as a salve to a guilty conscience, or a stepping stone to idolatry, than to be understood in its spiritual sense to refer to a crucifixion of our sins, I took this, which the Indians had prepared, and broke it to pieces. I then told them that we place a stone at the head and foot of the grave, only to mark the place; and without a murmur, they cheerfully acquiesced, and adopted our custom."

Twenty-six years after the return of Lewis and Clark, a delegation of five Nez Perces, two Spokanes and probably two or three Flatheads, moved by a longing to learn the ways of white civilization, and professing an earnest desire to acquire the great "book" of which these explorers had spoken, ventured across the Rocky mountains and down the Missouri river to St. Louis. There they found their old friend Captain Lewis, serving as Indian commissioner for the entire northwest, and to him made known their hearts' desire. Clark was a Catholic, and some of the Indians became converts to his faith, two of whom died there and received burial in consecrated ground. On their return journey these red searchers for the truth experienced severe hardships and perils, and several of them were either killed or enslaved by the warlike and predatory Sioux in the land of the Dakotahs. Only a remnant of the delegation survived to narrate to their own people the stirring story of their adventures and the wondrous sights that had unrolled before their astonished vision.

Accounts of this extraordinary pilgrimage found their way into eastern newspapers, and appealed to mission zeal, both Protestant and Catholic. Moved by this stirring incident, the mission authorities of the Methodist Episcopal church, the

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and the Catholic Order of Society of Jesus, all planted vigorous missions in the Pacific northwest. The Methodists sent out the two Lees, Jason and Daniel, uncle and nephew, who, with two lay members, crossed the continent to found missions among the Indians east of the mountains. They arrived on the Columbia river in 1834, and were persuaded by Dr. John McLoughlin, chief factor of the Hudson's Bay company, stationed at Vancouver, to alter their plans and establish their mission and school in the Willamette valley.

One year later the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions appointed an exploring mission to the Pacific northwest, "to ascertain, by personal observation, the condition and character of the Indian nations and tribes, and the facilities for introducing the gospel and civilization among them." This society was supported by the Congregational, Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed churches, and selected for its explorers, the Rev. Samuel Parker and several other volunteers. They arrived at St. Louis in the spring of 1834, too late to join the annual expedition of the American Fur company. Two members of the party took up mission work among the Pawnees, but Parker, having been joined in April, 1834, by Dr. Marcus Whitman, the two traveled to Green river, in what is now the state of Wyoming, under protection of the annual brigade of the fur company. On that stream, at a point known as Rendezvous, Indians from both sides of the Rocky mountains, together with traders and trappers from a wide expanse of country, were accustomed to assemble for trade. Information gathered at the Rendezvous, from "mountain men," white traders and Indians, convinced Parker and Whitman that various tribes living west of the mountains desired missions and schools. It was thereupon resolved that Dr. Whitman should return to the east to secure helpers, and Rev. Parker continue west to prepare the way.

Upon his return to the "United States," Mr. Parker wrote and published an informative, entertaining account of his journeyings "beyond the Rocky mountains." He possessed keen powers of observation, a well trained analytical mind, and great capacity for enduring weariness and hardships and adapting himself to savage life and surroundings. In the course of his extensive travels, Parker explored the Spokane country. He had arrived at old Fort Walla Walla, on the Columbia, in the latter part of May, 1835. and having obtained Indian guides and two French *voyageurs* as assistants, "concluded to take horses, and to go up through the Spokein country, leaving the great bend of the Columbia river to the left some fifty or sixty miles. . . . On Sabbath, 22d, we had worship as usual, and the following day commenced the journey for Colville."

The little party crossed Snake river near the mouth of the Palouse, by Parker called the Pavilion river, ascended that stream, and passing north through the Palouse country, came to the lands of the "Spokeins." "We stopped for the night, after a ride of fifty miles, near one of these villages of Spokeins. Their language differs almost entirely from any tribe or nation I have yet seen."

Father Cushing Eells, who, with the Rev. Elkanah Walker, established the first mission among the Spokanes, and labored with them for ten years, describes the Spokane language as harsh and guttural. "It makes me think of persons husking corn," was the expression made by one person on hearing it. "In this respect," writes Myron Eells, "it is very unlike the adjoining Nez Perce, which is soft and

musical. It is also unlike the Nez Perce in its use of prepositions, the former having many and the latter almost none, their places being supplied by the inflections of the verb."

"A few nouns form their plural by reduplication, and some are irregular. For example, the word for man, skul-tu-mi-hu, becomes in the plural skul-skul-tu-mi-hu; hand, kal-lish, is kil-kal-lish; and mountain, ets-im-mo-ko, is ets-im-mo-ko-mo-ko; but woman, sem-ain, is pal-pil-kwi in the plural; and tree, sa-at-kl, is sil-a-sil. The plural for Indian, skai-lu, is the same, and that of boy is expressed by a numeral.

"There are no comparatives or superlatives among the adjectives. If two horses are placed side by side, one is bad and the other is good; but if the better of the two is compared with another still better it becomes bad and the latter is called good.

"Phrases are very common, but not compounded according to rule. It was necessary to learn them by the power of memory, and these, in a great measure, take the place of grammar. In these phrases many contractions take place, and occasional changes of letters, evidently for the sake of euphony.

"The language of the Spokanes is said to be the veritable Flathead language, and belongs to the Salishan family spoken by many Indians, though not by all, between the Pacific ocean and the Rocky mountains, extending south of the Columbia and north a little beyond its sources. The geography of this Salishan family covers the greater portion of Washington southern Idaho and much of British Columbia, though other families, as the Sahaptian, including the Nez Perces and Yakima, are also used by the Indians of the state. . . . The Spokane language seems to have less regularity and grammar than many others belonging to the Salishan family, especially those on Puget Sound."

Parker and his little party traveled through the Spokane woods and struck the river about ten miles below the falls. They hallooed for a long time for the Indian who kept a ferry there, and after a while "two women came to the stream, and with uncommonly pleasant voices, together with the language of signs, the latter of which only I could understand, informed us that the ferryman was gone upon a short hunt, would return in the evening, and the next morning at sun two hours high he would come and take us over. I never heard voices more expressive of kindness. I requested them to paddle the canoe over to us, and my men would perform the labor of ferrying over our baggage. They declined on account of the rapidity and strength of the current, the river being in full freshet. Therefore we had to encamp and wait for the morning."

Parker found "this a very pleasant, open valley, though not extensively wide." He visited the old trading post of the Northwest fur company, only one bastion then remaining standing.

The following morning the ferryman crossed over at the appointed hour, and after passing the river they traversed "the valley of level alluvial soil," where it is about a mile and a quarter wide, and the east side especially is very fertile.

"Here the village of the Spokeins is located, and one of their number has commenced the cultivation of a small field or garden, which he has planted with potatoes, peas and beans and some other vegetables, all of which were flourishing, and were the first I had seen springing up under Indian industry west of the mountains."

The Spokanes appear to have attained a higher state of thrift and industry un-

JASON LEE'S MISSION IN THE WILLAMETTE VALLEY

METHODIST MISSION AT THE DALLES, FOUNDED IN 1838

der tutelage of the fur traders than was maintained in after years. It will be recalled that the Astor party had brought seeds from Astoria and started at this point a flourishing garden. A few years later the fur traders introduced wheat into the Spokane valley, and when Governor Stevens came into the valley in 1853 he found extensive fields of that cereal and oats. Five years after, in 1858, Colonel Wright, as an act of reprisal and warning, burning several Indian granaries and vegetable storehouses in the upper valley.

As Parker climbed an eminence leading out of the valley, and looked down into the pleasant vale which bordered the winding river, he "drew in imagination a picture of what this valley will be when this people are brought under the influence of Christianity and civilization."

They encamped that evening in a pleasant glade on the way to Colville, when "many Spokein and some Nez Perce Indians came riding into the place of encampment, and turned out their horses with ours in the half wood and prairie." The Spokanes, who had seen him on his way, and learned the object of his mission, had sent out runners with the information that a minister was passing through their country, and as it was the first time a teacher of the gospel had ever come among them, they were eager to see him and hear his message. This date, the 27th of May, 1835, passes into history as commemorating the first preaching of the gospel by an ordained minister in the vicinity of Spokane.

The Spokanes had brought with them as interpreter, "a young man of their nation, who had been to school at the Red river settlement on the east side of the mountains, and who had a very good knowledge of English." This description fits Chief Garry, so named from the circumstance of his having been sent to Fort Garry, in the Manitoba country, when a child, where he acquired a good command of the English language.

"We had public worship that evening in the Spokein and Nez Perce languages," Parker adds in his report. "One of the Nez Perces, a chief, understood the Spokein language, and collected his people a little back of the Spokeins, and translated the discourse as it was delivered, into the language of his people, without any interuption to the service. This was a plan of their own devising. All the circumstances combined were to me very interesting. If I had not been delayed the three several times, they would not have had time to collect their people and overtake me. Some of them had been engaged in the business of assembling and following a day and a half. Many of them were unwilling to return, and expressed a determination to go with me to Colville. What influenced these benighted Indians to manifest so much solicitude in my instruction derived from the word of God? It must be the influence of the Divine Spirit. And shall these influences pass unregarded and unimproved?"

A sixty mile ride the day following brought the party to old Fort Colville, on the Columbia. "The situation of this fort," says Parker, "is on an elevated spot, about fifty rods from the river, surrounded by an alluvial plain of rich soil, and opening in every direction an extended prospect of mountain scenery; and a half mile below are Kettle Falls, above which the river spreads out widely and moves slowly until just above the precipice, it contracts into a narrow channel, and disappears from the view of the spectator, who beholds it at the fort; winding its way among the rocks below. This establishment is built for defense and is well stock-

aded, but so friendly have the natives always been, that no wars have ever occurred among them. It is occupied by some half dozen men with Indian families, and is well supplied with the useful animals and fowls common to farming establishments. The winter and summer grains, together with garden vegetables, are cultivated with success and in profusion."

This trading post or fort, then in possession of the Hudson's Bay company, had been established by the Northwest company in 1811, and had passed, with the other posts of the Northwesters, to the Hudson's Bay people when they absorbed the Northwesters.

As the day after his arrival was Sunday, Parker conducted services for the people of the fort who understood English, "and we worshipped the God of our lives who had protected us hitherto, and from different nations had collected us in a little group in this end of the world."

The service over, a number of the Indians gathered about the preacher "and expressed great anxiety to be taught the revealed will of God." They endeavored to make him understand their former beliefs and practices, and affirmed that what they had so far learned from him appealed to them as reasonable and satisfactory. Parker was moved by this experience, which appealed powerfully to his intense religious zeal, to inveigh against the coldness of the Christian world. "How little of the faith, and love, and liberality of the church," he lamented, "is invested in the most profitable of all enterprises, the conversion of the world. Should some one propose the construction of a railroad from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and demonstrate the practicability of the measure, and show that nature has interposed no effectual barrier, and that it would concentrate not only the whole internal, but also the China trade, and the stock would produce annually a rich dividend, how soon would Christians engage in it."

It is somewhat singular that this preacher in the wilderness, profoundly stirred by mission zeal, thus casually stumbled upon the precise arguments that later were employed by the promoters of the Northern Pacific railroad to float the stock in that vast industrial enterprise.

After a short sojourn at Colville, Parker followed the windings of the Columbia to the mouth of the Okanogan. There he purchased a bateau, and employing two Indians to take his horses overland to old Fort Walla Walla, descended the Columbia to Vancouver, and a few weeks later took passage in a sailing vessel, via the Sandwich islands, for the Atlantic coast, arriving at his home in Ithaca, New York, on the 23rd of May, "after an absence of more than two years and two months, and having journeyed 28,000 miles."

His published reports enter extensively into the customs of Indian tribes, the geology, flora and fauna of the country, character of soil, climate, etc. From those reports we extract the following excerpts descriptive of the Indians of the interior as they existed three fourths of a century ago:

"Proceeding north, we come to the country of the Nez Perces, which has many fertile parts adapted to tillage, and all of which is a fine grazing country. They number about 2,500.

"The Cayuses are situated to the west of the Nez Perces, and very much resemble them in person, dress, habits and morals. They are equally peaceable, honest and hospitable to strangers," an estimate that was hardly borne out by Dr.

Whitman's subsequent experiences. "They number more than 2,000 persons. Their wealth consists in horses, which are usually fine and numerous, it being no uncommon thing for one man to own several hundred. Their country, especially about the Grand Round, is uncommonly fertile, producing spontaneously camas in great abundance, upon which, with fish and some game, they principally subsist. Their anxiety to be instructed in the way of salvation is as great as that of the Nez Perces and Flatheads.

"The Walla Walla Indians inhabit the country about the river of the same name, and range some distance below along the Columbia river. The number of persons in this tribe is about 500. In their character, employment and moral habits, they do not materially differ from the last named tribes.

"The Palouse tribes are a part of the Nez Perces, and in all respects are like them. Their residence is along the Nez Perce river (the Snake) and up the Pavilion (the Palouse). They numbered about 300. The four last named tribes speak the same language, with a little dialectical difference.

"Northeast of the Palouses are the Spokein nation. They number about 800 persons, besides some small tribes adjoining them who might be counted a part of their nation. Their country is very much diversified with mountains and valleys, prairie and woods; and a large part is of primitive formation; some parts are very fertile. They denominate themselves the children of the sun, which in their language is Spokein. Their main dependence for subsistence is on fishing and hunting, together with gathering roots and berries. They have many horses, but not so numerous as their neighbors farther south.

"East of these are the Coeur d'Alene Indians, whose numbers are about 700, and who are characterized by civility, honesty and kindness. Their country is more open than the Spokeins, and equally if not better adapted to agriculture.

"The country of the Flatheads is still farther east and southeast, and extends to the Rocky mountains. They are a very interesting tribe, dignified in their persons, noble, frank and generous in their dispositions; and have always shown a firm attachment to white men. They number about 800 persons, and live a wandering life. For subsistence they follow the buffalo upon the waters of Clark and Salmon rivers, and often pass over to the headwaters of the Missouri. They have become a small tribe by constant wars with the Blackfeet Indians; not that they themselves are of a ferocious or hostile disposition. Being averse to war, they wish to settle upon their lands, and are only waiting to be instructed in the arts of civilization and in Christianity. Their country is mountainous, but intersected with pleasant, fertile valleys, large portions of which are prairie. The mountains are cold, but in the valleys the climate is mild.

"The Ponderas are so nearly like the Flatheads in person, manners and character that a particular description of them may be passed over. They number about 2,200, and live on the north of Clark's river, and on a lake which takes its name from the tribe. Their country has many fertile parts, and would soon be put under cultivation, if they could obtain instructors to teach them agriculture and to impart to them a knowledge of those things which are necessary to constitute a happy and prosperous community. Their language is the same as the Spokeins and Flatheads.

"The Cootanies inhabit a section of country to the north of the Ponderas

along McGillivray's river, and they are represented as an uncommonly interesting people. They speak a language distinct from all the tribes about them, open and sonorous, and free from gutturals, which are common in the language of the surrounding tribes. They are neat in their persons and lodges, candid and honest, and kind to each other. I could not ascertain their numbers, but probably they are not over a thousand.

"North of the Cootanies are the Carriers, whose number is estimated to be 4,000, and south of these are the Lake Indians, so named from their place of residence, which is about the Arrow lakes. They are about 500 in number.

"At the south, and about Colville, are the Kettle Falls Indians. Their number is 560. West of these are the Sinpauelish (the San Poils) 1,000 in number, and below these are the Shooshaps, having a population of 575. At the west and northwest, next in order, are the Okanogans, numbering 1,050. Between Okanogan and the long rapids are detachments of Indians who appear poor, and wanting in that manly and active spirit which characterizes the tribes above named.

"South of the long rapids, and to the confluence of Lewis' river (the Snake) with the Columbia, are the Yookoomans (the Yakimas), a more active people, numbering about 700.

"The whole number of the above named Indians is 32,585. This is probably a low estimate, and in the number there are not included the Fall and La Dalle Indians."

A general study of the Indian missions of the northwest will not be permitted by the scope of this history. We shall, however, enter into some detail with regard to mission labors among the Spokanes, and to some extent into the missions conducted among neighboring tribes. A brief review of the events leading up to the establishment, in 1837-8, of the Eells and Walker mission, on Walker's prairie, twenty-five miles northwest of this city, will be found essential to a clearer understanding of the systematic effort that was made three-fourths of a century ago, to Christianize and civilize the various bands that then inhabited the region around the falls.

It will be recalled that Dr. Marcus Whitman, who accompanied Parker to the Rendezvous on Green river, returned to the east to stimulate interest in their courageous undertaking, and secure volunteers for the contemplated mission stations in the Pacific northwest. In this effort he was successful in a most romantic way, winning at once a bride and a mission helper in the person of Miss Narcissa Prentiss, who was to share with him the perils and the pleasures of the wilderness, and, eleven years after, fall with the devoted martyr before the death-dealing tomahawk of the treacherous Cayuses, at their Waiilatpu mission, six miles from the existing city of Walla Walla.

Additional helpers were found in Rev. H. H. Spalding and wife, another bridal couple, and in W. H. Gray, secular agent of the American Board. Dr. Whitman, having learned that Mr. Spalding and bride had volunteered for mission work among the Osage Indians, and obtained the consent of the mission board, set out in an effort to overtake them on their way to the land of the Osages and induce them to change their plans and go with him to the Pacific northwest. He came up with them in the deep snows of western New York. They were travel-

ing by sleigh, and Mrs. Spalding, who was convalescent from a long illness, was still unable to walk a quarter of a mile. With characteristic abruptness, Whitman called out:

"We want you for the Oregon mission."

"How long will the journey take?" answered Spalding.

"The summer of two years."

"What convoy shall we have?"

"The American Fur company to the divide."

"What shall we have to live on?"

"Buffalo meat till we raise our own grain."

"How shall we journey?"

"On horseback."

"How cross the rivers?"

"Swim them."

Mr. Spalding then turned from Whitman to his bride:

"My dear," he said, "my mind is made up; it is not your duty to go, but we will leave it to you after we have prayed."

The little party came presently to a tavern, and pausing there took a private room and each prayed in turn. With beaming face Mrs. Spalding emerged after a few minutes of prayer, and declared:

"I have made up my mind to go."

The husband lovingly remonstrated with her zeal, pointing out the hardships, the privations and perils of the way, and as he reflected upon these dangers the brave man broke down and cried.

"What mean ye to weep and to break mine heart," was the bride's reply; "for I am ready not to be bound only, but also to die at Jerusalem for the name of the Lord Jesus."

Such was the spirit that carried these resolute men and women into the Oregon wilderness.

And so they came into the depths of the wildest west, and never before was bridal journey like unto this.

Dr. and Mrs. Whitman established their mission in the Walla Walla valley. The Spaldings located theirs at Lapwai, in northern Idaho.

And still the Macedonian cry went up for more workers in the heathen land, and Mr. Gray returned east in 1837 to win the needed recruits.

In a time-stained book of records at Holden, Massachusetts, one still may find this simple item:

"March 5, 1838. Rev. Cushing Eells, of East Windsor, Conn., and Myra Fairbank were married by William P. Paine."

Fired by religious zeal, the young couple had volunteered for the African missions of the American Board, but altered their life plans at the solicitation of Mr. Gray. Rev. Elkanah Walker, of North Yarmouth, Maine, and Miss Mary Richardson, to whom he was engaged, also abandoned their African plans to engage in the work in the Oregon country. Rev. A. B. Smith, of Connecticut, and his wife, likewise consented to come, and the matrimonial spirit running high, Mr. Gray found a bride in Miss Mary Dix, of Champlain, New York. The party

was completed by the addition of Cornelius Rogers, who came in the capacity of assistant missionary.

"On March 6, the day after their marriage," many years later wrote their son, the Rev. Myron Eells, "Mr. and Mrs. Eells began their bridal tour, which was not completed for more than a year, until the last of April, 1839. Then they were ready to receive callers in their own home of log huts or pens."

From New York, where the party had assembled, they traveled by boat and train to Chambersburg, Pennsylvania; from Chambersburg to Pittsburg, by stage; and from Pittsburg to Independence, Missouri, by steamboats on the Ohio, the Mississippi and the Missouri. As they were strict Sabbatarians, the question of Sunday travel gave them deep concern, and taking counsel at Cincinnati with Dr. Lyman Beecher, that eminent divine dryly observed that if he were on a ship on the ocean, he should not jump into the sea when Saturday night came.

At Westport, Missouri, twelve miles west of Independence, they found the annual expedition of the American Fur company, under which they were to have convoy to the Rocky mountains. Its caravan this year consisted of 200 horses and mules and seventeen carts that were drawn each by two mules hitched tandem. The missionaries had twenty-two horses and mules, and for a part of the way a wagon, taken to enable the ladies to find relief from horseback riding until they had grown thoroughly accustomed to that mode of travel.

"We generally stop about two hours at noon," wrote Mrs. Eells in her diary, turn out the animals, get our dinners and eat; then we wash the dishes again, the men catch the animals and pack them. We mount our horses and are riding over rolling prairies, over high bluffs, through deep ravines and rivers, but through no woods.

"At night, when our animals are unpacked, the gentlemen pitch our tents. We spread our buffalo skins first, and then a piece of oilcloth for our floor. Then we neatly arrange our saddles and other loose baggage around the inside of our house. For our chairs we fold our blankets and lay them around, leaving a circle in the center upon which we spread a tablecloth when we eat. In the morning we get up at half-past three, turn the animals out to eat; then we get our breakfast, eat and have worship. After this we wash and pack our dishes, our husbands catch the animals, saddle the horses and pack the mules. When we are fairly on our way we have much the appearance of a large funeral procession. I suppose the company reaches half a mile."

Buffalo meat was the staple food, but buffalo were not found that spring as early as had been expected, and when the supply came their flour was all but exhausted, barely sufficient remaining to make gravy. The change to green buffalo meat proved most trying, and the missionaries suffered intensely from illness, overwork and exposure. Mrs. Eells wrote in her diary, May 9: "All is hubbub and confusion. Camp wants to move early; horses bad to catch; dishes not packed in season. Oh, how much patience one needs to sustain him in this life."

And again, on May 12: "It rains so hard that notwithstanding we have a good fire we can not dry our clothes at all. Obliged to sleep in our blankets wet as when taken from our horses. Our sheets are our partitions between us and Mr. Gray. When it rains they are spread over the tents.

"13th, Sabbath. Arise this morning, put on our clothes wet as when we took

them off, and prepare for a long ride. I am so strongly reminded of bygone days that I can not refrain from weeping.

"24th. Mr. Eells and myself hardly able to sit up, but obliged to eat, drink and work as though we were well. Think it is trying. . . .

"Nothing but the restraining grace of God can carry us through. I trust we both have this grace."

They crossed the North Fork of the Platte in boats made of willow frames, covered with buffalo hides. It rained here so hard that the camp was flooded, and Mrs. Walker, though strong and vigorous, and ordinarily cheerful with a pleasant word for every one, fell to weeping as she sat on a pile of goods within the tent. In answer to efforts made to console her, she exclaimed, "I am thinking how comfortable my father's hogs are."

June the twenty-third brought them to the American Rendezvous, on Wind river, and there they remained for three weeks, surrounded by as wild and motley a company as ever drank bad whiskey, or engaged in the savage sports of the wilderness. Mrs. Eells wrote, in her diary, July 5: "Captain Bridger came in about 10 o'clock with drums and firing, an apology for a scalp dance. After they had given Captain Drips' company a salute, fifteen or twenty mountain men and Indians came to our tent with drumming, firing and dancing. If I might make the comparison, I should think they looked like the emissaries of the devil worshiping their own master. They had the scalp of a Blackfoot Indian, which they carried for a color, all rejoicing in the fate of the Blackfeet in consequence of the smallpox. The dog, being frightened, took the trail, crossed the river, and howled so that we knew him and called him back. When he came back he went to each tent to see if we were all safe."

They had been terrorized the night before by a party of drunken white men who came to the tent and threatened to settle accounts with Mr. Gray, with whom they had previously been in altercation. While Gray loaded his gun within the tent, Mr. Eells remonstrated with them and they went away and gave no further trouble.

Under date of July 6 Mrs. Eells made this entry in her journal: "Last night twelve white men came, dressed and painted in Indian style, and gave us a dance. No pen can describe the horrible scene they presented. I could not imagine that white men, brought up in a civilized land, can appear so much to imitate the devil."

Hardships were endured, and dangers confronted, by the pioneer women who came into the Spokane country forty years after these mission brides crossed the continent and took up their abode near the pleasant river Spokane; but their experiences when brought in contrast with the dangers and deprivations endured by Mrs. Eells and Mrs. Walker, seem little more than an entertaining outing.

At the Rendezvous flour sold for $2 a pound; sugar, tea and coffee, $1 a pint; calico, $5 a yard; a shirt, $5; tobacco, $3 to $5 a pound; and whiskey, $30 a gallon; and yet the wild rangers of the plains and the mountains drank whiskey and smoked tobacco as though they had been millionaires and the price of these indulgences were the normal rates going back in the United States.

From the Rendezvous on Green river the missionaries expected to have convoy by a party of the Hudson's Bay company. This year, though, the American Fur company had become vexed over some grievance at the hands of the Hudson's Bay people, and instead of meeting the latter at the customary gathering place on Green river, had selected a rendezvous 150 miles north, on a tributary of Green river. By

a narrow chance Mr. Ermatinger, in charge of the Hudson's Bay party, learned of the altered plans of his rivals and the mission party was saved from the alarming alternatives of returning with the American Fur caravan, of going to California with a party of trappers, or becoming stranded in the heart of the wildest part of the Rocky mountains. When Mr. Ermatinger came to the Green river Rendezvous, he found, scrawled in charcoal on the old storehouse door, this significant inscription: "Come to Popoazua on Wind river, and you will find plenty trade, whiskey and white women." This told him the location of the mission party, and he hastened there to put them under the protection of his brigade.

From this Rendezvous they started for the Oregon country on July 12. On Sunday, July 22, Mrs. Eells wrote: "The Indians are about our tents before we are up, and stay about all day. Think they are the most filthy Indians we have seen. Some of them have a buffalo skin around them. Mr. Walker read a sermon, and although they could not understand a word, they were still and paid good attention. They appeared amused with our singing."

Thus the summer wore away, and always it was travel, travel, travel; through mountain passes, by rushing rivers, and on the wind swept plains of the Snake river desert. But even a transcontinental journey of seventy-five years ago had ending, and under date of Wednesday, August 29, appears this entry in Mrs. Eells' journal:

"Rode seven hours, thirty miles; arrived at Dr. Whitman's. Met Mr. Spalding and wife, with Dr. Whitman and wife, anxiously awaiting our arrival. They all appear friendly, and treat us with great hospitality. Dr. Whitman's house is on the Walla Walla, twenty-five miles east of Fort Walla Walla. It is built of adobe, mud dried in the form of brick, only larger. I cannot describe its appearance, as I can not compare it with anything I ever saw. There are doors and windows, but they are of the roughest material, the boards being sawed by hand and put together by no carpenter, but by one who knows nothing about the work. There are a number of wheat, corn and potato fields about the house, besides a garden of melons and all kinds of vegetables common to a garden. There are no fences, there being no timber of which to make them. The furniture is very primitive; the bedsteads are boards nailed to the side of the house, sink-fashion; then some blankets and husks make the bed; but it is good compared with traveling accommodations."

From the Atlantic coast the long journey had consumed 177 days; from the Missouri river, 129. Mrs. Whitman and Mrs. Spalding were the first white women to cross the Rocky mountains. Mrs. Eells and Mrs. Walker were the next to achieve an undertaking which well might have daunted the heart of a brave and rugged man.

Describing the Oregon country of 1838, Rev. Myron Eells informs us that in the broad expanse of what are now the states of Oregon, Washington, Idaho and Montana there were only thirteen settlements: the mission station of Dr. Whitman at Waiilatpu in the Walla Walla valley, of Mr. Spalding at Lapwai among the Nez Perces, of the Methodists at The Dalles and near Salem, and the Hudson's Bay company forts at old Fort Walla Walla on the Columbia, Colville, Fort Hall, Boise, Vancouver, Nisqually, Umpqua, and Okanogan, and the settlement at Astoria. Eells and Walker were to establish a fourteenth, on Tshimakain creek, six miles north of the Spokane river, and about twenty-five miles from the falls.

When they arrived at the Whitman mission, there were only fifty Americans in the country of whom thirty were connected with the missions. Great Britain and the United States were in controversy over ownership of the greater part of the Oregon country, and had struck a truce under a treaty of joint occupation. It was even considered necessary for the missionaries to travel under passport.

CHAPTER VIII

FOUNDING A MISSION AMONG THE SPOKANES

EELLS AND WALKER MEET THE INDIANS AT CHEWELAH—BIRTH OF FIRST AMERICAN WHITE BOY IN OLD OREGON—EELLS AND WALKER FAMILIES LOCATE AT WALKER'S PRAIRIE, NEAR SPOKANE—LIVING ON HORSE MEAT—INDIAN CUSTOMS DESCRIBED—MISSION LIFE AT TSHIMAKAIN—MISSIONARIES DEEPLY DISAPPOINTED—MIDWINTER FIRE—HYMN AS SUNG BY THE SPOKANES.

AFTER a fortnight's rest at the Whitman mission, Walker and Eells started northward, September 10, 1838, to explore the country preliminary to founding a mission among the Spokanes. At Chewelah they rested over the Sabbath, meeting there many of the natives, and the next day pushed forward to Fort Colville to seek the counsel of Archibald McDonald, factor in charge of the Hudson's Bay establishment there, second only in importance to the greater establishment at Vancouver under Dr. John McLoughlin. At Colville the company grew annually about 4,000 bushels of wheat, and maintained there a flour mill. Corn and vegetables were grown there in abundance, a large herd of cattle added to the domesticity of the surroundings, and as the buildings were commodious, Mr. Walker exclaimed, as the valley scene rolled in upon their vision, "a city under a hill."

Mr. McDonald, a worthy, intelligent Scot, received them with great kindness, an attitude he maintained so long as he remained in charge. He advised that the mission be located at Tshimakain, (the plain of springs) on the Colville-Walla Walla road, a place combining the advantages of soil, timber, water and accessibility to the various bands of the Spokanes. Thither they went, and with Indian help, and two axes borrowed from Colville, erected two log cabins fourteen feet long and about twenty feet apart. As winter was approaching, they suspended their work before the cabins had been roofed in, and returned to Walla Walla, by way of Spalding's Lapwai mission.

There they wintered with their families, and there, on December 7, 1838, was born Cyrus Hamlin Walker, thought to be the first American white boy born within the boundaries of old Oregon. Alice, daughter of Dr. and Mrs. Whitman, drowned in early childhood, was the first American white child born within the same boundaries. Much of their time was devoted that winter to study of the Spokane language, the missionaries having for their instructor the famous Nez Perce chief Lawyer, who understood that tongue.

Late in February came the chief of the Spokanes, with four men and four women, to assist the party in moving to their new home, and on March 5, 1839, the wedding

anniversary of both couples, they set their faces northward on the journey to Tshimakain, arriving there on March 20.

Tents were pitched, and a messenger dispatched to Colville for provisions, and with these came back an urgent invitation from Mr. McDonald for the ladies and baby to become his guests while their husbands were completing their cabin homes. The invitation was accepted, and it was the last of April when they returned and set up housekeeping.

At first the houses had only earthen floors, and pine boughs served for roof. As the spring rains quickly penetrated this rough shelter, earth was put upon the boughs; and still the roofs leaked, so bearskins were spread upon the beds to keep dry "our first families" near Spokane.

The luxury of a cookstove was unknown throughout the nine years' life of the mission at Tshimakain. In lieu of window glass, cotton cloth, and later oiled deerskin, were used. A few years later there was much rejoicing over the receipt of a few panes of glass, sent in sailing vessel around the Horn by Massachusetts friends, and transported, with infinite care, to the distant interior.

For nine years the mission could boast of only a single chair. Three boards, three feet long, were packed 150 miles, and by driving four stakes into the ground, a table was constructed. Timber, riven and hewn, was used for other furniture.

In all the Oregon country there were two flour mills, both owned by the Hudson's Bay company, one at Colville, the other at Vancouver. Flour at the Whitman mission was worth $24 a barrel. With the harvesting of the first crop of wheat at Tshimakain, the grain was taken in buckskin bags to Colville for grinding. "It was only seventy miles distant, and they could go and return in five days."

The plough was homemade, with rawhide on the singletrees in place of iron, and for nine years the wheat crop was cut with sickles.

"The beef," according to Myron Eells, "neither chewed the cud nor parted the hoof. It was made out of the Indian pony. Cattle were very scarce. Neither love nor money could procure one from the Hudson's Bay company. About half a dozen horses were killed for beef at Dr. Whitman's during the winter of 1838-39, and for several years Mr. Eells was accustomed to salt one down every winter. They were fattened on the rich bunch-grass, and with few exceptions were eaten with a relish, even by the fastidious."

Mrs. Eells once wrote: "I had the luxury of eating a piece of the first cow that was driven into the country."

Fire was made with flint, steel and punk. Mail from the east was brought out twice a year in vessels of the Hudson's Bay company. That for the mission was sent up the Columbia to old Fort Walla Walla, and when the missionaries learned of its arrival there, they would "go to the postoffice," 200 miles away, the round trip taking two weeks.

In January, 1844, Mrs. Eells wrote to her sister in Massachusetts: "Your letter dated September, 1841, I received July, 1843, a long time, sure enough, but, as the Indians say, 'I am thankful to get a letter of any date.'" To the same sister she wrote, in April, 1847: "I have just been reading your sisterly letter of December, 1844, and although it was written more than two years ago, yet since it is the last I have heard from you, it is like reviving conversation and talking of past events."

In a letter written from the Whitman mission, soon after their arrival there in the fall of 1838, Mrs. Eells recorded her impressions:

"The country is large, and there are comparatively few inhabitants in it. The Hudson's Bay company has a number of trading posts, which are generally about 300 miles apart. Mr. Spalding and Dr. Whitman have each a station about 125 miles apart. The Methodists have two stations—one 150 miles, and the other 400 miles from here. Besides these settlements, there are no others in this great territory. Of course the people of each settlement must raise their own provisions, make their own furniture, farming utensils, houses and barns. Everything of cloth is brought from some foreign port. There is nothing yet to make cloth of, and if there were, there is no way to manufacture it. Had I known there is not a spinning wheel in this whole country, I should have been exceedingly anxious to have one sent with my other things. There are very few sheep here, and more have been sent for from California. Dr. Whitman has raised a little flax, though not much, for want of seed.

"There never having been any white women here before the missionaries, there has been no call for anything but Indian articles of trade. The men wear striped cotton or calico shirts, sleep in Indian blankets and buffalo skins, and of course have had no need for white cotton cloth, and have none.

"Mrs. Whitman and Mrs. Spalding have obtained some earthern dishes, but think it doubtful whether we can have any others until we order them from England, or the States. Perhaps you will wonder what we shall eat with. We have the dishes we used on the way, which we have divided so that we shall each have a tin dish and a spoon, each a knife, fork and plate. We must be contented with what books we have until ours come around Cape Horn.

"The Indians are numerous, but they live a wandering life. They live upon game, fish and roots, which are found in many different places. They have no houses, but live in lodges made of sticks set in a circle in the ground, and drawn together at the top and fastened with a string, leaving a place at the top for the smoke to pass out. Over this frame they throw skins, grass, willows and the like, which make their covering. They build their fire upon the ground, in the center, around which they live and sleep. They generally have one kettle, in which they boil their fish, meat, corn and potatoes, if they have any. None of them have corn and potatoes except what they get from some of the above-named settlements. Not many of them have any dishes, knives or forks or spoons of any kind. They eat standing, with the kettle in the middle, their hands supplying the place of all dishes. They will often perform a long journey for a knife or blanket. . . .

"They have learned of Mr. Spalding and Dr. Whitman some scripture history and some hymns, which they sing. They have not yet had much time to teach them, being obliged to do most of their work. It is true the Indians help them some, but they cannot be depended upon. They are here today, and tomorrow they are somewhere else. Besides, if they think you are depending on them, they will not work unless they are driven to it by hunger. Some of them are beginning to sow little patches of corn, wheat and potatoes for themselves; this the men have done and are proud of it; but if a man works for us, they call him a slave and a fool. Three or four have given evidence of a change of heart.

"We feel that we are a small band of missionaries in a heathen land, far re-

moved from the luxuries and many of the comforts of life, and we feel more keenly the absence of civilized and Christian society."

Mr. Eells, under date of February 25, 1840, wrote of their labors among the Spokanes: "We are advancing slowly in the acquisition of the language, though as yet our knowledge of it is very limited. . . . The Flathead (Spokane) and the Nez Perce languages are distinct. Their philological construction is wholly unlike. We have not been able to find any one word common to both languages.

"Taking this place (Tshimakain) as the center of a circle whose radius shall not exceed sixty miles, it will include a population of near 2,000 souls, nine-tenths of whom rarely, if ever, leave the above specified ground for a length of time, unless it be for a few weeks in the spring. There are five or six bands, each of which has particular lands which they call theirs, and where they pass a portion of each year. So far as I can learn, they are somewhat regular in their removings.

"In April a large number meet in one plain to dig a root called popo. In May they returned to this place, and after remaining a few weeks, moved to a large camas plain, ten miles from us. The camas is their most substantial root. It remains good from May till the next March. In June, salmon begin to go up the Spokane river, which passes within six miles of our house. At first a barrier was constructed near some falls, ten miles from this place, and perhaps fifteen miles from the camas grounds. At that place salmon were taken only during high water, and then not in large quantities, as the barrier extended only part of the way across the river. While the men and boys were employed at the salmon, the women were digging and preparing camas, and daily horses passed between the two places, loaded both ways, so that all could share in both kinds of food. As the water fell another barrier was built farther down, extending across the entire river; and when completed, men, women and children made a general move to the place. If I judged correctly, I saw there at one time near 1,000 persons, and the number was rapidly increasing. From 400 to 800 salmon were taken in a day, weighing variously from ten to forty pounds apiece.

"When they ceased to take salmon, about the first of August, they returned to the camas ground, where they remained till October, and then began to make preparations for taking the poor salmon as they went down the river. During this month they were very much scattered, though not very remote from each other. In November they went to their wintering places.

"From March to November, our congregations varied from 30 to 100, not more than one half of whom usually remained with us during the week. They often came ten, fifteen, and sometimes thirty miles on Saturday, and returned again on Monday. Since November nearly 200 have remained with us almost constantly. In addition to those just mentioned, there have been frequent visitors from neighboring bands, coming in various numbers, from three or four to sixty at a time. They usually spend two or three weeks and then return.

"We have habitually conducted worship with them morning and evening, when we read a portion of scriptures, and, so far as we are able, explain it, sing and pray. On the Sabbath we have had three services. While the weather continued warm, the place for worship was under some pine trees; but as it became cold, a house was prepared for entirely by the people, expressly for worship. It resembled somewhat in form the roof of a house in New England, making the angle at the top

REV. ELKANAH WALKER

REV. CUSHING EELLS

MRS. MYRA F. EELLS

PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES ON WALKER'S PRAIRIE

much smaller than that of most modern houses. The frame is made of poles four or five inches in diameter, and covered with rush mats. Most of the Indian houses here are made in the same way.

"For want of a thorough acquaintance with the language, much of the instruction communicated has related to scriptural history, though I think we have not failed to give them some correct ideas respecting the character of God, the fallen state of man, the doctrine of the atonement and regeneration, and the necessity of repentance and faith in Christ to secure salvation. It is strictly true that they must have 'line upon line;' every new idea must be repeated many times. The nearer our teaching approaches to Sabbath school instruction, appropriate for small children, the better it is understood. This people are slow to believe that the religion we teach extends farther than to the external conduct. They wish to believe that to abstain from gross sin and attend to a form of worship is all that is necessary to fit them for heaven."

In this respect, the Spokane attitude towards the life religious was not altogether at variance with that entertained by some good people of the present day.

Throughout the journals, diaries and correspondence of the missionaries at Tshimakain, at Lapwai and at Waiilatpu, one finds abounding evidence, that in an excess of zeal and a severe application of "the New England conscience," these devout men and women had keyed too high their expectations of savage response to theological refinements and subtleties. Because the Pentecostal fire could not flame in the Indian breast, they grieved and lamented. Often their way seemed dark, their life work a failure, their missions, perhaps, a mistake. So late as October, 1847, Mrs. Eells wrote: "We have been here almost nine years, and have not been permitted to hear the cries of one penitent, or the songs of one redeemed soul. We often ask ourselves the question, 'Why is it?' Yet we labor on, hoping and waiting, and expecting that the seed, though long buried, will spring up and bear fruit. We feel increasingly interested in the work, and though we do not see the immediate fruit of our labor, we can not find it in our hearts to leave our people. We can not say that they have persecuted us so that we should be authorized 'to flee to another city.' They listen to the word respectfully, but it appears to produce no saving effect."

Two months after the writing of this letter, Dr. and Mrs. Whitman, their assistant, Mr. Rogers, and eleven others, chiefly immigrants stopping at Waiilatpu, were massacred by treacherous Cayuses, the little mission band at Tshimakain took asylum at Fort Colville, and, a few months later, acting under the insistent advice of the Oregon authorities, abandoned their station forever, and under military escort, found refuge and new homes in the Willamette valley. Thus ended, in despair and darkness, a decade of faithful, earnest effort, and to the distressed and disappointed missionaries it well may have seemed that all their good seed of ten years' sowing had fallen upon stony ground. But many years later we find Governor Stevens, Lieutenant Wilkes of the United States navy, General O. O. Howard and others giving testimony to the enduring and beneficial results of the mission among the Spokanes.

Returning to the Eells journal, we learn that in November, 1839, a school was opened, at first with but thirty pupils, but grown by April following to more than eighty. That first year at Tshimakain brought incessant toil and countless privations. Cabins were made habitable, ground was broken and prepared for

garden and wheat field, fences built to protect the crops from the Indian horses, long journeys were made to Fort Colville on the north and old Fort Walla Walla on the south; and superimposed upon all this and much more was the real work of the mission, the preaching and the teaching, the study of the difficult Spokane language, and the imparting of agricultural and manual instruction to such of the natives as were willing to receive it.

"My opinion," said Father Eells at that period, "is that our chief efforts should be with the children," a method adopted afterward by government, and found, after many years of experience, to return disappointing results, owing to the disposition of the adults to ridicule the young people on their return from Carlisle, Forest Grove and Salem, and shame them back to the blanket and the tepee. And yet, after three-fourths of a century of experiment and testing, it cannot be said that a better plan offers than that recommended by Mr. Eells.

The mission work went on, with trials and tribulations. "On the morning of January 11, 1840," wrote Mr. Eells, "we met with a heavy loss. While engaged in family worship our house took fire, and being mostly lined with rush mats, and having no inside doors except cloths hung up, the flame spread so rapidly that it went through every part of the building before an article was removed. After the first flash had passed such things as were in boxes were mostly saved. But before anything was taken out the greater part of the more valuable property which the house contained was nearly destroyed, such as library, writing desk, clock, watch, two beds and bedding, much personal clothing, a quantity of Indian goods, tinware, riding and pack saddles, traveling apparatus, etc. Our food was mostly saved. The walls of the house, built of rough logs, were not essentially injured, except in being badly charred upon the inside."

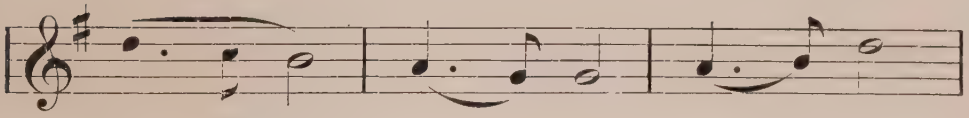
In the face of this disaster, the spirits of the mission workers must have fallen correspondingly to the zero temperature without, for the thermometer registered eight below. But there was a silver lining even to this dark cloud of misfortune; for the Indians responded to the alarm with commendable promptness and energy, constituting themselves the first volunteer fire brigade in the Spokane country, and exhibiting admirable honesty in restoring small articles which might easily have been concealed from the owners. And Mr. McDonald, in charge at Colville, with characteristic goodness, dispatched, without asking, four men from his fort who soon made the burned house habitable, and with them came also two gentlemen from that post, Messrs. McLean and McPherson. With the temperature ten below zero, and a foot of snow over the country, the six volunteers camped on the ground, an exhibition of kindness and fortitude that was deeply appreciated. "This is but a specimen of the unvaried kindness shown us by the gentlemen of the company with which we have had no particular intercourse or connection," said Father Eells.

Writing at this date of mission results, Mr. Eells said: "During the past winter nearly 250 Indians have been encamped by us. If we judge correctly, there has been a marked increase in the knowledge of Divine Truth. This is especially true of the chief mentioned in the Herald by the name of Big Head. It has been a rather general impression among the best-informed Indians that thieves, gamblers, Sabbath-breakers and such like will go to a place of misery when they die, but that such as are not guilty of open vices, and attend to a form

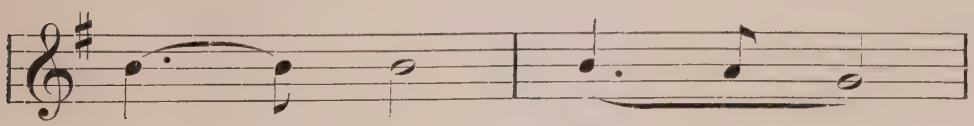
of worship will go above. We have labored much to correct this and kindred errors, and unless we greatly mistake, our labor has not been in vain. The language of the chief is: 'I formerly thought my heart was good, but I now see it is not. We are full of all manner of wickedness—are covered up in our sins. They hold us like strong cords. One thing must be done. Our hearts must be changed, or we shall go below when we die.' "

In the school instruction was given in reading, spelling, arithmetic and music, the pupils, both young and old, showing quick aptitude in numbers and manifesting a passionate love for music. From the fur traders the Spokanes had picked up a number of lewd songs, and the missionaries tried to supplant these with hymns and sacred songs. They began with the doxology, and the Indian voice showed sufficient compass to sing it in three octaves in F. Then Mr. Eells composed the following hymn, words and music, and it proved popular, the natives clinging to it many years after the mission had been abandoned and their instructors had taken up new homes in Oregon. Mr. McLean of the Hudson's Bay company heard Indians singing it in the heart of the Rocky mountains.

Lam - a - lem, on - a - we Je - ho - vah,
Thanks . . . thee . . . . Je - ho - vah,



Kain - pe - la, tas ka - leel. Rait - si - ah
We . . . . . not . . . . dead, We . . . all



wheel - a - wheel. Kain - pe - la
a - - - - live. We . . . . . .

ets - in - ko - nam, kaits - - chow.
sing . . . . . We . . . . . pray.

CHAPTER IX

MISSION LIFE AT WALKER'S PRAIRIE, CONTINUED

SEVERE WINTER OF 1840-41—ARDUOUS JOURNEYS BY FATHER EELLS—GOING TO COLVILLE FOR MAIL—DR. WHITMAN'S FAMOUS MIDWINTER RIDE—DISCOVERY OF THE PRECIOUS METALS—MOTHERS' MEETINGS SEVENTY YEARS AGO—DREADFUL WINTER OF 1846-47—NO NEW BONNETS FOR EASTER SUNDAY—FIRST SHOES FOR THE CHILDREN—HOW THE MISSION WOMEN MADE CHEESE—INDIAN WIFE WHO WAS "A JEWEL OF RARE EXCELLENCE."

SO SEVERE was the winter of 1840-41 that only fifty Indians remained at the mission, and the attendance at the school fell to eleven. But another school, maintained at a point five miles from the mission, and attended almost daily by some one from the mission, had an attendance of twenty-two. In the last analysis Indian nature is not essentially different from white nature; is charmed by novelty, and the mind grows dull by tedious repetition; and though the school was continued, it never afterward numbered more than fifteen.

With that indefatigable zeal and energy which attended him throughout a long life of intense religious endeavor, Mr. Eells traveled, in the year ending March 1, 1841, 1,200 miles on horseback, work which took him from home fifty-seven days. Teaching Indians at other points required 400 miles additional travel and twenty-three days more absence from home. He has left an interesting account, in the Walla Walla Watchman of March 27, 1885, of one trip made to Fort Colville with mail. "With our limited facilities, the annual autumnal passage of the brigade of the Hudson's Bay company from east of the mountains down the Columbia was an important event. Its arrival at Fort Colville was to be prepared for. Thus an opportunity was afforded for the conveyance of letters to Vancouver, and thence via the Sandwich islands to Boston. I had written and arranged with an Indian to accompany and assist me in conveying the mails, and in conveying supplies from the fort. In vain I looked for the arrival, according to promise, of the needed helper. The morning hours passed. The idea of not forwarding what I had prepared was unendurable. On a riding horse, with pack mule carrying tent, bedding, food, I started. The moon was at its full. After a ride of forty miles I camped. Seasonably the next morning I was traveling. The distance, thirty miles to the post, was passed. The boats had not arrived. My mail was left, and I returned twenty miles.

"The fifty miles for the next day should be commenced early, as the last fifteen miles were darkened with timber. The moon would not rise till more than two

hours after sunset, and it was cloudy. With such facts in mind I encamped. I slept, I awoke; my first thought was, it is daylight. The moon was concealed behind the clouds. Hurriedly I struck tent, saddled, packed and was off. After riding an indefinite length of time the location of the moon was discernible. Judging thus, it was not far from midnight. After a nocturnal ride of ten miles, I lay down again and slept without fear of being benighted in dark timber. The distance traveled was 140 miles; length of time, a little in excess of two days and a half, with object attained and mail taken to postoffice."

To enter into the long-standing Whitman controversy is not within the purview of this history.* Respecting Dr. Whitman's memorable mid-winter ride across the continent volumes have been written—to show that its object was patriotic, to wrest the Oregon country from impending British ownership; and, on the other hand, to prove that his controlling motive was prevention of abandonment of the Oregon missions by the American Board, and the part he played politically had little or no bearing in saving Oregon to the United States. But since Eells and Walker were called into counsel with Whitman, and went to Walla Walla at his summons, regard for at least approximate completeness of the Tshimakain record requires the publication here of an affidavit made by Mr. Eells, before a notary public at Spokane, August 23, 1883, in part as follows:

"September, 1842, a letter written by Dr. Whitman, addressed to Rev. Messrs. E. Walker and C. Eells, at Tshimakain, reached its destination and was received by the persons to whom it was written. By the contents of said letter, a meeting of the Oregon mission of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was invited to be held at Waiilatpu. The object of said meeting, as stated in the letter named, was to approve of a purpose formed by Dr. Whitman, that he go east on behalf of Oregon as related to the United States. In the judgment of Mr. Walker and myself, that object was foreign to our assigned work. With troubled thoughts we anticipated the proposed meeting.

"On the following day, Wednesday, we started, and on Saturday afternoon camped on the Touchet, at the ford near the Mullan bridge. We were pleased with the prospect of enjoying a period of rest, reflection and prayer—needful preparation for the antagonism of opposing ideas. We never moved camp on the Lord's day. On Monday morning we arrived at Waiilatpu, and met there the two resident families of Dr. Whitman and Mr. Gray. Rev. H. H. Spalding was there. All the male members of the mission were thus together.

"In the discussion the opinion of Mr. Walker and myself remained unchanged. The purpose of Dr. Whitman was fixed. In his estimation, the saving of Oregon to the United States was of paramount importance, and he would make the attempt

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* A resolution adopted by the legislature of Washington territory, in October, 1869, asserted that Dr. Whitman, "knowing the vast resources and mineral wealth of Oregon territory, and the intention of the government of the United States to dispose of the same for a trivial consideration, to the government of Great Britain, from not being aware of the immense value . . . . did, in the dead of winter, at his own private expense, cross the continent amid the snows of the Rocky mountains and the bleakness of the intervening plains, inhabited by savage Indians, and reached Washington City and informed the government of the United States of the great value of said territory, and thereby prevented the sale and loss of said territory to the United States."

TSHIMAKAIN, AS SKETCHED BY GRAY, 1843

TSHIMAKAIN, AS SKETCHED BY ARTIST WITH GOVERNOR STEVENS' EXPEDITION, 1853

to do so, even if he had to withdraw from the mission in order to accomplish his purpose.

"In reply to considerations intended to hold Dr. Whitman to his assigned work, he said, 'I am not expatriated by becoming a missionary.' The idea of his withdrawal could not be entertained; therefore to retain him in the mission a vote to approve of his making the perilous endeavor prevailed. He had a cherished object for the accomplishment of which he desired consultation with Rev. David Greene, secretary of correspondence with the mission at Boston, Mass., but I have no recollection that it was named in the meeting. A part of two days was spent in consultation. Record of the date and acts of the meeting was made. The book containing the same was in the keeping of the Whitman family. At the time of their massacre, November 29, 1847, it disappeared."

Long before the purpose or the results of Dr. Whitman's journey had been called into question, Father Eells wrote an extended statement for publication in the Missionary Herald of December, 1866:

"The Hudson's Bay company," he said, "was aware at an early date of the existence of mineral deposits in that portion of Oregon claimed both by England and the United States."

Some of its men had early discovered the extensive lead outcroppings, on the shore of Kootenai lake in southern British Columbia, which in after years were to be located, under the mineral law, as the famous Bluebell mine.

"If I remember correctly," continues Mr. Eells, "I had not been long in this country before the statement was made that gold had been found on the Columbia river, taken to England, made into a watch seal, brought back here, and worn by a gentleman connected with the Hudson's Bay company." That the existence of gold in the country east of the Cascade mountains was known to representatives of the fur company long prior to the discovery of that metal at Sutter's mill in California, can scarcely be doubted, but for obvious prudential reasons it was not to the interest of the Hudson's Bay company to exploit the important fact.

"In those early days," testifies Mr. Eells, "Dr. Whitman made in my hearing the following statement: 'There is no doubt that this country abounds in the precious metals.' In the autumn or early winter of 1843 a German botanist was traveling with employes of the Hudson's Bay company, and having had some knowledge of mining operations in Germany, he expressed to his fellow travelers the opinion that precious metals existed in a designated locality. They replied, 'We know such to be the case from actual investigation.' But while the resources of the country were measurably appreciated, special effort was made to produce the impression that the country was of small value, and that much of it was worthless.

"Previous to 1843, Mrs. McDonald, at Fort Colville, had a collection of mineral specimens, a portion of which she presented to Mrs. Eells. These were shown to Dr. Whitman on his return in 1843.

"An unyielding purpose was formed by Dr. Whitman to go east. The mission was called together to consider whether or not its approval could be given to the proposed undertaking. Mr. Walker and myself were decidedly opposed, and we yielded only when it became evident that he would go, even if he had to become

disconnected from the mission in order to do so. According to the understanding of the members of the mission the single object of Dr. Whitman in attempting to cross the continent in the winter of 1842-3, amid mighty peril and suffering, was to make a desperate effort to save this country to the United States."

They had mothers' meetings, and a "Columbia Maternal association," here in the Inland Empire, back in 1838. It was organized soon after the arrival of Mrs. Walker and Mrs. Eells at the Whitman mission, with six members. By 1842 seven others had joined it, including the wives of two members of the Hudson's Bay company.

"Sensible of the evils that beset the young mind in a heathen land (so ran the preamble) and confident that no arm but God's can secure our children or those committed to our care from the dangers that surround them and bring them early into the fold of Christ and fit them for usefulness here and glory hereafter, we, the subscribers, agree to form ourselves into an association for the purpose of adopting such rules as are best calculated to assist us in the right performance of our maternal duties."

Climatically the mission was not well located at Walker's prairie. The crops at Tshimakain suffered from frosts, and the winters were longer and more severe than at more favored spots in the valley of the Spokane. That of 1846-7 was particularly rigorous.

"The past winter has been the most severe in the memory of the oldest Indians," wrote Mrs. Eells: "The snow began to fall about the middle of November; about the middle of December it was not far from two feet deep, and it continued to increase to the first of March. For more than five months the earth was clothed in a robe of white; for more than three months we were literally buried in snow; all the west side of our house was banked to the roof, and would have been dark only that the snow was shoveled from the windows."

Mission work among the Indians was practically suspended that dreary winter. The meeting house was closed from the 17th of January to the last Sunday in March, and even then Mr. Eells went on snowshoes to open it. It was so cold the first of March that the air cut like a knife, and even at that late date in winter the missionaries found it hard to keep comfortable in their cabin homes, notwithstanding fuel was abundant and they heaped high the supply on the broad fireplaces.

"From the middle of December till well into April men, women and children traveled on snowshoes. With great difficulty Mr. Walker and Mr. Eells fed their horses and cattle, but by economizing in feeding they saved all their horses but one, though twelve of their cattle died of starvation. "We have, however," wrote Mrs. Eells, "had an abundance of the necessaries of life, and more of its luxuries than has sometimes fallen to our lot." Measured by present day standards of luxurious living, few indeed must have been their luxuries that winter at Tshimakain.

The Indians suffered heavy losses of live stock. Notwithstanding the men and women spent a great part of their time clearing away snow so that their animals could get at the frozen bunch-grass, nearly all their horses died before the last of January. With the beginning of winter the Spokane chief had seventy horses and thirty cattle. But with the tardy coming of spring he had lost every

horse and all but two of his cattle. "The Indians generally had from one to ten horses," wrote Mrs. Eells, "but all alike are now on foot. I do not know of half a dozen live ones in all this region belonging to the Indians. They had nearly forty cattle which they had obtained through our instrumentality; there are only three or four left. A band of sixteen cattle belonging to the Bay Indians was sent to the Spokane river to winter; only one of them now is alive.

"At Colville the Hudson's Bay company had 270 horses; by April only three were alive. Every one of another band of eighty horses belonging to a single man is dead. The horses of the Indians in that region, and also of the Bay Indians further north, are all dead. At Colville some of the cattle froze to death standing."

At Tshimakain they took little heed of the New York or Paris fashions; and there were no new bonnets for Easter Sunday. About that time, acknowledging the gift of a shawl which had been sent around the Horn by eastern friends, Mrs. Eells wrote: "Mrs. Walker and I had each our red merino shawls that we wore in the States (nine years previous) and our plaids are pretty good, though they have been washed several times, and we concluded to send the shawl to Mrs. Whitman, as we were pretty sure she had none. She has since sent back many thanks, as she was destitute." Think upon this heroic act of self-abnegation, ye pampered sisters of the twentieth century; think of this when all the world seems dark and dreary under that last summer's creation in Parisian millinery.

That same box of Massachusetts luxuries brought several pairs of shoes for the children, the very first their youthful eyes had ever fallen upon. They had always worn moccasins, and in winter were obliged to stay in the house or have wet feet.

"Edwin and Myron think very much of the books sent them last fall," wrote the faithful mother with grateful heart. "I think they learn books very well, but they can never know the noble, exhilarating feeling there is connected with going to worship in a good meeting-house, where they can understand what is said, or to a good school with others of their own age. But I have no doubt the Lord will take care of them if we do our duty." Oh, that severe New England training of five and seventy years ago! Has it forever vanished from our midst? Have we grown into better things, with all the wealth of luxury and ease that came with the locomotive and the electric wire, or have we fallen upon degenerate days, that the confidences of this time-stained journal, penned, oh, so long ago, at lonely Tshimakain, sound quaint and peculiar to ears grown wiser in the brilliant light of the twentieth century?

But those Mission mothers were practical withal. "Last year and the year before we had milk, so that we made a few small cheeses. Just to prove how necessity can invent new ways when the old ones are not at hand, I will tell you how we went to work. At first, I believe, Mrs. McDonald of Fort Colville, gave us a little rennet, but we could bring no curd with it. Then Dr. Whitman gave us a little beef's rennet, but we succeeded no better with it. At last Mrs. Walker thought that perhaps young deer's rennet would do, so after a while an Indian brought us one which we tried, and it did well. But perhaps you will say, Why did you not have calves' rennet? Because a general feeling has prevailed that calves should not be killed.

"Now for the cheese basket and tongs, and something to dress it with. The first named utensil we did without. We succeeded in getting a two-gallon keg sawed in two, which served for hoops, and at first we pressed with stones and bags of musket balls. Last year Mrs. Walker made herself a lever which saved her strength some, but I did not try anything new."

This Mrs. McDonald, who goes into history as a charter member of the Columbia Maternal association, collector of mineral specimens and assistant in the first cheese-making establishment in the Inland Empire, was an Indian woman, but according to Mr. Eells, "a jewel of rare excellence, intelligent, and her numerous children were a living testimony to her maternal efficiency."

CHAPTER X

MISSIONS DESTROYED AND ABANDONED

MISSIONARIES ILL AND DISCOURAGED—WHITMAN MASSACRE BRINGS TERROR TO TSHIMAKAIN—FAITHFUL SPOKANES REMAIN LOYAL—MISSIONARIES FLEE TO COLVILLE—GRAPHIC REMINISCENCE OF EDWIN EELLS—A THRILLING MOMENT—SPOKANES RALLY TO DEFENSE OF THEIR TEACHERS—CAYUSES SEND OUT LYING RUNNERS—OREGON VOLUNTEERS COME TO ESCORT MISSIONARIES TO WILLAMETTE VALLEY—PATHETIC FAREWELL ON THE SPOKANE—"OUR HEARTS WEEP TO SEE YOU GO."

THE long hard winter of 1846-47 left the mission colony depressed in spirit and some of them bodily ill. It had been particularly trying to Mrs. Eells. They were discouraged, and frankly confessed that their work had been disappointing in results. Indian interest, both in church and school, had fallen off, and reactionary spirits among the Spokanes taunted the teachers, and challenged them to point out what benefits they had brought to the Indians. A few remained faithful, and in a way zealous, but not one had shown sufficient change of heart, according to the severe theological tests of the times, to warrant his admission to the church or to become a partaker of the sacrament.

Before the Whitman massacre in November, 1847, abandonment of the Spokane mission had practically been agreed upon. The Methodists were closing their Oregon missions, and Dr. Whitman bought their establishment at The Dalles. It was planned that Spalding should give up his work among the Nez Perces at Lapwai and join Whitman at Waiilatpu. Walker was to go from to Tshimakain to The Dalles; and Eells was to move to Dr. Whitman's, and engage in winter work for the benefit of the whites, many of whom were now settling in Oregon, while his summers were to be given up to itinerating work among the Indians. But man proposes and God disposes. Mr. Walker's ill health detained him at Tshimakain, and it seemed imprudent for Mr. Eells to leave him alone among the Spokanes. And for some reason Spalding lingered, too, at Lapwai, and thus several lives were saved from the frightful fate that befell Dr. and Mrs. Whitman.

After the massacre, futile efforts were made by the Cayuse Indians to induce the Spokanes to slay their teachers at Tshimakain. A number of Indians from the Spokane country had gone down into the Willamette valley and taken employment under the white settlers. The Cayuses sent false reports to the Spokanes that the white people in Oregon, in retaliation for the Whitman massacre, had killed sixty of these Indians from the Spokane region. Mr. Eells went to the chief of the Spokanes and gave him assurance that the report was false. "Believe not the message," he declared; "it is not the way the Americans do."

"Avoid being out after dark," counseled the chief. "I and my people are friendly, but some lurking Cayuses may try to kill you and throw suspicion on us. Make the door fast; place a strong shutter over the window. If there is a call for admittance, delay; make inquiry. By the dialect of the person at the door you will know from what band he comes—whether from those well or evil disposed."

It was a time to try the souls of the bravest, but the faithful Spokanes remained stanch, and the missionaries had faith in their loyalty.

"Soon after the massacre," says Myron Eells in his biography of Father Eells, "the government of Oregon raised volunteers, chiefly in the Willamette valley, who chastised the Cayuses, built Fort Waters at Dr. Whitman's station, and drove the Indians out of their own country nearly half way to Tshimakain. This brought the enemy so near that there seemed to be more danger than before, and Mr. Walker went to Fort Colville about the first of March to consult with Mr. Lewes, in charge there, as to their safety."

"Remain quiet at the mission as long as you can," replied Lewes. "If you become convinced of real danger, come to my fort, and I will protect you equally with myself and family."

Confronted with the possibility of losing their teachers, the Spokanes now exhibited the most earnest evidences of friendship. They were ready, they affirmed, to go to war with the Cayuses.

"But the hostile camp was now only about sixty miles from Tshimakain," says Myron Eells, "and it began to seem unsafe to stay any longer. Mr. Walker and Mrs. Eells were constitutionally timid and wished to leave. Mrs. Walker had strong nerves, but her six children made her cautious. She was on an even poise. Mr. Eells was not satisfied that there was danger enough to render it necessary to move; but he alone anchored the fourteen persons there, and the responsibility was too great. It was decided to leave for Fort Colville. So happy were the timid ones at this, that notwithstanding that it rained when they started, and their first camp was in the snow, and they did not reach Colville until the fourth day, yet the move was made without a murmur. The next week Messrs. Walker and Eells and Edwin Eells, then six years old, returned to Tshimakain to look after what was left."

Edwin Eells, in a recent article in the Sunday Spokesman-Review, tells, in graphic reminiscence of that return to the abandoned mission:

"On the Sabbath following our arrival at our now desolate home, about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, while sitting quietly in our house, we heard an unusual noise. My father went to the door and listened. He shut it quickly, fastened it and went into the back yard, where we mounted a table standing there, from which we could look over the picket fort fence that surrounded us, and listened.

"Off in the woods, a mile away, were Indians coming, heralding their approach with the Indian warwhoop. Nearer and nearer, and louder and louder came the sound. The cold chills ran down my back. I felt as though my hair was standing up under my cap, and I said: 'Father, father, what is it? What is it?' He was too intent to answer me.

"At length they came out into the open prairie, half a mile distant. There were a score of them or more, with faces painted, feathers in their hair, bows and arrows in their hands, riding bareback and yelling like mad. After a few minutes of intense suspense, my father recognized the horses and some of the Indians as belonging to

FIRST INDIAN AGENCY BUILDING ON NEZ PERCES RESERVATION

GRAVE OF MISSIONARY SPALDING, AT SPALDING, IDAHO

our own friendly band. His fears for our immediate safety were allayed, but he was intensely excited and apprehensive.

"After dashing wildly about the prairie and giving all the variations of the warwhoop, they formed a half circle and made a bee line for the houses, reaching Mr. Walker's first, where all stopped suddenly, with an ear-splitting shriek. Mr. Walker, who was sitting in his house with a half breed Indian, was paralyzed with terror. My father and I went down to his house, distant, perhaps, 100 yards, to meet them. On the way he led me by the hand, and being very much excited, walked so fast that I had to trot to keep up with him. I said, 'Father, what makes you walk so fast?' Again he did not reply.

"The old chief's son was at the head of the band. His story was that one of their people, while hunting horses the day before, had visited a camp of the Cayuses and found some of them gone, he could not learn where. He suspected it was to Tshimakain. Upon his way home he came upon fresh horse tracks, which so strengthened his suspicions that he walked all night and till noon that day to tell the old chief, who, with a part of the band, was camped about twenty-five miles from home, near the Spokane Falls.

"The chief immediately said, 'Young men, catch your horses and run to Tshimakain and protect your teachers,' not knowing that we had moved away. That night our horses were secured and put under lock and key, a guard was kept all night, with fires burning, and the next morning, with an escort of twenty men, we rode three miles across the ferry on our way back to the fort. They did this to show the enemy, if any were lurking about, that we were protected. After entering the timber they began to scatter, returning through the woods by separate trails, and thus our guard gradually diminished till we arrived at the fort, one or two only accompanying us all the way. . . .

"During the next ten weeks Mr. Eells was almost continually in the saddle, and traveled about 1,400 miles, visiting all the Spokane Indian bands, most of whom maintained friendly relations, and none of whom became hostile. He always traveled alone, except when accompanied by trusty Indians. Being a man of peace, he never carried any weapons. With a horse that could outrun any Indian horse in the country, and a mule that could scent an Indian half a mile or more tethered close by, he often slept alone in some out of the way place under a friendly bush. His quiet courage and strict integrity won the respect and confidence of the Indians, and enabled him to hold them all in check and prevent bloodshed.

"With their right hands reverently placed on his pocket testament and in his presence, the chiefs and head men of the several bands made solemn promises of fealty to the whites which they faithfully kept."

The Whitman massacre had thrown the whole country into a furor of alarming apprehensions. The dreadful news, carried quickly into the scattered settlements, from French Prairie in the Willamette valley to the fur trading outposts in British Columbia, struck alarm to the minds of the bravest men and terror to the hearts of timid women and children. Every rifle in the Oregon country was cleaned and oiled for the general savage warfare that seemed impending, and the door of every remote cabin was doubly barricaded.

Mischievous and murderous minded Cayuse Indians had put out their runners, with lying reports calculated to inflame the tribes of the interior, and to allay these

disturbing influences, Father Eells was in the saddle, weeks at a time, going everywhere over the interior, serene, courageous, self-possessed. And this at a time when even the fur traders suffered from attacks of "nerves," for at Fort Colville Factor Lewes kept his place guarded, night and day.

News of the massacre at Waiilatpu roused the fighting spirit of the Oregon settlers, and a volunteer regiment, commanded by Colonel H. A. G. Lee, marched out of the Willamette valley, ascended the Columbia river to the interior, and invaded the country of the hostiles. But their elusive foe, thoroughly alarmed at this formidable appearance of bitter and resolute avengers, scattered to the winds, and little punishment could be inflicted. May 28 two Indians brought letters to the refugees at Fort Colville, one from Colonel Lee informing the missionaries that his forces had dispersed and chased the flying Cayuses across Snake river, and adding:

"When we found that it was not expedient to pursue the flying Indians further, we halted. The question was asked: Shall we go back to the Willamette and leave the two mission families of Rev. Messrs. Walker and Eells? That could not be thought of. They could not look Americans in the face and say: 'We have left two missionary families in the Indian country in these times.' Volunteers were asked for to bring away those families and sixty responded. Major Joseph Magone was placed in charge."

A letter from Major Magone stated that he would be at Tshimakain with his forces on Sunday, May 28 (the same day that the messengers arrived at Colville with these dispatches), to give them military escort to the Willamette settlements.

After consulting among themselves and with Factor Lewes, a verdict was reached for abandonment of the mission, and early the next morning Walker, Eells and a son of Mr. Lewes were in the saddle for Tshimakain, where they arrived before sunset, a ride of 70 miles. The Spokanes were reluctant to lose their teachers, and protested, with fine spirit, that they would protect the white families, and if need be, were ready to make war on the Cayuses. When reminded that the presence of the missionaries might involve them in serious troubles, they answered that they were ready to accept the risk and one Indian, opening his blanket, declared, with fine imagery, that they would protect the missionaries even as a mother protected her child. To the last the Spokanes remonstrated against the contemplated separation, and seeing that further conference could be of no profit, the party returned to Colville. By noon of Thursday all were ready, and bidding goodbye to their kind hosts and protectors at Fort Colville, they sorrowfully faced the south and reached the vicinity of Tshimakain on Saturday. Lacking the heart to encounter again the pleading eyes and voices of the Spokanes, they changed their plan of remaining there over Sunday, and crossed the Spokane and observed the Sabbath on the south bank of the stream.

"The groves were God's first temples," in the Spokane country. Our mission workers could not wait for the rearing even of four plain walls, much less for "fretted vault," and swelling organ tones. Many a time and oft they spoke God's word in the beautiful cathedral of nature, beneath the vast dome of heaven, while their wild and uncouth congregations gathered attentively around, in the shade of the pillared pines. Fitting theme for the hand and brush of genius was that farewell service, on a Sabbath morning in early June, on the bank of the brimming Spokane, with the women and children seated on bales of household goods, and the

Oregon volunteers, stained by weeks of campaigning through the Indian country, some seated on logs, others half-reclining on the turf, and others yet with folded arms, standing soldierly erect.

As the quiet Sunday wore away, many sorrowing Indians gathered in. "We do not know when we shall hear you again," said Qual-qual-a-hive-tsa; "will you not say a service for us?" And for scripture text the preacher took, "The people departed, sorrowing most of all that they might see our face no more."

And so, after more than nine years of rough home-building among the Spokanes, they went away from beautiful Tshimakain, birthplace of five of the Walker children and of Edwin and Myron Eells. Few of them were ever to look again upon that mountain vale. And yet, "there is a clinging to the land of one's birth," and in memory of the place, Mrs. Mary Walker, "Grandma Walker" she became in later years to all the people of the countryside, wrote these lines for her children:

Tshimakain. Oh, how fine,
Fruits and flowers abounding;
And the breeze through the trees,
Life and health conferring

And the rill near the hill,
With its sparkling water;
Lowing herds and prancing steeds
Around it used to gather.

And the Sabbath was so quiet,
And the log-house chapel,
Where the Indians used to gather
In their robes and blankets.

Now it stands, alas, forsaken:
No one with the Bible
Comes to teach the tawny Skailu*
Of Kai-ko-len-so-tin.†

Other spots on earth may be
To other hearts as dear;
But not to me; the reason why,
It was the place that bore me."

That first week of the exodus took them to Dr. Whitman's mission. Two faithful Spokanes went with them to the crossing of Snake river, and, parting, one of them said: "Our hearts weep to see you go, but we are reconciled." The second week brought them to The Dalles. There the cavalcade divided, Mr. Eells, with his domestic animals, going with the troops overland through the Cascade mountains by way of Barlow pass, the others descending the Columbia in boats and going up the Willamette to Oregon City at the falls.

* People.

† God.

"The missions of the American Board in Oregon were broken up," says Myron Eells in the biography of his father. "Could they be resumed? The only mission in regard to which there was any hope was that among the Spokanes. Hoping that the way would open for their return, Messrs. Walker and Eells did not sever their connection with the Board for five years.

"The Indians were very anxious to have them return, and in 1851 journeyed four hundred and fifty miles to Oregon City to obtain teachers. Dr. Dart, superintendent of Indian affairs, did what he could to aid them, but after thoroughly weighing the matter neither Mr. Walker nor Mr. Eells could feel it his duty to return; for, first, there was no adequate protection at Tshimakain; and, second, the cost of resuming and sustaining operations was very great, owing largely to the high prices resulting from the discovery of gold in California. . . . Hence in 1855 their connection as missionaries with the Board was formally dissolved.

"The Indians had been left by their teachers, and the question was, Would they return to their former practices? Instead of retrogression came advance. If not members of the visible church—and not one had been thought fit for church membership—some showed that they were members of the invisible one. Several, as if divinely called, took position as leaders and teachers. There were public Sabbath services and daily worship in their lodges. If the head man were absent, another took his place. If the praying men were all away, the praying women took their places."

Annually some of the Spokanes went to the Willamette valley for work, and each year they pleaded for the return of the missionaries. Yielding, at last, to their importuning, Mr. Walker resolved to pay them a visit, in company with Indian Superintendent Dart. The two started for the Spokane country, but Dart was called back, and Walker deemed it best to return with him.

"Notwithstanding all the commotion about Tshimakain in the spring of 1848, the wheat had been sown in hope that it might be needed," adds Father Eells' biographer. "When the missionaries left in June, Mr. Eells gave the Indians the two sickles, and they were instructed to cut it when it was ripe and put it in the barn, and if the missionaries did not return before the snow should fall, they might thresh and eat it. It was harvested, but the chief said it must be kept for the use of their teachers on their return. It was used in time of need for seed, but was replaced. When they expected Mr. Walker to visit them, they carried it to Colville and had it ground, and brought it back for the use of the party."

In 1861, the government having established a military post at Fort Colville and placed Major Lugenbeel in command, that officer, who served also as Indian agent, said to Mr. Eells: "Those Indians of yours are the best Indians I ever saw. I wish you would go back and resume missionary operations among them."

CHAPTER XI

FOUNDING THE FIRST CHURCHES AROUND SPOKANE

FATHER EELLS RETURNS TO THE BUNCHGRASS REGION—TWELVE YEARS AT WALLA WALLA—FOUNDS WHITMAN ACADEMY—SPALDING RETURNS TO THE NEZ PERCES—BAPTIZES 253 SPOKANES—EELLS VISITS HIS OLD FRIENDS ON THE SPOKANE—DELIVERS FIRST FOURTH OF JULY ADDRESS AT COLVILLE—ORGANIZES AT COLFAX FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH NORTH OF SNAKE RIVER—ELECTED SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENT OF WHITMAN COUNTY—LIFE AS A CIRCUIT RIDER OUT OF COLFAX—MOVES TO MEDICAL LAKE—DEDICATES CHURCH AT CHEWELAH—ORGANIZES CHURCH AT MEDICAL LAKE—HIS WORK IN SPOKANE—ORGANIZES CHURCH AT SPRAGUE—HIS LAST DAYS AT TACOMA—TRIBUTES TO HIS MEMORY—MISSION WORK AMONG THE NEZ PERCES—LIFE WORK OF REV. H. H. SPALDING—A DEVOTED BAND—GENERAL HOWARD'S TRIBUTE TO MISS M'BETH.

Near yonder copse, where once the garden smiled,
And still where many a garden flower grows wild,
There, where a few torn shrubs the place disclose,
The village preacher's modest mansion rose.
A man he was to all the country dear,
And passing rich with forty pounds a year.

—*Oliver Goldsmith.*

FATHER EELLS was never content with life in the Willamette valley or on Puget Sound. The call of the bunch-grass country came strong and persistent. He yielded to its subtle power, and in 1860 went to Walla Walla, where he lived for twelve years, preaching, teaching and laboring incessantly for Whitman academy, an institution of his founding as an enduring memorial to the murdered missionary. In 1862 he went back to Tshimakain, his first visit since the abandonment of the mission. He held services on a Sabbath, attended by many Indians who gathered in from the surrounding country to greet their old teacher.

While he lived at Walla Walla, a number of Spokanes came down to that valley every year to work for farmers. Many of these frequently attended the Congregational church, and, remaining for Sunday school, were gathered into a class and taught in their own tongue. At times this class had twenty-five to thirty-five members.

At Tshimakain the missionaries had given the Indians a tract filled with Bible

pictures. This they had treasured through the years. To aid them in remembrance of dates, the missionaries had prepared a simple chronological chart, a short line marking a year, one a little longer a decade, and a long line a century. By this means the time was illustrated, from the creation to the deluge, the deluge to the Christian era, and from the days of Christ to the present. They treasured this simple chart for nearly thirty years. One Sunday in 1868, at Walla Walla, after a number of them had attended Sunday school, they followed Mr. Eells to his home, and presenting this old paper, A-ma-mel-i-kan uttered the single word, "tem-e-walsh"—it is worn out. They were given a new one.

Mr. Eells moved from Walla Walla to Puget Sound in 1872, and the Spokanes, still seeking religious instruction, appealed to Missionary H. H. Spalding, who had resumed his work among the Nez Perces. Spalding went among them in 1873 and baptized 253, a mission from which he probably derived peculiar gratification growing out of his intense and unreasoning aversion to the Catholics. Under a new Indian policy adopted in President Grant's administration, of turning over Indian educational work to various religious denominations, the Spokanes were assigned in 1871 to the Colville agency, which chanced to fall under Catholic control. Naturally the Catholic missionaries were eager to extend the influence of the church of Rome, and this action by Spalding thwarted their plans.

But the lure of the sun-bright interior remained strong in the heart of Father Eells. When James N. Glover, in 1873, brought his sawmill from Salem, Oregon, to Spokane, he employed as millwright Deacon J. J. MacFarland of that place. MacFarland attended, next year, the meeting of the Congregational Association of Oregon and Washington, at Olympia, and there narrated to Father Eells his observations made while erecting the mill on the Spokane; how the Indians encamped by the falls had daily called the people together for worship, and maintained double services on Sunday. It was like a bugle call to the stout-hearted old missionary, and packing food and bedding on his favorite horse Le Bleu (how the old French names lingered in the land, for Le Bleu was a favorite horse name among the trappers a century ago) he set out in July, 1874, to cross the Cascade mountains. Alternately riding and walking to rest his horse, he traversed the state, going by way of Walla Walla and Colfax. Coming to the Spokane, he saw an Indian camp across the river. "Do you know me?" he called out across the water. "Yes, yes; it's Mr. Leels!" answered the glad voice of the Indians.

News of the return of their old friend and teacher ran over the country, and it was arranged that he should hold services at Chewelah the following Sunday. That was a busy day for Mr. Eells, for within six hours he conducted two services for the natives and two more for the white settlers. From Chewelah he went to Colville to consult Indian Agent J. A. Simms. Then back to the Spokane river, where two more services were held, and then a trip to the little settlement by the falls to meet and counsel with Rev. H. T. Cowley, who was taking up independent missionary work among the natives there.

The next summer Mr. Eells revisited the Spokane country and held twenty-four services with his former wards. One Sunday he and Mr. Cowley administered the sacrament to sixty communicants before a congregation of 360. "I made note," he remarked, "of the propriety of language used in prayer."

He returned to the Puget Sound country, but the summer of 1876 found him

back in the interior, giving his Sundays to the white people in the vicinity of Colville, and most of his week days to the Spokanes at various places. During nineteen weeks of this summer he held forty services with the Indians and forty more with the whites. He delivered, too, the address at the first fourth of July celebration held at Colville. "As it was the Centennial year," says his son, Myron Eells, "the oration was expected to be largely an historical sketch of the valley. Partly from public records, partly from the reminiscences of early settlers, and partly from his own recollection, it was prepared. One man, John A. Simms, Indian agent, was present, who had been present when he delivered the first similar address in the Walla Walla valley sixteen years before."

The country was now filling with settlers, in anticipation of the coming of the Northern Pacific railroad, and Mr. Eells was impressed with the opportunity here presented for home mission work.

"True," writes his biographer, "the country was not thickly settled. Spokane had in 1874, when he first visited it after it had been laid out as a town (though he had visited the place thirty or more years before) only two women; and for many years afterward had in Cheney a strong rival, and in 1880 could boast of only about a hundred people. The entire district (eastern Washington north of Snake river) had only 2,434 population. There was no railroad. Not until 1883 was the last spike on the Northern Pacific driven. But there was a certainty that it would be built through that region; hence a few had gone there, among them quite a number of Dr. Eells' old acquaintances in the Walla Walla valley.

"In the early days he often spoke of the rich Palouse country, and so he turned his steps in 1877 to its center, Colfax. August 9, 1874, while passing from Colville to Skokomish, he had preached his first sermon there, the first preaching from a Congregational minister in that town."

At Colfax, on Sunday, July 8, 1877, assisted by Rev. Dr. Atkinson of Oregon, he organized the first Congregational church north of Snake river, ten persons entering into the organization. For four years he was pastor of that pioneer church.

As Mrs. Eells was in failing health, it was deemed unwise at first to bring her to Colfax, but in the spring of 1878 he thought it best for her to be more closely associated with him in his labors, and it was planned that she should join him there, plans that were not to be carried to execution, for in May this faithful and devoted "mother in Israel," who had come as a bride nearly forty years before to lonely Tshimakain, was seized with her last illness. August 9, 1878, at the age of 73, she passed to her great reward. Funeral services were held at Skokomish, and the funeral sermon was preached by her son, Rev. Myron Eells, as there was no other minister within thirty miles.

"Before her death," this son has written, "plans had been made for a church building at Colfax. At first the proposition was made to the church that if it would allow other churches to use the building half the time, they would cooperate in building it. In accordance with that plan subscriptions were made. But to Dr. Eells this was injudicious. He believed that the Congregational church would have to do the greater part of the work, and would have the church but half the time. After consultation the plan was abandoned. Then Dr. Eells said that he would give as much as all the members for the erection of a building not to exceed

a thousand dollars. J. A. Perkins gave $500, the rest $500. It was a great effort, and some had to borrow money. When finished the cost was over $2,000. The money was all furnished by the church, then increased to thirteen members, and its pastor, except about fifty dollars."

It was a small band, "but those charter members were a host," testified the pastor. "They were influential and highly esteemed. They were small in number, but earnest, active, efficient."

Besides his $500 to the church building, Mr. Eells paid $100 for the lots, $100 for the organ, $311 for the bell, and for hymn books, bibles and incidentals enough more to swell his total gift to $1,600. The building, 30 by 60 feet, was dedicated September 7, 1879. Dr. Eells offered the dedicatory prayer, and it was dedicated free of debt. And this, in brief, was the beginning of Plymouth church, Colfax.

At the election of 1878 Mr. Eells was elected school superintendent of Whitman county, having then an area considerably larger than that of Connecticut. He qualified reluctantly, and finding his double duties a severe tax upon his strength, resigned the office June 1, 1879, and a successor was appointed, but failed to qualify, and Mr. Eells served out the term of two years. The following quotation from his own chronicles will illustrate pioneer conditions in Whitman county:

"Monday morning left Colfax; rode perhaps seven miles; was at a school in Spring valley soon after nine o'clock. Hobbled my horse and let him graze outside, and spent the forenoon in school. At 12 o'clock I rode on and ate a cold lunch in the saddle. After a little more than an hour's ride, arrived at a school in Thousand Springs Valley. Remained till the close of school. I then rode on; ate my supper as I had done my lunch. When it was becoming a little dark, I arrived at the residence of aged persons who, I thought, would entertain me. It was raining. I knocked at the door; there was no response. There was a rude stable constructed of rails and straw. I went to that; there was no feed there. I had taken the precaution to carry a small portion of grain on my horse. I now gave that to him. I had not planned to camp; consequently my bedding was short. The flooring of the stable was the ground. I lay down; slept some of the time, and some of the time I did not. In the morning the rain had ceased falling. My horse needed grass. I went out and lay down, making a pillow of my arm, and added somewhat to my sleep. Had a cold breakfast of such food as I had with me. Had traveled thirty-five miles the day before. In due time I passed on. At half-past 8 I was near the schoolhouse that I wished to visit. It was a large school, and there was an unusual number of large scholars. I spent the entire forenoon in that school, my horse outside hobbled and grazing.

"At the close of the school I rode on to the school at Colton, and was there seasonably for the afternoon session, and remained there until near the close of the afternoon. As I had failed the night before to find entertainment, I now planned to be in season. I had several miles to ride. I rode down the valley called Union Flat. While passing, I took out dry bread, dismounted, dipped it in the water and then got in the saddle. It speedily softened. Seasonably I arrived at the residence of Mrs. H. B. Heald. I said to her, 'Will you allow me to leave tomorrow morning before breakfast?'—for I had some ten miles to ride to go to the next school. 'I think we can give you an early breakfast,' was the

reply. She arose at five o'clock the next morning and gave me my breakfast so early that I was at the school house as soon as the teacher arrived. I spent the forenoon in that school and then returned to Colfax."

Churches grew slowly in pioneer days. When Mr. Eells, after a four year pastorate at Colfax, resigned in July, 1881, that church had but twenty-eight members; and it was yet the largest church north of Snake river. The Rev. J. T. Marsh was his successor in Plymouth church.

While Mr. Eells was at Colfax his labors extended far beyond the radius of his congregation there. He was, in effect, a "circuit rider" over much the greater part of that four years, preaching at Lone Pine, Almota, Steptoe Butte, Marshall, Colville and other places. Special work, says his biographer, was done also at Dayton, Chewelah, Cheney, Spokane Falls and Medical Lake, and he counseled largely in the organization of most of the earlier churches of eastern Washington. His was a wide stage of action, extending from the Canadian boundary on the north, to the Oregon line near Walla Walla; but he was gifted with extraordinary vigor and vitality, and his "little jaunts" over eastern Washington at this period of its development, even though made by a man who had attained the scriptural allotment of three score and ten, brought little of hardship to one who in his younger days had shared the hard, rough life of traders and trappers, and lived for weeks at a time on Indian fare.

Upon leaving Colfax, Mr. Eells, thinking the waters of Medical Lake would benefit his health, took up his residence there and, as his strength permitted, engaged in general missionary work. But Medical Lake was off the railroad, and finding that his work could be better conducted from Cheney, he removed to that town in April, 1882, and built himself a small dwelling house. "For nearly a year and a half," says his son, "his time was spent in a round of labors in nine different places in three counties: Lone Pine in Whitman county; Cheney, Sprague, Spangle, Medical Lake and near Cottonwood Springs in Spokane county; Chewelah, Fort Colville and Colville town in Stevens county. Then followed a year in the east for Whitman college, after which he still made his home at Cheney, nominally, though really it was everywhere throughout the region."

"I have been away from home sixteen nights (he wrote in July, 1885), at home twelve. I am weary in my work, but not tired of it." Again in October: "After an absence of fifteen days on a preaching tour I returned. I have conducted preaching services at each of nine different places." After a trip to Colfax, he wrote, September 11, 1885: "A boy, judged to be about ten years old, rode twenty-five miles to get a pair of shoes for his sister to wear to service."

In October, 1886, he returned to Medical Lake, where he remained a year and a half, his preaching places at that period being Medical Lake, Pleasant Prairie, Half Moon Prairie, Meadow Lake and Cheney, with an occasional visit to Chewelah and Colville.

In 1892 a church was erected at Chewelah, and notwithstanding Father Eells was then living west of the Cascade mountains, the people there felt that none could grace so well the occasion of the dedication. Fifty-four years to a day, after he first camped on the site of the town, he offered prayer in this new church. "It may be a weakness for me, an old man, to go so far, four hundred and fifty miles and back, to accept the invitation," he wrote of this journey, "but if anybody

else had camped on that spot, and held services there fifty-four years previous, perhaps he would have the same weakness."

A gift of a bell for this church was his last important act for any church. He bought it in New York, and paid for it a few days before his death. Said the Rev. H. L. Hallock at his funeral: "Its first tones in eastern Washington will ring out a tender requiem—nay, rather a glorious tone of rejoicing for the work he has accomplished, and the crown of life he has gone to wear on high."

Writing years after of his work at Cheney, his son, the Rev. Myron Eells, said: "Previous to 1881, Deacon G. R. Andrus, whose home was near Cheney, had held a Sabbath school near that place, which was afterward moved to the town. The question then was, 'Can a church be organized?' It was done February 20, 1881, by Dr. Eells, in a hotel over a barroom, with nine members, three males and six females, and was the first church of any denomination in the place. He was its pastor until the ordination of the Rev. F. T. Clarke the next winter.

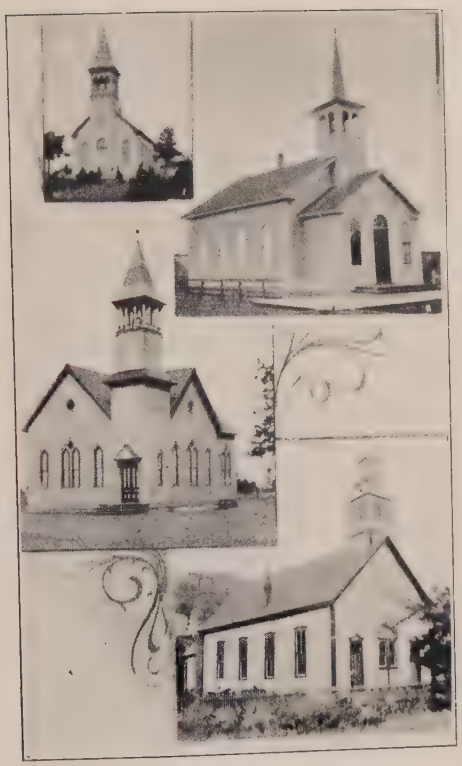
"The next question was to erect a building. Dr. Eells prepared a subscription paper and headed it with $500. Others subscribed. It was a struggle, yet it was carried forward. A contract was made for $1,500. The first $500 were easily paid; the Church Building Society had promised to furnish the last $500; the second payment was the hard work. The day on which the payment was to be made was one of anxiety. Deacon Andrus went about the place trying to obtain assistance. About noon he and Dr. Eells met to see the result of their united effort. There was no lack. It seemed wonderful. That afternoon he left for Lone Pine and camped by a tree at night. As he sat by the tree and thought of the day's work and the progress that had been made in regard to the church edifice, his heart overflowed with gratitude."

To this church Mr. Eells also gave a bell, and in all his gifts to the Cheney church aggregated $1,100. The bell cracked in 1884, and he had it sent back to the factory at West Troy, paying $50 for freight and exchange for a new bell.

After he had left eastern Washington he wrote in his journal: "August 27, 1888: I pray much for the divine approval of my work at Cheney and Medical Lake. February 25, 1891: Have been to Tacoma to pay interest money on a note against the Congregational church at Cheney."

Of Father Eells' later work at Spokane his son has written: "Dr. Eells first visited this place in 1874, when but two white women were in it. He afterwards preached there at times. A church was organized May 22, 1879, and their next great step was to erect a building. They were then worshiping in a schoolhouse, 26 by 40 feet, and thought that a church of the same size would be large enough. Dr. Eells advised them to make it ten feet longer, and promised them $200. It was built the same size as the one at Cheney, 30 by 50, at a cost of $2,000. Afterwards he gave this church a bell, then some books, and some more money, amounting to $500 in all. At its dedication, December 20, 1881, the day after the one at Cheney was dedicated, he offered the dedicatory prayer, Dr. Atkinson preaching the sermon. He counseled it through troublous times in 1882-83, and for a short time in 1883 was its pastor."

Such was the beginning of Westminster Congregational church of Spokane, and among its memorial windows is one with this inscription:



A GROUP OF FATHER EELLS' CHURCHES

INDIAN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, SPALDING, IDAHO

CUSHING EELLS,
Always abounding in good works.

When Mr. Eells learned that with the construction of the Northern Pacific a town was to be started at Sprague, his memory ran back to many interesting incidents associated with that site. There the mission families had encamped, that rainy spring in 1839, when on their way from the Whitman mission to Tshimakain; and there, while they were detained by the kick of a horse suffered by Mr. Walker, he had walked to a slight eminence overlooking the present town and engaged in meditation and prayer. It was a convenient camping place on his journeys from Tshimakain to the Whitman mission and old Fort Walla Walla on the Columbia, and there the mission families, on their way to the annual conference at Waiilatpu had passed two Sundays in rest and religious service. It seemed to him that a spot thus enshrined in the deeper emotions of his heart extended to him a special call to duty and action, and accordingly he responded to that call, and there, on April 14, 1881, in the dining-room of the hotel, he conducted the first protestant services ever held in the town. On June 18, 1882, he organized a Congregational church there with five members and became its pastor, serving the little congregation for two years. At his own expense he built, the same year, a union Sunday school on a lot owned by himself. Out of his private purse came, too, the purchase price of the church bell, and the lot for the parsonage was his contribution. In all his gifts to this church totaled more than $750.

With his resignation of the pastorate at Medical Lake ended the active life work of Father Eells. On leaving that place, May 19, 1888, he wrote in his journal:

"This afternoon I leave Medical Lake. Marked kindness has been shown me by precious friends. Inexpressible sorrow and anguish have been experienced by the words and acts of others. I think it is not unlikely their conduct is largely attributable to ignorance and erroneous belief. Doubtless I am sensitive."

Moved by the infirmities of advancing age, he retired to the home of his son Edwin on the Puyallup Indian reservation near Tacoma. But again and again his heart went out to his churches in eastern Washington, and under date of August 19, 1889, is found this entry in his journal:

"I have ordered an 800 pound bell to be forwarded to Rev. David Wirt at Medical Lake." And again:

"October 19, 1889: In my dreams and waking moments I am at Medical Lake."

On Saturday, February 11, 1893, he wrote the last entry in his journal, that journal which, for fifty-five years of active life, he had maintained, with almost daily regularity. With unerring premonition of the approaching change, he wrote, "My feelings impress me with the nearing close of my mortal life" The next day was Sunday, and he rode to church from his son's house in Tacoma, participating in some of the services at the First Congregational church. On the way home he suffered a severe chill, but went out after dinner to feed his old horse, Le Blond, but fell in the effort and was unable to rise. He was carried to his bed with pneumonia, but a seeming change appearing for the better he rose on Wednesday and wrote a little. That night he grew worse and a physician was summoned. The dying missionary watched the passing hours until after midnight of the sixteenth, his birthday, when he directed his granddaughter to write in his journal: "Eighty-three years

ago today I commenced this mortal life." His last words were some directions regarding his faithful horse, and about half-past two his eyes closed forever in death. The body was taken to Seattle and laid to rest by the grave of his wife.

Memorial services were held at Walla Walla, where the principal address was spoken by the Rev. Jonathan Edwards, assisted by President J. F. Eaton and Mrs. N. F. Cobleigh of Whitman college, and Dr. A. J. Anderson, a former president. At Colfax, where the chief address was delivered by the Rev. H. P. James, Dr. F. M. Bunnell also voicing a fitting tribute. At Medical Lake, where expressions were made by Mr. and Mrs. B. S. Dudley, Mr. and Mrs. E. W. Gilkey, and the Rev. F. V. Hoyt. At Skokomish, in the first church of the town, of which he once had been pastor, memorial services were conducted by his son; and at Ravenswood, near Chicago, a memorial address was made by the Rev. Marcus Whitman Montgomery, with stereopticon views by Dr. J. E. Roy.

Speaking of the death of this truly great and good man, Dr. F. B. Cherrington, pastor of Westminster church in Spokane, said: that a hero was one who had an opportunity and proved equal to it; but Dr. Eells had an opportunity and improved it.

The Rev. L. H. Hallock, his Tacoma pastor, said: "At the dawn of his eighty-third birthday was translated from earth to heaven, Dr. Cushing Eells, one of God's noblemen; pioneer missionary, friend of humanity, founder of Whitman college, and judged by the test of long and unwearied service, entitled as much as any man to the Master's greeting, 'Well done, good and faithful servant; enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.' Good Father Eells died with the respect of all who knew him. He died in peace to meet the reward of an honored and faithful servant."

The Occidental Congregationalist: "A company of our legislators, sitting in committee at Olympia, debated whether they should tax church property. One of them asked why it should be favored. He was reminded that there lay, not many miles from him, the mortal remains of a Christian patriarch, Father Eells of venerable memory, through whose efforts and those of his colleague, Marcus Whitman, this very state in which the legislators sat had been saved to him and to America. On the day that rounded eighty-three years of life, Cushing Eells left Washington for another home. On the day after his death, a legislative committee of the state of Washington, who owed their property and their Christian nurture to him, determined to favor the churches because of his work. And if ever a question was squarely answered, it was answered when a gentleman from Tacoma instanced the life of Cushing Eells as the reason why Washington owes something to the Christian missionary, the Christian church and the Christian's God."

Dr. Lyman Abbott wrote in the Christian Union: "A man of great and beautiful character, of unsurpassed consecration, and one to whom the republic of the United States owes a far greater debt than to many who have occupied a far more conspicuous place in history."

Measured by interest aroused, numbers converted, and sustained results, the Nez Perce missions at Lapwai and Kamiah were the most successful of all Protestant efforts to evangelize the native races of the Pacific northwest. The reader will recall that with Marcus Whitman and his bride came the Rev. H. H. Spalding and bride, crossing the Rocky mountains in 1836, the young wives the first women to traverse the American continent; and that the Spaldings answered the call of

the Nez Perces, the most numerous and extensive of all the Indian tribes of the interior, and established a mission and school among them at Lapwai. The school opened with 100 pupils, old and young, and three years after the attendance had grown to 150 children and as many adults. Mr. Spalding reported that the more devout Nez Perces frequently spent the entire night pondering over what they had learned the day before. Two years later these Indians gathered in assemblages of from 1,000 to 2,000 for religious instruction.

They eagerly sought instruction in agriculture, and some of them would barter their guns, dearest possession of the Indian heart, for hoes and spades. Nearly a hundred families planted fields around Mr. Spalding's, who reported in 1838 that his own field yielded 2,000 bushels of potatoes, besides a good crop of wheat and other products.

For many years after the missionaries had withdrawn to the Willamette valley, the Nez Perces remained without white instructors, but immigrants, gold hunters, Indian agents and traders reported that the Christianizing influences of the missionaries remained. One third of the Nez Perces were found to be maintaining family worship, and public services were continued under the faithful preaching of Timothy. They possessed hymn books in their own beautiful language, and read from the gospel of Matthew, also in their own tongue—books that had been printed in mission days on the first printing press to be set up and operated west of the Rocky mountains. This equipment of the "art preservative of all arts" had come as a donation from the Rev. H. Bingham's church at Honolulu, and with it, in 1839, had come E. O. Hall, a printer from the Sandwich islands, induced to make the long voyage and journey to the interior of the American continent by the invalidism of his wife. The Halls remained at Lapwai till the spring of 1840, when they returned to the Sandwich islands.

So well had many of the Nez Perces kept up their knowledge of reading and writing that they were able, at the great council at Walla Walla in 1855, as reported by General Joel Palmer and others, to take notes of the proceedings and make copies of the treaties there negotiated by Governor Stevens.

After the vigorous and successful Wright campaign of 1858, the country east of the Cascade mountains was declared open by military proclamation, in 1859, to white settlement, and soon thereafter Mr. Spalding, who, through all the waiting years down in the Willamette valley, had cherished a purpose to return to his first field of endeavor, came back to the Nez Perce country and resumed his mission labors. "Although Mr. Spalding had been absent from the tribe many years," reported Indian Agent J. W. Anderson, "yet they retained all the forms of worship which had been taught them. Many of them have prayers night and morning in their lodges. Not having any suitable schoolhouse, I permitted Mr. Spalding to open his school in my office shortly after his arrival, and from that time till he was compelled to discontinue the school from severe sickness, the school was crowded, not only with children, but with old men and women, some of whom were compelled to use glasses to assist the sight. Some of the old men would remain till bedtime engaged in transcribing into their language portions of scripture translated by Mr. Spalding."

Judge Alexander Smith, of the first judicial district of Idaho, wrote about

that time, for publication in a San Francisco newspaper, the following interesting account of services held at Lewiston by Mr. Spalding:

"On Sunday last I had the pleasure of attending church at this place, conducted in Nez Perce by Rev. H. H. Spalding. The governor, federal and county officers and citizens of Lewiston were mostly present. The scene was deeply solemn and interesting; the breathless silence, the earnest, devout attention of that great congregation (even the small children) to the words of their much loved pastor; the spirit, the sweet melody of their singing; the readiness with which they turned to hymns and chapters, and read with Mr. Spalding the lessons from their testaments which Mr. Spalding had translated and printed twenty years before; the earnest, pathetic voices of the native Christians whom Mr. Spalding called upon to pray—all, all deeply and solemnly impressed that large congregation of white spectators, even to tears. It were better a thousand times over, if the government would do away with its policy that is so insufficiently carried out, and only lend its aid to a few such men as Mr. Spalding, whose whole heart is in the business, who has but one desire, to civilize and Christianize the Indians."

In his able work, "Indian Missions," the Rev. Myron Eells blames "governmental policy and officers, the Indian ring and others," for hostile interference with Mr. Spalding's later work among the Nez Perces. "Some of the time he was on the outskirts, some of the time in the Walla Walla region, and sometimes elsewhere; yet all of the time he was aiming to do one thing, notwithstanding the opposition of those who so often defeated him," a judgment which needs to be tempered by the statement of fact that Mr. Spalding, as often is the case with men of intense zeal and resolution of purpose, was temperamentally unfortunate and not infrequently bitter and undiplomatic in his relations with others.

"It was not until he went in person to Washington, in the winter of 1870-71," adds Eells, "that he obtained an order freely to return to his field. He reentered it in the fall of 1871, and for three years worked with unabating zeal, and during this time he was allowed to gather in the harvest."

He lies buried at Lapwai, death calling him to his long reward on August 3, 1874. Large part of the last year of his life was devoted to mission work among the Spokanes. Of these he baptized nearly 700 in the last three years of his life.

"Perhaps," said the Oregonian of August 22, 1874, "it is to his influence more than to any other cause, that the Nez Perces are indebted for the distinction they enjoy of being regarded as the most intelligent and the least savage of all our Indian tribes. Amid the grateful remembrance of those who came in after him to enjoy the blessings his sacrifices purchased, he rests from his labors, and his works do follow him."

In the closing years of his mission Mr. Spalding drew around him a most devoted, earnest band of Christian workers, including our Spokane pioneer, H. T. Cowley and wife, and Miss S. L. McBeth, who came from the Choctaw mission to take employment under government as a teacher among the Nez Perces. Of this remarkable woman General O. O. Howard, who visited her when passing through the country with his command in pursuit of Chief Joseph and his hostile band, wrote in the Chicago Advance of June 14, 1877:

"In a small house having two or three rooms, I found Miss McBeth living by herself. She is such an invalid from partial paralysis, that she can not walk from

house to house, so I was sure to find her at home. The candle gave us a dim light, so that I could scarcely make out how she looked as she gave me her hand and welcomed me to Kamiah. The next time I saw her by day, showed me a pale intellectual face, above a slight frame. How could this face and frame seek this far-off region? Little by little the mystery is solved. Her soul has been fully consecrated to Christ, and He has, as she believes, sent her upon a special mission to the Indians. Her work seems simple, just like the Master's in some respects. For example, she gathers her disciples around her, a few at a time, and having herself learned their language, so as to understand them and to speak passably, she instructs them and makes teachers of these disciples.

"There is the lounge and the chair, there the cook stove and the table, there, in another room, the little cabinet organ, and a few benches. So is everything about this little teacher, the simplest in style and work. The only Nez Perces books thus far are the gospel of Matthew, translated by Mr. Spalding, and the gospel of John, by James Reuben, the Indian assistant teacher, who was aided in the translation by the Rev. Mr. Ainslie. It is evident these must be largely used in this work of instruction. I hear that the Indian department is afraid that Miss McBeth is teaching theology and orders her back to the rudiments. Certainly not theology in the way of 'isms' of any kind, I am ready to affirm. I told her to call it 'theophily,' if a high-sounding name was needed for God's love. For as Jonah, the sub-chief, brokenly said, 'It makes Indians stop buying and selling wives; stop gambling and horse-racing for money; stop getting drunk and running about; stop all time lazy and make them all time work.' It is filling this charming little village with houses, and though she can not visit them, her pupils' houses are becoming neat and cleanly. The wife is becoming industrious within doors, sews, knits and cooks. The fences are up, the fields are planted. Oh, that men could see that this faithful teaching has the speedy effect to change the heart of the individual man; then all the fruits of civilization begin to follow."

In the chapter next following, the narrative of the Rev. H. T. Cowley's removal from the Nez Perce reservation, to take up independent mission work among the Spokanes, will conclude our review of Protestant missions in the Inland Empire.

CHAPTER XII

H. T. COWLEY TELLS OF LIFE AMONG THE SPOKANES

BEGINS MISSION WORK WITH THE NEZ PERCES IN 1871—BECOMES AN INDEPENDENT TEACHER AT SPOKANE IN 1874—FAMILY LIVES ON DRIED SALMON AND VENISON—OPENS SCHOOL IN INDIAN LODGE—INDIANS HELP TO BUILD SCHOOLHOUSE AND DWELLING FOR MR. COWLEY—EAGER TO LEARN WAYS OF CIVILIZATION—SLIGHT RESPECT FOR PRIVACY—GIFTS COME FROM AFAR—FINDS INDIANS HONEST AND KIND—TEACHES FIRST PUBLIC SCHOOL, WITH SIX PUPILS.

THE appended tabulation, compiled by Captain Thomas W. Symons, U. S. engineer corps, shows the variant spelling of the name Spokane:

Spokan ..... Official Transfer Papers Pacific Fur company to Northwest Fur company.
Spokan ..... Ross Cox.
Spokane ..... War Department Map 1838.
Spokane ..... Commodore Wilkes.
Spokein ..... Rev. S. Parker. This writer, who visited the country in 1836, says: "The name of this nation is generally written Spokan, sometimes Spokane. I called them Spokans, but they corrected my pronunciation and said 'Spokein' and this they repeated several times, until I was convinced that to give their name a correct pronunciation, it should be written Spokein."
Spokan ..... Greenhow.
Spokain ..... McVickar.
Spokan ..... Nath. J. Wyeth's report, 1839.
Spokane ..... Robertson.
Spokane ..... Thornton.
Spokane ..... A. Ross.
Spokan ..... Franchere.
Spokan ..... Irving.
Spokan ..... Nat. Railroad Memoirs.
Spokan ..... Armstrong.
Spokan ..... St. John.
Spokane ..... Pacific Railroad Report.
Spokane ..... Mullan.
Spoken ..... Robertson & Crawford.

Perhaps no one here has more intimate knowledge of Indian life and character than that possessed by H. T. Cowley. Mr. Cowley went among the Nez Perces in 1871 as missionary and teacher, and in 1874 transferred his labors to the land of the Spokanes. With these he maintained the relation of "guide, counsellor and friend" for a period of eight years, preaching in their lodges, teaching in a rough building constructed largely by their efforts, and for a while subsisting, himself and family, on their rough fare of dried salmon and lean venison.

While a student at Oberlin college, Mr. Cowley met and married Mrs. Cowley, and under the rules was thereby disbarred from the completion of his course. He went then to Antioch as teacher and student, and was graduated from that college. A year later he went to Auburn Theological seminary and was graduated from that institution. After two years' service among the Protestant Nez Perces at Kamiah, Idaho, differences having come up between the Indian agent and the missionaries, he resigned and took up his residence at the new settlement of Mt. Idaho, on Camas prairie.

"A year or so later," said Mr. Cowley, "the Spokane Indians sent down a delegation to petition me to come among them and establish a school and church at the falls of the Spokane. They expressed an earnest desire for the white man's enlightenment, and undertook to provide a house for my family, a school building for their own people, and the necessary food supplies for my support. I was urged to take this step by the pioneer missionary, H. H. Spalding, then teaching and preaching at Lapwai. Mr. Spalding had preached to the Spokanes in the summer of 1873, and intended to return with me in 1874, but was taken ill and died that summer. He now lies buried at Lapwai.

"I arrived here in June, 1874, in company with six young Nez Perces, who had been my helpers at Kamiah, one of them a son of Chief Lawyer. The Lawyers were a remarkable family. A daughter, Lucy, was a very attractive young woman, and could readily have made an alliance with any one of several white suitors. One of the army officers at Fort Lapwai formed a deep attachment for her, and asked her hand in marriage, but she declined the offer and remained single to her death. She spoke English well and was a very intelligent woman. Lawyer's two sons became Presbyterian preachers. Archie, the younger, was as fine a young man as you would see anywhere. He possessed a splendid form, the Indian physiognomy was not pronounced in him, and he had a bearing of great dignity.

"After I had looked over the field at Spokane, I returned to Mt. Idaho for my family, and we arrived here in the middle of October, traveling by wagon. Living at the falls then were J. N. Glover, his partner, C. F. Yeaton, and a man named Kizer. On our way up from Mt. Idaho, we overtook William Pool, a carpenter, and his family, who were coming to locate at Spokane. Mr. Pool helped me to build my house and the Indian schoolhouse.

"My first dwelling was at a point which is now on Sixth avenue, between Division and Browne. We built the schoolhouse on Sixth between Division and Pine. The dwelling was of logs, two rooms below and a large attic above, and we later added a leanto kitchen. We could not find mortar or clay for chinking, and as a substitute used a quantity of pine moss, which the Indian squaws brought from the woods beyond Hangman creek. The logs used in this structure had previously gone into a half completed building down near Howard street and the river. Someone

had started a house there, which had never been completed, and Mr. Glover had sold it to the Indians. Enoch, a Spokane sub-chief, who had been instrumental in my coming here, took his team and hauled the logs up to the building site. There were here, at that time, about 250 or 300 Indians, who had been living in scattered encampments but later assembled in the vicinity of Pine street in order to be near the school. Enoch had fenced in about 180 acres; his north line was about where Third avenue now lies, his south line was the cliff, his west line Howard street and the east line ran near Pine.

"The schoolhouse was a box structure, 20 by 30, built of lumber bought at Glover's mill. There was some dissatisfaction over the refusal by Mr. Glover to donate the lumber, the Indians alleging that his predecessors, who had located here in 1871, had promised, in an informal treaty, to give them all the lumber they might require for their own uses, and they contended that Mr. Glover ought to consider himself bound to carry out that agreement. They finally agreed to pay for the lumber in furs and grain, but Mr. Glover had considerable difficulty in collecting, and I believe he never was fully compensated for that lumber. The Indians had very crude ideas about contracts and debts. They could barter furs for goods, but beyond that could not grasp the white man's contracts and agreements. They were as ignorant as children. In the same way Mr. Pool, the carpenter, was to have three horses for his labor, and we had considerable difficulty in getting them.

"Before the building was erected, I opened school in a large Indian lodge, about eighty feet long, covered with Indian matting, canvas, sheeting and a few buffalo robes. Some of the Indians, but not all, had robes enough for lodges. Buffalo robes were generally used for bedding, and were spread upon a rough mattress of pine boughs and moss, or of tall rye grass and rushes from the swamps. I frequently slept in their tents in winter. On cold nights they would keep a fire going and some of these lodges were quite comfortable.

"The young men carried the lumber on their backs all the way from the sawmill down on the river bank, and the building was not completed until March. A stove was brought from Walla Walla.

"When it was completed, old and young gathered in and filled the place to its capacity. Enoch himself would come occasionally and spend the day, taking instruction. I never saw a people so eager to learn the ways of civilization. I first taught them the letters and figures. I had a blackboard and some crayons and drew pictures of animals and familiar articles. Pointing to one of these, I would get the Indian word for it and write it down, and then the corresponding English word. Considering the difficulties we had to contend with, they made very rapid progress. They wanted to start the lessons at daylight and keep up the instruction until dark.

"My family then comprised Mrs. Cowley, Edith, aged seven, now Mrs. E. C. Stillman, living on the old homestead at Sixth and Division; Fred W., aged five, afterward drowned in Loon lake; Grace, aged three, who died at the time of the death of her mother in 1900; Agnes, aged one, now Mrs. J. L. Paine, living in the Wellington apartments at Stevens and Sixth. Cazenovia, born here in June, 1876, is now Mrs. A. K. Smythe of Portland; and Arthur W., born here in 1878, is an architect of this city.

"I was long of the belief that my daughter was the first white child born in Spokane, but recently my attention has been directed to historical authority which

credits that distinction to the little daughter of a family named Bassett, and I think that claim is correct. The Bassetts had moved from Spokane to the Four Lakes country before my arrival here, and their little daughter was drowned at that place.

"In looking back over those eventful years, I marvel now that I ventured so much in bringing my family here and taking up my work independent of any support beyond the meager help promised by the Indians. They had agreed to provide a house and provisions, but were unable to carry out their promise. I came here with just $13 in gold dust, given to me by Mrs. H. H. Spalding after the death of her husband. I acted on religious faith, trusting that the Lord would provide for my family, and in this trust I was not disappointed.

"The Indians brought us a little dried salmon and some lean venison, and Enoch, who had a cow, brought us a bucket of milk daily. Our first substantial supplies came from settlers at Spangle—a wagonload of potatoes, carrots, cabbages, turnips and onions, and half of a young hog. In some way, without any effort on my part, an account of my work got into the newspapers, and it must have appealed to public sentiment, for it was not long till we were receiving boxes of provisions, clothing and bedding from Walla Walla, Lewiston, Portland and even Cazenovia, New York, so that we suffered no hardships, and experienced no sickness.

"The Indians made as free with our house as their own lodges. They would crowd into the living room on winter days or nights and unceremoniously stretch themselves before the open fire, never appearing to realize that they were shutting off the heat from the members of my family. They were like children, yet we enjoyed the experience, and every day was filled with work.

"Good friends at Portland were also active in another way. After I had been working in this independent manner for several months, I was surprised and gratified to learn that through the Rev. Dr. Lindsley, pastor of the First Presbyterian church in Portland, influence had been successfully exerted to secure me a commission from the Indian department, as teacher for the Spokanes at a yearly salary of $1,000. Some time prior to that, the government had adopted a new policy in respect to Indian education, of recognizing both Catholic and Protestant organizations, and transferring to them educational work which had previously been carried on by the war department. As the Spokanes were chiefly Protestants under the influence of Fathers Eells and Walker, at Walker's prairie, northwest of Spokane, I was directed to report to the Nez Perce agent at Lapwai, the Nez Perces also being chiefly Protestants.

"We used the schoolhouse as a church, but before it was built I held religious services in their lodges. When I first came here in June, the young Indians cut down a number of cottonwood trees, dug holes and formed a sort of amphitheatre, which they covered over with poles and boughs, and in that arbor I preached to a large congregation.

"I found Indian nature totally different from what I had conceived it to be in my youth. In general they were just as reliable as white people, honest and regardful of their word. In my entire experience I lost only two articles by theft—a halter and a watermelon. They returned the halter, and the Indian who took the watermelon stood up in church and made open confession. I felt as safe among them as among the same number of whites. Once you get their confidence, they are loyal to the core. The Spokanes were as industrious as you could expect a people

to be in their state. They foresaw the coming of the changed conditions growing out of the settlement of their country, and took to the cultivation of the soil and raising of cattle, and wanted schoolhouses and churches. I endeavored, from the beginning, to impress upon them that the Northern Pacific, when completed, would bring settlers and their only hope was to take up land and learn the ways of the white man. There was no other hope for them as a race, but they found it very difficult to give up the tribal relation, and did not want to take up land in severalty.

"When General O. O. Howard and Governor Ferry met them here in council in 1881, on the prairie in what is now Dennis & Bradley's addition, and announced that they must take land in severalty, or be placed on a reservation west of the Columbia, they were indignant and said: 'What right have you to dictate to us? This is our country and we will not leave it!' Garry, who could speak English quite well, voiced the protest, and it was heeded. The government did not care to repeat the blunder made in 1877, with the Nez Perces.

"Soon after I came Mr. Glover, Mr. Yeaton, L. M. Swift, an attorney, and myself held a school election. Glover, Yeaton and I elected ourselves directors and Swift, clerk, and I was employed as teacher. I had to go to Colville to get a teacher's certificate.

"As my house was the only available place, we opened there the first school in January, 1875, with six pupils: Edith, Fred and Grace Cowley, two children of Mr. and Mrs. Pool, girls, and a little daughter of Mr. Yeaton. I soon discovered that I could not keep up teaching in connection with my other work and turned the school over to Mrs. Swift, and she removed it to her residence, a log house between Third and Fourth avenues and Bernard and Browne streets, and she completed there the three months' term in March.

"About 1876, Rev. S. G. Havermale, who had come here in 1875, started a private school in the hall over Glover's store. He had expectations of building up a Methodist educational institution, and wanted to combine his school with the public school, but it was found that this could not be done under the law."

After Mr. Cowley gave up his work as missionary and teacher, he engaged for a while in journalism. C. B. Carlisle had come here from Portland in 1881, under financial encouragement from J. N. Glover, J. J. Browne, and A. M. Cannon, and founded the weekly Chronicle. Later Carlisle sold to C. B. Hopkins, Lucien Kellogg, and Hiram Allen, brother of Senator John B. Allen of Walla Walla. They in turn sold to a newspaper man named Woodbury, who came here from the Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, and a little later Woodbury sold the paper to Mr. Cowley, in the spring of 1883, who held it till 1887. Encouraged by the boom growing out of the discovery and development of the Coeur d'Alene mines, Mr. Cowley raised the Chronicle to a daily in July, 1884, but gave it up in the fall and ran it as a weekly until 1886, when it became a permanent daily.

CHAPTER XIII

CATHOLIC MISSIONS IN THE INLAND EMPIRE

REV. MODEST DEMERS DESCENDS THE COLUMBIA IN 1838—MAKES A MISSION TOUR OF INTERIOR THE FOLLOWING YEAR—ST. MARY'S ESTABLISHED IN 1841 BY FATHER DESMET AND OTHERS—COEUR D'ALENE MISSION ESTABLISHED ON THE ST. JOE, 1842—TRANSFERRED TO THE COEUR D'ALENE IN 1846—FATHER JOSET IN CHARGE —ST. IGNATIUS MOVED FROM LOWER PEND D'OREILLE RIVER TO MONTANA—SACRED HEART MISSION TRANSFERRED TO DESMET—MISSION LABORS AMONG THE NEZ PERCES—MISSIONS IN THE COLVILLE COUNTRY—PRESIDENT OF GONZAGA VISITS THE CALISPELS—ARMY OFFICER'S DESCRIPTION OF THE OLD MISSION OF ST. IGNATIUS.

A parish priest was of the pilgrim train,
An awful, reverend and religious man.
His eyes diffused a venerable grace,
And charity itself was in his face.
Rich was his soul, though his attire was poor,
(As God hath clothed his own ambassador),
For such, on earth, his blessed Redeemer bore.
Of sixty years he seemed; and well might last
To sixty more, but that he lived too fast;
Refined himself to soul, to curb the sense,
And made almost a sin of abstinence.

—Dryden.

IN THE history of the Catholic missions of the Inland Empire we possess a deathless story of absorbing interest and inspiration; a record of dangers braved, privations borne and hardships endured under the sacred banner of the church. So long as history shall be read, that long will survive and be held in honored remembrance the names and deeds of such devoted priests as Blanchet and Demers, De Smet and Joset, Hoecken, Mengarini, Point, Ravalli.

Historic evidence sustains the belief that the sacred emblem of the cross was lifted on these Pacific shores by Spanish explorers, and possibly by Spanish priests. Writing from Cowlitz, in western Washington, under date of February, 1844, the apostolical missionary J. B. Z. Bolduc said that even then he found ruins of birch edifices, "constructed for the purpose of drawing the savage nations to the knowledge of the gospel;" and among the natives, relics had been found attesting this fact. "A certain tribe had possessed for ages a brazen crucifix, bearing the ap-

pearance of great antiquity; when, how, and by whom it was brought thither, none can attest."

Although the officers, clerks and employes of the fur companies that operated in these regions over the first half of the past century were of the Catholic faith, no organized effort was made to establish missions in the Pacific northwest until the year 1834. By that time an extensive colony of former servants of the Hudson's Bay company had settled on French prairie, in the Willamette valley of Oregon, and application was made to Dr. Provencher, vicar apostolic of Hudson Bay, for a clergyman for their service. But means of communication were slow, events moved leisurely in those distant days, and their prayers were not fully answered until 1838. The Rev. Modest Demers came as far west as the Canadian Red River settlement in 1837, and arranged with the fur company for himself and a fellow laborer to pass into Oregon the following year. According to an outline sketch of Oregon territory and its missions, which later prefaced the published letters of Father De Smet, Rev. F. N. Blanchet "left Canada at the appointed time, and joined his companion at Red River, whence they both started on the 10th of July, and after a perilous journey of between 4,000 and 5,000 miles, and the loss of twelve of their fellow travelers in the rapids of the Columbia river, they arrived at Fort Vancouver the 24th of November the same year. . . . On seeing the missionaries at length among them, the Canadians wept for joy, and the savages assembled from a distance of 100 miles to behold the black gowns, of whom so much had been said."

After several months of mission work west of the Cascade mountains, Father Demers ascended the Columbia in July, 1839, visiting Walla Walla, Okanogan and Fort Colville, "baptizing all the children that were brought to him in the course of his journey." He was the first ordained priest to spread the Catholic faith in the Inland Empire. His journey to the interior consumed three months, and he returned in October to Fort Vancouver. The following year Father Demers repeated his journey of 1839, again visiting Walla Walla, Okanogan and Colville.

We quote now from a manuscript in possession of August Wolf, prepared with the sanction of Gonzaga college:

"In response to solicitations (from the Indians to the bishop of St. Louis) Fathers Peter J. DeSmet, Gregory Mengarini and Nicholas Point, accompanied by Brothers Specht, Huet and Claessens, set out for the Rocky mountains in 1841. Arrived in the Flathead country, they founded, September 24, the first mission of St. Mary's, in the Bitter Root valley, not far from the site of the present town of Stevensville, Montana. The fathers lived among the Indians, instructing them and administering the sacraments, and conforming themselves to the customs of the savages. They learned their language, and lived as the savages did, on roots and berries, and the products of the fisheries and the chase. In the course of time they erected a church and residence, and cultivated the land, striving at first, without much success, to induce their wild neophytes to imitate them in agricultural matters. However, the Flatheads, as well as many of the neighboring tribes, responded to the call of salvation, and a great number were baptized and came to worship at the mission. The history of subsequent missions was somewhat similar, except in later years the school became an important feature.

"On various occasions the fathers at St. Mary's received visits from members

of tribes on both sides of the mountains, and the Coeur d'Alenes in particular begged that a mission might be given them also. Their wish was granted in the autumn of 1842, when Father Nicholas Point and Brother Huet built a residence on the St. Joe river, a sluggish stream that empties into Lake Coeur d'Alene. This was the beginning of the famous Coeur d'Alene mission, now at Desmet, Idaho.

"In 1843 Fathers Peter DeVos and Andrew Hoecken, with four lay brothers, among them Brother J. B. McGean, arrived at St. Mary's from St. Louis, and shortly afterward, in 1844, Father Joseph Joset and Father Zerbinati came from the same place, with Brother Vincent Magri. They made a welcome addition to the little band of missionaries and soon found employment. Father Hoecken, after visiting the Sacred Heart mission on the St. Joe, was detailed to found a mission among the Calispels, near Lake Pend d'Oreille. In the summer of 1844 he located the first St. Ignatius mission on Clark's fork, some sixty miles below Sand Point. This was the third mission founded. Father Joset, in the meantime, joined Father Point at the Coeur d'Alene mission, while Father DeVos and Father Zerbinati remained with Father Mengarini at St. Mary's. Meanwhile Father DeSmet, superior of the missions, had traveled to Europe to obtain recruits. He was well received everywhere, and his holiness, Pope Gregory XVI, proposed to make him bishop of the new diocese to be erected in Oregon. He managed, however, to transfer this burden to the shoulders of the Rev. Father F. N. Blanchet.

"In 1845 Father Nobili and Father Ravalli were called to active service. The former was sent to found a mission in New Caledonia (in northern British Columbia). Father Ravalli was ordered to found a mission in the Colville valley, and built the first chapel there, on a hill between the fishery at Kettle Falls and Fort Colville. This chapel was named St. Paul's. After a few months, however, he was called to St. Mary's on the death of Father Zerbinati. Here he remained till 1850, when that mission was closed for sixteen years.

"In 1846 the mission on the St. Joe was transferred to the Coeur d'Alene river on account of the floods. The new mission, which is now known as the "Old Mission," was placed in charge of Father Joset, who a little later became superior of the Rocky mountains when Father DeSmet was called away from the mountains by other duties. Father DeSmet took with him Father Point, who had been recalled by his superiors to Canada. The two fathers parted after crossing the Rocky mountains, and Father Point remained among the Blackfeet, to instruct them during the winter of 1846-47. The order recalling Father Point had been issued from Paris in 1843, but did not reach him until the end of 1846. Such were the means of communication in those days. . . .

"In 1850 Father Joset was sent to close old St. Mary's, on account of the bad disposition shown by the Indians, under the influence of some white men who had lately come among them. Father Mengarini was sent down to the Willamette, and later on to California, while Father Ravalli took charge of the mission on the Coeur d'Alene river, and Father Joset, after visiting Father Hoecken at St. Ignatius, established himself in 1851 in Colville valley. Here he remained with Father Vercruysse till 1858. Father Ravalli, in the meantime, was drawing up plans and commencing to build the wonderful church at the old Coeur d'Alene mission, which to this day wins the admiration of visitors—a church built without nails, planned

by a genius, and put up by skilled workmen, assisted by savages in the midst of the wilderness. . . .

"We must now return to the mountains and rapidly sketch the progress of the missions there to the present day. When Father Congiato was made superior of both missions in 1854, the Kalispel mission of St. Ignatius was moved from the banks of the Pend d'Oreille to Mission valley in the Flathead country, some twenty miles east of Flathead lake. Here was founded the present St. Ignatius mission, which exists to this day, one of the most striking evidences of missionary enterprise in the country. The present church and residence, and the houses of the Sisters of Providence and of the Ursuline Sisters are buildings no one would expect to find on an Indian reservation.

"In 1858 Father Ravalli replaced Father Joset at Colville, and Father Joset returned to his beloved Coeur d'Alenes. The Colville mission was closed the following year, and Father Ravalli was transferred to St. Ignatius. . . .

"In 1866 old St. Mary's mission was reopened, and the general superior, Father Giorda, worn out with his labors, retired there to recuperate, leaving Father Urban Grassi as vice-superior to look after the missions for the next three years. He again resumed his work in 1869, and remained in office till June, 1877, when Father Cataldo took his place. Father Joseph Bandini afterward became superior at St. Mary's, and later on Father Guidi. Father Jerome D'Aste was the last missionary to reside at the place, for it was closed in 1891, and the Indians were transferred to St. Ignatius on the Jocko reservation. At St. Mary's died Father Ravalli, on October 2, 1884. A monument was erected to him by friends and admirers, and some forty miles north of Missoula, a station on the Northern Pacific railroad was named after him. He had retired to St. Mary's at its reopening in 1866.

"In Idaho the old Sacred Heart mission on the Coeur d'Alene river flourished for a long time under Father Joset, later on assisted by Father Caruana and others. In 1879 it was transferred to Desmet, Idaho (on the Coeur d'Alene reservation), where it now stands. Here Father Caruana, who has labored for over forty years among the Indians, still displays his great zeal and energy. This, perhaps, has been the most successful of the Rocky Mountain missions, and today the well-kept farms and the devout bearing of the Indians is remarked by all who visit them. The history of the DeSmet mission might well occupy us, did space allow. Here the first novitiate of the mountains was established. Here Father Joset died, in 1899, at the ripe old age of ninety. He had passed seventy years in religion, and fifty-six among the Indians. He was the last of the old missionaries who had labored with Fathers DeSmet, Point, Hoecken and Giorda.

"In 1865 our fathers were asked to take charge of the mission among the Nez Perce Indians in Idaho. At an early period these Indians had fallen under Protestant influence, but many nevertheless wished for the 'Black Robes.' In 1866 Father Cataldo left the Coeur d'Alene mission, to visit Lewiston, and met some of the Indians there. Next year, being appointed to take charge of Lewiston and the Indians, he built a small church and a small residence there. In 1868 he built a small log church on the Clearwater river, and in 1869 remodeled the old chief's house as a chapel and a school for the Indians. In 1870 he was recalled to the old Coeur d'Alene mission, but was charged to visit the Nez Perces from time to

MISSION ERECTED NEAR FORT COLVILLE, WASHINGTON,
BY JESUIT FATHERS

VIEW OF COLVILLE, WASHINGTON

time. In 1872 we find him back in Lewiston, where he worked with great energy, and in 1874 was able to build a church for the Indians at Slickpoo, where the first mass was said the same year. In 1875 Father Morville arrived from Italy and wintered at old Coeur d'Alene with Father Cataldo, but the following year he took up his residence at Slickpoo with Brother Carfagno. Father Gazzoli joined them in 1877, the year of the Nez Perce war. Thus the mission of St. Joseph's was founded, and today one-third of the Indians are Catholic. Lewiston is now a thriving parish.

"In 1865 the mission of St. Paul's in Colville was reopened. Father Joset had there commenced to build the church of the Immaculate Conception, near Fort Colville, for the benefit of the soldiers. This was completed in 1865 by Father Menetrey and Brother Campopiana. Father Grassi now thought to choose a new site for a mission between St. Paul's and this church, and bought land from a Canadian for this purpose. Here some modest cabins were erected which served as a residence from 1869 to 1873, when Fathers Jacob Vanzina, Joseph Guidi and Paschal Tosi, with Brothers Gaspard Ochiena, Lucian D'Agestino and Achilles Carfagno commenced to build the present mission of St. Francis Regis. Here the cornerstone of the commodious chapel was blessed in 1878 by Fathers Diomedi and Vanzina. A year later it was completely destroyed by fire and has since been replaced by the present excellent building.

"The Kettle Falls Indians were not the only ones to be visited from Colville, for our fathers used to make excursions among the Semitakan, the Chelans, Wenatchees and Okanogans. Father DeRougé commenced a permanent mission among these latter in 1885. Previously Father Urban Grassi had traveled among them and lived with them in their tepees, instructing them in Christian morals and doctrine. But with the coming of Father DeRougé great strides were made. He has built a church and school, and done great work in spite of exceptional difficulties.

"About this time the parish of Yakima came into the hands of our fathers. This is the largest and most progressive town between Spokane and Seattle, and the parish is increasing in proportion to the growth of the community. The Indians on the Yakima reservation, who until two years ago had also a resident priest, are now attended from North Yakima.

"In Oregon there is the parish at Pendleton, and the mission to the Umatilla Indians attached to it."

Such, in outline, is the history of Catholic missions in the broad region around Spokane, running back over a period of seventy years, told without embellishment, and, from neccessity of brevity, expressing little of the inspiration that brought the pioneer fathers into a land of savage wildness, or the faith that sustained them through a thousand perils by land and sea. Happily these have come down to us in the published letters of Father DeSmet, letters which reveal, as the preface from another's pen has said, "the manners and customs of the North American Indians—their traditions, their superstitions, their docility in admitting the maxims of the gospel," and "described with a freshness of coloring, and an exactness of detail, that will render them invaluable not only to our own times, but especially to posterity." In the language of this preface, "He travels through those vast and unexplored deserts, not merely as a missionary, filled with the zeal which characterized the apostles of the primitive society to which he belongs (the Jesuits) but with the eye of a poet, and an imagination glowing with a bright yet calm enthusiasm. Hence

the exquisite descriptions of scenery, of incidents, of events; descriptions which breathe the spirit of a mind imbued with the loftiest conceptions of nature, and chastened with the sacred influences of faith."

As we have seen, Father DeSmet, after crossing the plains and threading the winding defiles of the Rocky mountains, in 1841, established the mother mission of St. Mary's, near the site of the present town of Stevensville, in Montana. Impressed with the vastness of the field, he went then to Europe to arouse interest and win support for the poor and struggling missions of the Rocky mountains; and from that long journey and voyage we find him returning by sea and crossing the troubled Columbia river bar in July, 1844, successful and elated, and eager to plunge into the deep solitudes of the interior and greet again his savage friends from whom he had parted two years before. Duties in the Willamette valley detained him several months, but these accomplished, he set out, in the beginning of February, 1845, for the interior. He ascended the Columbia in a canoe to old Fort Walla Walla, and taking the broad and well-worn trail of the Indians and the fur traders, traversed the Walla Walla valley, passed through the Palouse country, and crossing the Spokane valley, passed on to St. Ignatius mission on the lower Pend d'Oreille river where he was greeted by Father Adrian Hoecken. This mission stood on the east bank of the Pend d'Oreille, seven miles below the present town of Usk. By reason of frequent flooding from high water, it was abandoned in 1854, and a new site chosen on the Flathead reservation in western Montana.

Although the priests could give these Indians but occasional visitations after the removal of the mission, the Kalispels have continued devout in the Catholic faith. With rejoicing they greeted Father Taelman at the Christmas holidays of 1911, when consideration for his old friends among them prompted the busy president of Gonzaga to venture again into the wintry wilderness. Again in January, 1912, Father Taelman was summoned by Chief Massalah to the bedside of a dying girl. "My people," spoke Massalah, at the funeral, "we are grieved today at the loss of our dear one; but God has his way. This world is a valley of tears. We are now poor and suffering, but if we are true to God, there is a country above where we shall all meet again."

Dr. George Suckley, assistant surgeon U. S. A., who accompanied Governor Stevens across the continent in 1853, and under direction of that official made a remarkable canoe voyage from Fort Owen in Montana, to Vancouver, descending the Bitter Root, Clark's Fork and Columbia, visited St. Ignatius on that voyage. He has left, in his official report, a most entertaining description of the mission:

"I walked up to the door of the mission house, knocked and entered. I was met by the reverend superior of the mission, Father Hoecken, who, in a truly benevolent and pleasing manner, said: 'Walk in, you are welcome; we are glad to see the face of a white man.' I introduced myself and the men, and stated that I had come all the way from St. Mary's by water, after a voyage of twenty-five days; that I was out of provisions and tired. He bade us welcome, had our things brought up from the boat, an excellent dinner prepared for us, and a nice room to sleep in, and treated us with the cordiality and kindness of a Christian and a gentleman. In these kindnesses the Reverend Father Menetrey and the lay brother, Mr. Magean, cordially took part—all uniting in their endeavors to make us comfortable and feel at home.

"From the Reverend Mr. Hoecken I have the following particulars concerning

the mission and the condition of the inhabitants in its vicinity: The mission was established nine years ago (in 1844), the whole country at that time being a vast wilderness. Its inhabitants were the Kalispelms. They lived mostly from the Kalispelm or Pend d'Oreille lake, down the Clark river to this point; they speak nearly the same language as the Flathead or Salish Indians. Another mission (St. Mary's) was at the same time opened among the last mentioned tribe. . . .

"There are two lay brethren attached to the mission. One of these, Brother Francis, is a perfect jack of all trades. He is by turns a carpenter, blacksmith, gunsmith, and tinman—in each of which he is a good workman. The other, Brother Magean, superintends the farming operations. They both worked hard in bringing the mission to its present state of perfection, building successively a windmill, blacksmith and carpenter's shops, barns, cowsheds, etc., besides an excellent chapel, in addition to a large dwelling-house of hewn timbers for the missionaries.

"The church is quite large, and is tastefully and even beautifully decorated. I was shown the handsomely carved and gilded altar, the statue of 'Our Mother,' brazen crosses and rich bronzed fonts, work, which, at sight appears so well executed as to lead one to suppose that they all must have been imported. But no, they are the result of the patient labor and ingenuity of the devoted missionaries, and work which is at the same time rich, substantial and beautiful.

"Works of ornament are not their only deeds. A grindstone, hewn out of the native rock, and moulded by the same hand which made the chisel which wrought it; tinware, a blacksmith's shop, bellows, ploughshares, bricks for their chimneys, their own tobacco pipes, turned out of wood and lined with tin—all have been made by their industry. In household economy they are not excelled. They make their own soap, candles, vinegar, etc., and it is both interesting and amusing to listen to their account of their plans, shifts and turns in overcoming obstacles at their first attempts, their repeated failures, and their final triumphs.

"The mission farm consists of about 160 acres of cleared land. Spring wheat, barley, onions, cabbages, parsnips, peas, beets, potatoes and carrots are its principal products. The Indians are especially fond of carrots. Father Hoecken says that if the children see carrots growing they must eat some. Says he, 'I must shut my eyes to the theft, because they cannot, cannot, resist the temptation.' Anything else than carrots the little creatures respect. The Indians are very fond of peas and cabbage, but beets, and particularly onions, they dislike. The other productions of the farm are cattle, hogs, poultry, butter and cheese.

"Around the mission buildings are the houses of the natives. They are built of logs and hewn timber, and are sixteen in number. There are, also, quite a number of mat and skin lodges. Although the tribe is emphatically a wandering tribe, yet the mission and its vicinity are looked upon as headquarters."

Passing to a description of the Indians and the uplifting work of the missionaries, Dr. Suckley reported:

"They came among these Indians about nine years ago, and found them to be a poor, miserable, half-starved race, with an insufficiency of food and nearly naked, living upon fish, camas and other roots, and, at the last extremity, upon the pine-tree moss. Unlike the Indians east of the mountains, they had no idea of a future state or a Great Spirit; neither had they any idea of a soul. They considered themselves to be animals, nearly allied to the beaver, but greater than the beaver—and why?

Because, they said, 'the beaver builds houses like us, and he is very cunning too; but we can catch the beaver, and he can not catch us—therefore we are greater than he.' They thought when they died that was the last of them. While thus ignorant, it was not uncommon for them to bury the very old and very young alive, because, they said, 'these cannot take care of themselves, and we can not take care of them, and they had better die.'

"Of the soul they had no conception. In the beginning the priests were obliged to depend upon the imperfect translations of half-breed interpreters. The word 'soul' was singularly translated to the Indians, by one of these telling them that they had a gut that never rotted, and that this was their living principle or soul. The chief of the tribe was converted, and was baptized Loyola; the mass of the tribe followed their leader. They now almost all pray, have devotional exercises in their families, and seem in a fair way for further advancement.

"To show you the good sense, benevolence and foresight of the priests, I will relate a short conversation I had with Father Hoecken, who is the superior of the mission and has been among the people from the first. Says he, 'Doctor, you will scarcely believe it; surrounded by water as we are, we often have difficulty in getting fish even for our Friday dinner.' I replied, jokingly, 'I suppose, Father, that the Indians find no difficulty in observing a fast on Friday.' He answered immediately: 'I never spoke to them about it; it would not do. Poor creatures, they fast too much as it is, and it is not necessary for them to fast more.'

"The people look up to the father, and love him. They say that if the father should go away, they would die. Before the advent of the missionaries, the inhabitants, although totally destitute of religious ideas, still believed that evil and bad luck emanated from a fabulous old woman or sorceress. They were great believers in charms, or medicine. Every man had his peculiar medicine or charm, which was his deity, so to speak; and of it they expected good or ill. With some it would be the mouse; with others, the deer, buffalo, elk, salmon, bear, etc.; and whichever it was, the savage would carry a portion of it constantly by him. The tail of a mouse, or the fur, hoof, claw, feather, fin or scale of whatever it might be, became the amulet. When a young man grew up he was not yet considered a man until he had discovered his medicine. His father would send him to the top of a high mountain in the neighborhood of the present mission. Here he was obliged to remain without food until he had dreamed of an animal; the first one so dreamed about becoming his medicine for life. Of course anxiety, fatigue, cold and fasting would render his sleep troubled and replete with dreams. In a short time he would have dreamed of what he wanted, and return to his home a man. . . .

"At the mission they have a small mill, by which the Indians grind their wheat. The mill is turned by hand, and will grind but three bushels a day."

A discovery made near the mission by Dr. Suckley indicates the comparatively recent activity of a volcano in the Inland Empire: "A few inches below the surface of the earth can be found the ashes and cineritious deposit of a volcano. The stratum is about one-third of an inch thick. As you proceed in a north-northeasterly direction, it becomes thicker and thicker. Hence we may infer that the crater was in that direction, and probably can now be found. The inhabitants have never seen it. They do not travel from curiosity, and the direction is among mountains from the very door of the mission. In the tribe there are men and women still living who

remember the eruption. They say that it came on during the afternoon and night, during which it rained cinders and fire. The Indians supposed that the sun had burned up, and that there was an end of all things. The next morning, when the sun arose, they were so delighted as to have a great dance and a feast."

At St. Ignatius mission Dr. Suckley learned that there was an abundance of lead ore on the Kootenai river. Black lead had been found at St. Mary's *and gold on Hell Gate river,* while copper and silver were said to exist in the mountains north.

"The loud, deep-sounding reports, like the explosions of heavy pieces of ordnance, occasionally heard in the Rocky mountains, and spoken of by Lewis and Clark in their narrative, are now and then heard. They never occur except during the coldest winters. The old trappers thought that these noises were produced by the bursting of silver mines. Their opinion in such a matter is of but little importance to my mind." These detonations he attributed to volcanic eruptions, to the breaking away of heavy ice masses, or to landslides.

Continuing his descent of the Clark's fork, Lake Pend d'Oreille and the river of the same name, Dr. Suckley, three days after leaving St. Ignatius, arrived at old Fort Colville on the Columbia, where he was kindly entertained by Angus McDonald, in charge of that post of the Hudson's Bay company.

"Near the fort (continues his report to Governor Stevens) is the mission of St. Paul, established among the Kettle Falls Indians, on the left bank of the Columbia, about one mile from the Kettle Falls. I visited the mission establishment three times during my stay at Fort Colville. It is superintended by the Reverend Father Joset, assisted by one other priest and a lay brother. Father Joset received me very kindly. He is a Swiss, and very gentlemanly and agreeable in his manners. To him I am indebted for much valuable information concerning this part of the country. The mission establishment consists of a chapel, a dwelling-house and several other buildings. There is no farm attached to it. The Indians have sufficient to eat which they obtain from other sources. There is, consequently, no necessity requiring the missionaries to cultivate land, as they can obtain all they want for their own use from the Hudson's Bay company.

"The Kettle Falls Indians call themselves Squeer-yer-pe. The chief of this tribe is called Pierre Jean. He, with most of his followers, live in their lodges around the mission. The number of souls in this band is about 350. During the summer season the Indians from all the surrounding country congregate at this place to catch salmon. There are then about 1000 at the falls. The Squeer-yer-pe name for the Kettle Falls is Schwan-ate-koo, or deep-sounding water. Here the Columbia pitches over a ledge of rocks, making a fall of about fifteen feet perpendicular. The Indians sow a little wheat and plant some potatoes, of which they are very fond; but their principal subsistence is the everlasting salmon. They come up annually in great numbers, on their way to the headwaters of the Columbia. The Indians kill hundreds of thousands of these fish by spearing them. The myriads of salmon that ascend the rivers of the Pacific coast are almost incredible. In many places the water appears alive with them, and the shores are thickly lined with the dead and dying fish. This, according to De Smet, is particularly noticed on the small lakes of the upper Columbia, in the vicinity of Martin's rapids."

Just before his arrival at St. Ignatius, Dr. Suckley, reduced to the point of famine, lodged one night with a band of Pend d'Oreilles. "Our provisions are out,"

says his journal, "the ground is covered with snow, and the sky obscured by clouds. The weather is excessively cold. Our tent is wet, as indeed it has been for a week or more. Our robes and some of our blankets are in the same condition; and, on the whole, our situation is quite uncomfortable. Under these circumstances I concluded to lodge all night with the Indians. Our hungry stomachs were quite willing to partake of any hospitality they might offer in the shape of food. With these feelings I entered the lodge of All-ol-Sturgh, the head of the encampment. The other lodges are principally occupied by his children and grand-children. They provided us with dried camas and berries, also a piece of raw tallow, which tasted very good. Shortly after our entrance All-ol-Sturgh rang a little bell; directly the lodge was filled with inhabitants of the camp, men, women and children, who immediately got upon their knees and repeated, or rather chanted, a long prayer, in their own language, to the Creator. The repetition of a few pious sentences, an invocation, and a hymn, closed the exercises. In these the squaws took as active a part as the men. The promptness, fervency and earnestness all showed, was pleasing to contemplate. These prayers, etc., have been taught them by their kind missionary and friend, the much-loved Father Hoecken (S. J.). The participation of the squaws in the exercises, and the apparent footing of equality between them and the men, so much unlike their condition in other savage tribes, appear remarkable."

CHAPTER XIV

CATHOLIC MISSIONS—CONTINUED

FATHER DESMET JOURNEYS IN A BARK CANOE, TO THE HORSE PLAINS IN MONTANA—RETURNS TO KALISPEL BAY AND FELLS THE FIRST TREE FOR THE MISSION—DISCOVERS LIMESTONE CAVE ON LOWER PEND D'OREILLE—GOES TO WILLAMETTE VALLEY FOR SEEDS AND IMPLEMENTS—RETURNS AND ERECTS A LITTLE CHAPEL OF BOUGHS—POETIC DESCRIPTION OF KETTLE FALLS—ESTABLISHES MISSION OF ST. REGIS IN COLVILLE VALLEY—MEETS PETER SKENE OGDEN IN THE NORTHERN WILDERNESS—EXPRESSES HIS OPINION OF THE OREGON QUESTION—HOW THE CAMAS ROOT WAS PREPARED—DESMET RANGES FAR, TO THE HEADWATERS OF THE COLUMBIA—INTERESTING BLACKFOOT TRADITION—AN INDIAN HEAVEN—MISSIONARY'S REMARKABLE JOURNEY FROM THE ATHABASCA TO KETTLE FALLS—HOW THE ARROW LAKES WERE NAMED.

PAUSING a few days at St. Ignatius for rest and recuperation, Father De Smet voyaged in a bark canoe about 120 miles from St. Ignatius to the Horse plains in Montana, where he was "among his dear Flatheads and Pend d'Oreilles of the mountains during the Paschal time, 1845, and had the great consolation of finding them replete with zeal and fervor in fulfilling the duties of true children of prayer. The solemn feast of Easter," says he in a letter to Bishop John Hughes of New York, "all the Flatheads at St. Mary's devoutly approached the most blessed sacrament during my mass; and about 300 Pend d'Oreilles, (the greater number adults) belonging to the station of St. Francis Borgia, presented themselves at the baptismal font. How consoling it is to pour the regenerating water of baptism on the furrowed and scarified brows of these desert warriors,—to behold these children of the plains and forests emerging from that profound ignorance and superstition in which they have been for so many ages deeply and darkly enveloped; to see them embrace the faith and all its sacred practices with an eagerness, an attention, a zeal, worthy the pristine Christians!"

Sixteen days of laborious work with paddle and pole had been required to take the missionary from St. Ignatius to the mission in Montana. Returning with the current, the long and devious way was covered in four. "On returning to the bay, (DeSmet always referred to St. Ignatius as Kalispel Bay) accompanied by Rev. Father Hoecken and several chiefs, my first care was to examine the lands belonging to this portion of the tribe of Kalispels, and select a fit site for erecting the new establishment of St. Ignatius. We found a vast and beautiful prairie, three miles in extent, surrounded by cedar and pine, in the neighborhood of the cavern of New

Manresa, and its quarries, and a fall of water of more than 200 feet, presenting every advantage for the erection of mills. I felled the first tree, and after having taken all necessary measures to expedite the work, I departed for Walla Walla, where I embarked in a small boat and descended the Columbia as far as Fort Vancouver."

The significance of De Smet's mention of "the cavern of New Manresa" becomes more apparent on recalling that he was of the Society of Jesus, and that Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Jesuit order, while undergoing austerities, passed a year in a cave near the town of Manresa in northeastern Spain. Limestone abounds along the lower Pend d'Oreille, and a remarkable cavern, probably that which the missionaries located near St. Ignatius, is one of the natural wonders of that region.

DeSmet's purpose in returning to the Willamette was to secure ploughs, spades, pickaxes, scythes and carpenters' tools for the new missions in the interior, and a few weeks later we find him bringing a pack-train of eleven animals, ladened with these implements, over the Indian trail which penetrates a pass in the Cascade mountains by the base of Mount Hood, a trail that even then had been put to extensive use by the immigration that was pouring into Oregon, and which has passed into history as the Barlow road. For companions he had "the good Brother McGean, and two metis or mongrels," and the little party encountered many difficulties from the melting snows which sent a thousand rills and torrents rushing down the mountainsides into the narrow valleys. The missionary noted, as have thousands since him who have traveled over this historic route, the extensive groves of rhododendron, which at that season "displays all its strength and beauty. It rises," says the missionary author, "to the height of fifteen or twenty feet, and entire groves are formed by thousands of these shrubs, whose clustering branches entwine themselves in beautiful green arches, adorned with innumerable bouquets of splendid flowers, varying their hues from the pure white, to the deepened tint of the crimsoned rose."

He noted, too, traces of the distress and hardships suffered by pioneers who had struggled through these mountain defiles while on the last stage of their long overland journey to Oregon, for his "path was strewed with the whitened bones of horses and oxen, melancholy testimonies of the miseries endured by other travelers through these regions." Twenty days were required to pass, in this way, from the Willamette to Walla Walla, a journey now made by railroad train in half as many hours.

"About the middle of July," runs the DeSmet narrative, "I arrived safely with all my effects at the Bay of Kalispels (the mission of St. Ignatius). In my absence the number of neophytes had considerably increased. On the feast of the Ascension, Father Hoecken had the happiness of baptizing more than 100 adults. Since my departure in the spring, our little colony has built four houses, prepared constructing materials for a small church, and enclosed a field of 300 acres. More than 400 Kalispels, computing adults and children, have been baptized. They are all animated with fervor and zeal; they make use of the hatchet and plow, being resolved to abandon an itinerant life for a permanent abode. The beautiful falls of the Columbia, called the Chaudieres, in the vicinity of Fort Colville, are distant two days' journey from our new residence of St. Ignatius."

These falls are now known as the Kettle Falls of the Columbia. Thither

went Father DeSmet to celebrate the feast of St. Ignatius, and he found 800 or 900 Indians assembled for the salmon fishing. "Within the last four years," he continues, "considerable numbers of these Indians were visited by the 'black gowns,' who administered the sacrament of baptism. I was received by my dear Indians with filial joy and tenderness. I caused my little chapel of boughs to be placed on an eminence in the midst of the Indians' huts, where it might not inaptly be compared to the pelican of the wilderness, surrounded by her young, seeking with avidity the divine word, and sheltering themselves under the protection of their fostering mother. I gave three instructions daily; the Indians assisted at them with great assiduity and attention. . . .

"More than 100 children were presented for baptism, and eleven old men, borne to me on skins, seemed only waiting regenerating waters, to depart home and repose in the bosom of their divine Savior. . . . A solemn mass was celebrated, during which the Indians chanted canticles in praise of God. The ceremonies of baptism followed, and all terminated in the most perfect order, to the great delight and gratification of the savages. It was indeed a most imposing spectacle; all around contributed to heighten the effect. The noble and gigantic rock, the distant roar of the cataracts breaking in on the religious silence of that solitude, situated on an eminence overlooking the powerful Oregon river, and on the spot where the impetuous waters, freeing themselves from their limits, rush in fury and dash over a pile of rocks, casting upwards a thousand *jets d'eau,* whose transparent columns reflect, in varied colors, the rays of the dazzling sun!"

Gathered at the falls, besides the Chaudieres or Kettle Indians, were several San Poils and Spokanes, the latter tribe termed by Father DeSmet the Zingomenes, a varied spelling of "Sinkomans," a name given the Spokanes by some of their neighboring tribes.

"I gave the name of St. Paul to the Shuyelphi nation," adds DeSmet, "and placed under the care of St. Peter the tribe inhabiting the shores of the great Columbia lakes, whither Father Hoecken is about to repair, to continue instructing and baptizing their adults. My presence among the Indians did not interrupt their fine and abundant fishery. An enormous basket was fastened to a projecting rock, and the finest fish of the Columbia, as if by fascination, cast themselves by dozens into the snare. Seven or eight times during the day, these baskets were examined, and each time were found to contain about 250 salmon. The Indians, meanwhile, were seen on every projecting rock, piercing the fish with the greatest dexterity. . . .

"I left Chaudiere or Kettle Falls August 4th, accompanied by several of the nation of the Crees, to examine the lands they have selected for the site of a village. The ground is rich and well suited for all agricultural purposes. Several buildings were commenced; I gave the name of St. Francis Regis to this new station, where a great number of the mixed race and beaver hunters have resolved to settle with their families."

This mission is in the Colville valley, about seven miles from the present town of Colville. Thwaites, who edited a more recent edition of DeSmet's letters, says that on the missionary's next visit to St. Regis he found settled there about seventy half breeds, and adds that "the station does not appear to have been continuous, but to have been reestablished after the Indian wars. Later it became a

flourishing mission, with schools for boys and girls, and was frequently visited by Spokane and Colville Indians from the neighboring reservations."

From St. Francis Regis Father DeSmet set out, August 9, on a circuitous journey into the country of the Kootenays, in eastern British Columbia. As the roads were inundated by a great freshet, he resolved to return to Lake Pend d'Oreille and ascend the Clark or Flathead river, cross country by trail, and strike the Kootenai river near the border between Idaho and Montana. This river, known to the fur traders as the McGillivray, the missionary designated the Flatbow (*Arc-a-plat*) and the Kootenay tribe he gave the same designation. On this journey, in the depths of the forest, he had the good fortune to meet Peter Skene Ogden, famous explorer, adventurer and chief factor of the Hudson's Bay company.

"As we approached the forests, several horsemen issued forth in tattered garments. The foremost gentleman saluted me by name, with all the familiarity of an old acquaintance. I returned the gracious salutation, desiring to know whom I had the honor of addressing. A small river separated us, and with a smile he said: 'Wait until I reach the opposite shore, and then you will recognize me.' He is not a beaver hunter, said I to myself; yet under this tattered garb and slouched hat, I could not easily descry one of the principal members of the Hon. Hudson's Bay company, the worthy and respectable Mr. Ogden. I had the honor and good fortune of making a voyage with him, and in his own barge, from Colville to Fort Vancouver, in 1842, and no one could desire more agreeable society. It would be necessary for you to traverse the desert, to feel yourself insulated, remote from brethren, friends, to conceive the consolation and joy of such a rencounter."

Ogden, who had been on a voyage to England, had returned in April, accompanied by two British officers—Captain Henry J. Warre, nephew and aide-de-camp of Sir R. Downer Jackson, commanding the British forces in America, and Lieutenant M. Vavasour of the British engineer corps. They had a commission, says Thwaites, from the government, perhaps not as extensive as is reported by DeSmet, but doubtless ample in case of war. They were also secretly commissioned by the Hudson's Bay company to report on Dr. McLoughlin's attitude in regard to the American settlers, and their adverse account was answered by him in detail, after his resignation.

According to DeSmet, "It was neither curiosity nor pleasure that induced these two officers to cross so many desolate regions, and hasten their course towards the mouth of the Columbia. They were invested with orders from their government to take possession of Cape Disappointment (at the mouth of the Columbia), to hoist the English standard, and erect a fortress for the purpose of securing the entrance of the river in case of war."

At this period the long-standing boundary dispute between the United States and Great Britain had approached a crisis. Public sentiment was inflamed against England, and newspapers and politicians clamored for a vigorous and exacting policy by our state department. In the presidential campaign of 1844, the catch phrase, "Fifty-four-forty or fight," had served as a political slogan for the winning party, expressive of a popular desire that the government of the United States should treat with England on no other basis than fixing the international boundary on that line of latitude, giving to the stars and stripes the greater part of the present province of British Columbia. But, as was aptly said a little later, we didn't get

THE OLD MISSION ON THE COEUR D'ALENE RIVER BUILT BY THE JESUITS NEARLY SEVENTY YEARS AGO

54-40, and we didn't fight. DeSmet evidently regarded the attitude of the United States as large part bluster, for he remarked at the time:

"In the Oregon question John Bull, without much talk, attains his end, and secures the most important part of this country; whereas Uncle Sam displodes a volley of words, inveighs and storms." It wasn't nearly so bad as that, for the treaty of 1846 really gave Uncle Sam "the most important part of the country," although the award threw to Britain the rich and beautiful province of British Columbia.

DeSmet described the country between Lake Pend d'Oreille and the Kootenai as one of dense forests, the trail much obstructed by fallen trees, "morasses, frightful sloughs, from which the poor horses with much difficulty extricate themselves; but having finally surmounted all these obstacles, we contemplate from an eminence a smiling and accessible valley, whose mellow and abundant verdure is nourished by two lovely lakes, where the graceful river of the *Arcs-a-plats* winds in such fantastic beauty that it serves to make the weary traveler not only forget his past dangers, but amply compensates him for the fatigues of a long and tiresome journey."

Of the subsistence of the Kootenai Indians he wrote: "These lakes and morasses, formed in the spring, are filled with fish; they remain there, enclosed as in a natural reservoir, for the use of the inhabitants. The fish swarm in such abundance that the Indians have no other labor than to take them from the water and prepare them for the boiler. Such an existence is, however, precarious; the savages, who are not of a provident nature, are obliged to go afterwards in quest of roots, grains, berries and fruits; such as the thorny bush which bears a sweet, pleasant blackberry; the rosebuds, mountain cherry, cormier or service berry, various sorts of gooseberries and currants of excellent flavor; raspberries, the hawthorn berry, the wappato (sagittafolia) a very nourishing, bulbous root; the bitter root, whose appellation sufficiently denotes its peculiar quality, is, however, very healthy; it grows in light, dry, sandy soil, as also the caious or biscuit root. The former is of a thin and cylindrical form; the latter, though farinaceous and insipid, is a substitute for bread; it resembles a small, white radish; the watery potato, oval and greenish, is prepared like our ordinary potato, but greatly inferior to it; the sweet onion, which bears a lovely flower resembling the tulip. Strawberries are common and delicious. . . .

"I can not pass over in silence the camash root (the camas) and the peculiar manner in which it is prepared. It is abundant, and, I may say, the queen root of this clime. It is a small, white, vapid onion, when removed from the earth, but becomes black and sweet when prepared for food. The women arm themselves with long, crooked sticks, to go in search of the camash. After having procured a certain quantity of these roots, by dint of long and painful labor, they make an excavation in the earth, from twelve to fifteen inches deep, and of proportional diameter to contain the roots. They cover the bottom with closely cemented pavement, which they make red hot by means of a fire. After having carefully withdrawn all the coals, they cover the stones with grass and wet hay; then place a layer of camash, another of wet hay, a third of bark overlaid with mold, whereon is kept a glowing fire for fifty, sixty, and sometimes seventy hours. The camash thus acquires a consistency equal to that of the jujube. It is sometimes made into loaves of vari-

ous dimensions. It is excellent, especially when boiled with meat; if kept dry, it can be preserved a long time."

Throughout the forested sections of the Spokane country the Indian, when reduced to famine in springtime, resorted to pine moss. M. M. Cowley informed the editor that he often saw the Spokanes make use of this poor substitute, after he came into the valley in 1872. DeSmet thus describes its use: "It is a parasite of the pine, a tree common in these latitudes, and hangs from its boughs in great quantities. It appears more suitable for mattresses, than for the sustenance of human life. When they have procured a great quantity, they pick out all heterogeneous substance, and prepare it as they do the camash; it becomes compact, and is, in my opinion, a most miserable food, which, in a brief space, reduces those who live on it to a pitiable state of emaciation."

Over a period of nearly two years we find this intrepid missionary ranging the vast wilderness around the sources of the Columbia, the Missouri, the Saskatchewan and the Athabasca, at times bearing the gospel and the cross to the very sources of the great river of the west. "The tradition of man's creation and future immortality," he writes from the "Fort of the Mountains," October 30, 1845, "exists among most of the Indian tribes; I have had the opportunity of visiting and questioning them on the subject. Those who live by fishery, suppose their Heaven to be full of lakes and rivers, abounding in fish, whose enchanted shores and verdant islands produce fruits of every kind."

Much of this trying and perilous period he passed among the fierce and bloodthirsty Blackfeet. "I encamped (he writes in the same letter) on the banks of two lakes to the east of the Rocky mountains, which the Blackfeet call the Lake of Men and the Lake of Women. According to their traditions, from the first of these issued a band of young men, handsome and vigorous, but poor and naked. From the second, an equal number of ingenious and industrious young women, who constructed and made themselves clothing. They lived a long time, separate and unknown to each other, until the great Manitou Wizakeschak, or the old man (still invoked by the Blackfeet) visited them; he taught them to slay animals in the chase, but they were yet ignorant of the art of dressing skins. Wizakeschak conducted them to the dwelling of the young women, who received their guests with dances and cries of joy. Shoes, leggins, shirts and robes, garnished with porcupine quills, were presented them. Each young woman selected her guest, and presented him with a dish of seeds and roots; the men, desiring to contribute to the entertainment, sought the chase and returned loaded with game. The women liked the meat, and admired the strength, skill and bravery of the hunters. The men were equally delighted with the beauty of their trappings, and admired the industry of the women. Both parties began to think they were necessary to each other, and Wizakeschak presided at the solemn compact in which it was agreed that the men should become the protectors of the women, and provide all necessaries for their support; whilst all other family cares should devolve upon the women."

DeSmet drolly adds that "the Blackfeet squaws often bitterly complain of the astonishing folly of their mothers in accepting such a proposition; declaring, if the compact were yet to be made, they would arrange it in a very different manner.

"The Blackfoot heaven is a country of sandy hills, which they call Espatchekie, whither the soul goes after death, and where they will find again all the animals

they have killed, and all the horses they have stolen. The buffalo, hind and stag abound there. In speaking of the departed, a Blackfoot never says such a one is dead, but *'Espatchekie etake,'*—to the Sand hills he is gone."

Is it only coincidence that the Japanese have a tradition closely resembling the Blackfoot myth of the origin of the family relation?

A year later, in 1846, Father DeSmet is found traversing the expansive prairies that now support the thriving cities of Calgary and Edmonton. With prophetic vision he thus writes of the potential resources of the broad region lying between Walla Walla and Edmonton:

"Are these vast and innumerable fields of hay forever destined to be consumed by fire, or perish in the autumnal snows? How long shall these superb forests be the haunts of wild beasts? And these inexhaustible quarries, these abundant mines of coal, lead, sulphur, iron, copper and saltpetre—can it be that they are doomed to remain forever inactive? Not so—the day will come when some laboring hand will give them value: a strong, active and enterprising people are destined to fill this spacious void.—The wild beasts will, ere long, give place to our domestic animals; flocks and herds will graze in the beautiful meadows that border the numberless mountains, hills, valleys and plains of this extensive region."

In letters from "Boat Encampment on the Columbia," May 10, 1846, and "St. Paul's Station near Colville," May 29, 1846, the missionary gives us a lively, cheerful and at times humorous narrative of a remarkable journey he had just completed, by way of the historic route of the fur traders, from the headwaters of the Athabasca to navigable water on the Columbia. Boat Encampment is at the extreme northern point of the upper big bend of the Columbia, where the Canoe and Little Canoe enter the larger river. At this point, in 1809, David Thompson, explorer and astronomer for the Northwestern Fur company, paused to build canoes for his descent of the Columbia, the first white man to explore the great river from that point to the mouth of Snake river. It was long a noted stopping place on the upper Columbia, where horses or snowshoes were exchanged for canoes or bateaux, or navigation ended and the land journey begun, as the case might be.

"We had now (says DeSmet) seventy miles to travel on snowshoes, in order to reach the Boat Encampment on the banks of the Columbia. We proposed to accomplish this in two days and a half. The most worthy and excellent Messrs. Rowan and Harriot, whose kindness at the Rocky mountain house and Fort Augustus I shall ever acknowledge, were of opinion that it was absolutely impossible for me to accomplish the journey. However, I thought I could remedy the inconvenience of my surplus stock, by a vigorous fast of thirty days, which I cheerfully underwent. I found myself much lighter, indeed, and started off somewhat encouraged over snow sixteen feet deep. We went in single file,—alternately ascending and descending—sometimes across plains piled up with avalanches—sometimes over lakes and rapids buried deeply under the snow,—now on the side of a deep mountain—then across a forest of cypress trees, of which we could only see the tops. I can not tell you the number of my summersets. I continually found myself embarrassed by my snowshoes, or entangled in some branch of a tree. When falling, I spread my arms before me, as one naturally would do, to break the violence of the fall; and upon deep snow the danger is not great,—though I was often half buried,

when I required the assistance of my companions, which was always attended with great kindness and good humor."

In this manner thirty miles were made the first day, and the party encamped near the summit. "Some pine trees were cut down and stripped of their branches, and these being laid on the snow, furnished us with a bed, whilst a fire was lighted on a floor of green logs." Every one who has traveled primitively in these northwestern solitudes, and has carried to the toil a genuine love of nature, can appreciate the missionary's revery:

"To sleep thus—under the beautiful canopy of the starry heavens—in the midst of lofty and steep mountains—among sweet murmuring rills and roaring torrents—may appear strange to you, and to all lovers of rooms rendered comfortable by stoves and feathers; but you may think differently after having come and breathed the pure air of the mountains, where in return, coughs and colds are unknown. Come and make a trial, and you will say that it is easy to forget the fatigues of a long march, and find contentment and joy, even upon the spread branches of pines, on which, after the Indian fashion, we extended ourselves and slept, wrapped up in buffalo robes."

Only a soul imbued with a profound and abiding love of nature, and sustained by deep faith in God's infinite wisdom and mercy, could express sentiments so beautiful and lofty after enduring the dreadful hardships that befell Father DeSmet the day following:

"At the foot of the mountain an obstacle of a new kind presented itself. All the barriers of snow, the innumerable banks, which had stopped the water of the streams, lakes and torrents, were broken up during the night, and swelled considerably the great Portage river (the Little Canoe). It meanders so remarkably in this straight valley, down which we traveled for a day and a half, that we were compelled to cross it not less than forty times, with the water frequently up to our shoulders. So great is its impetuosity, that we were obliged mutually to support ourselves, to prevent being carried away by the current. We marched in our wet clothes during the rest of our sad route. The long soaking, joined to my great fatigue, swelled my limbs. All the nails of my feet came off, and the blood stained my moccasins. Four times I found my strength gone, and I certainly should have perished in that frightful region, if the courage and strength of my companions had not roused and aided me in my distress."

DeSmet describes an interesting custom. His party came over the Portage in May, and "saw Maypoles all along the old encampments. Each traveler who passes there for the first time selects his own. A young Canadian, with much kindness, dedicated one to me, which was at least 120 feet in height, and which reared its lofty head above all the neighboring trees. Did I deserve it? He stripped it of all its branches, only leaving at the top a little crown; at the bottom my name and the date of the transit were written." . . .

"After so many labors and dangers," continues the missionary, "we deserved a repast. Happily, we found at the Encampment all the ingredients that were necessary for a feast—a bag of flour, a large ham, part of a reindeer, cheese, sugar and tea in abundance, which the gentlemen of the English company had charitably left behind. While some were employed refitting the barge, others prepared the dinner; and in about an hour we found ourselves snugly seated and stretched out

around the kettles and roasts, laughing and joking about the summersets on the mountains, and the accidents on the Portage. I need not tell you that they described me as the most clumsy and awkward traveler in the band."

From St. Paul's station, near Colville, Father DeSmet penned a continuation of this interesting narrative. After the feast which he has just described, the party launched the barge and shot rapidly down the swollen current of the Columbia. "Guided by an expert Iroquois pilot, and aided with ten oars, the boat darted over the boisterous surface" of Martin's rapids, and at sunset they were at the Dalle of the Dead, where "the waters are compressed between a range of perpendicular rocks, presenting innumerable crags, fissures and cliffs, through which the Columbia leaps with irresistible impetuosity, forming, as it dashes along, frightful whirlpools, where every passing object is swallowed and disappears." By means of two long ropes, the barge was lowered through this frightful trough, and the party encamped for the night at its foot. For details of the tragic incident which imparted to this stretch of the river a name so sad and shocking, the reader is directed to the chapter wherein an account is given by Ross Cox of the disastrous fate which befell a party that turned back from the mouth of the Canoe river in 1817.

May 11 the party resumed its voyage at early dawn, and that evening encamped at the entrance to Upper Arrow lake (an extended dilation of the Columbia river).

"This beautiful sheet of crystalline water, whilst the rising sun was tinting the tops of a thousand hills around, came most refreshing to the eye. It is about thirty miles long, by four or five wide. Its borders are embellished by overhanging precipices and majestic peaks, which, rearing their white heads above the clouds, look down like venerable monarchs of the desert upon the great forests of pines and cedar surrounding the lake. The two highest peaks are called St. Peter and St. Paul."

Here the father found twenty Indian families, belonging to the mission of St. Paul, encamped on the shore of the lake, and gladly accepted their pressing invitation to visit them. "It was the meeting of a father with his children, after ten months of absence and dangers," wrote the priest, adding a belief that "the joy was mutually sincere. The greater part of the tribe had been converted the past year at Kettle Falls. These families were absent at that time. I passed, therefore, several days among them, to instruct them in the duties and practices of religion. They then received baptism, with all the marks of sincere piety and gratitude. Gregory, the name of their chief, who had not ceased to exhort his people by word and example, had the happiness to receive baptism in 1838, from the hands of the Rev. Mr., now Archbishop, Blanchet. The worthy and respectable chief was now at the height of his joy, in seeing at last all his children brought under the standard of Jesus Christ. The tribe of these lake Indians are a part of the Kettle Fall nation. They are very poor, and subsist principally on fish and wild roots. As soon as we shall have more means at our disposal, we will supply them with implements of husbandry and with various seeds and roots, which, I have no doubt, will thrive well in their country."

With no desire to draw invidious comparison, but as a direct historical statement, the fact is conspicuous that the Catholic missionaries adopted and maintained, from the beginning, a theory and an attitude differing fundamentally from

those which controlled and animated the Protestants. Freely and almost without reserve, they admitted into full communion their Indian converts, dispensing, with unstinted hand the sacraments of the Roman church, and carefully avoiding an appearance of patronage or an air of superiority. Better had it been if Whitman, Spalding, Walker and Eells had been less exacting in theological standards (as distinct from morals); had relaxed their austere New England doctrines, and adopted towards their untutored wards a bearing of closer brotherhood, instead of maintaining, down to the very close of their missions, a policy of holding them under probation or tutelage. As the years rolled by, and the Cayuses saw themselves permanently denied full communion, a spirit of sullen resentment developed; and the belief intensified that they were being exploited in a commercial spirit, and the missionaries were only fore-runners of an immigration that threatened the very existence of the Indian tribes.

Explanatory of the origin of the name, Arrow lake, the author recalls the putting forward, a few years ago, by a contributor to a Spokane newspaper, of an erroneous theory that the first white men to pass through that region heard an Indian legend, that the Great Spirit, while hunting one day, had emptied into these lakes his quiver of gigantic arrows; and in substantiation of this fantastic idea, huge shafts of the forest, stripped clean of limbs and silvered with years of weather, imbedded in the lake bottom and leaning at a sharp angle above the surface of the water, were shown in proof of the truth of the legend. Father DeSmet gives the true origin of the name:

"We passed under a perpendicular rock, where we beheld an innumerable number of arrows sticking out of the fissures. The Indians, when they ascend the lake, have a custom of lodging each an arrow into these crevices."

In his "Fur Hunters," Alexander Ross writes of rude paintings in red upon a smooth and perpendicular rock on the shore of the lower lake. Against these paintings, says that author, Indians passing below in their canoes shot arrows in a spirit of defiance against a neighboring warring tribe. From the make of these arrows the natives could tell what tribes had recently passed.

Passing through the Arrow lakes, and floating on the swift current of the Columbia, the missionary came to the Little Dalles. "Our barge was in great danger in the Dalle, some miles above Colville," he writes. "I had left it, to go on foot, to avoid the dangerous passage. The young boatmen, notwithstanding my remonstrances, thought they could pass in safety. A whirlpool suddenly arrested their course, and threatened to bury them beneath its angry waters. Their redoubled efforts proved ineffectual,—I saw them borne on with an irresistible force to the engulfing center—the bow of the boat descended already into the abyss and filled. I was on my knees upon the rock which overhung this frightful spectacle, surrounded by several Indians;—we implored the aid of heaven in favor of our poor comrades—they seemed to be evidently lost—when the whirlpool filled, and threw them from its bosom, as it reluctantly yielded up the prey which it had so tenaciously held. We all gave heartfelt thanks to Almighty God for having delivered them from a danger so imminent."

At this point in his narrative the missionary digresses into a comprehensive description of the surrounding country: "The mouth of the river McGillivray, or Flatbow (the Kootenai of the present day), is near the outlet of the lower lake.

It presents a beautiful situation for the establishment of a future reduction or mission, and I have already marked out a site for the construction of a church. About twenty miles lower we passed the Flathead or Clark's river (the Pend d'Oreille), which contributes largely to the Columbia. These two beautiful rivers derive a great portion of their waters from the same chain of the Rocky mountains from which a great number of the forks of the Saskatchewan and of the Missouri are supplied. For a distance of about thirty miles from their junction with the Columbia, are they obstructed with insurmountable falls and rapids. Among the many lakes connected with the Flathead river, three are very conspicuous, and measure from thirty to forty miles in length, and from four to six in width. The Flathead lake receives a large and beautiful stream, extending upwards of a hundred miles in a northwestern direction, through a most delightful valley, and is supplied by considerable torrents, coming from a great cluster of mountains, connected immediately with the main chain, in which a great number of lakes lie embedded. Clark's fork passes through Lake Kalispel. Lake Roothan is situated in the Pend d'Oreille and Flatbow mountains, and discharges itself by the Black-Gown river into the Clark, twenty miles below Kalispel lake.".

Lake Roothan finds frequent mention in Governor Stevens' reports as lake "Rootham," and is so printed on old government maps. It is now known as Priest lake, and the "Black-Gown river" of DeSmet is the Priest river of the present day. The lake was named by the Jesuits in honor of the then father general of their order.

"Towards the end of the month of May," continues the narrative, "I arrived at Fort Colville. I found the nation of Shuyelphi or Kettle Fall already baptized by the Rev. Father Hoecken, who had continued to instruct them after my departure in the month of August last year. They had built, to my great surprise, a small frame church, so much the more beautiful and agreeable to my eyes, as being their first attempt at architecture, and the exclusive work of the Indians. With a laudable pride they conducted me, as in triumph, to the humble and new temple of the Lord, and in favor of that good people, and for their perseverance in the faith, I there offered the august sacrifice of the altar.

"The arrival of the good Father Nobili at Colville filled us with great joy and consolation. He had made missionary excursions over the greatest portion of New Caledonia. Everywhere the Indian tribes received him with open arms, and took great care to bring their little children to be baptized. Having made a retreat of eight days in the Reduction of St. Ignatius, and after a month of repose and preparation for a second expedition, he returned with renewed zeal and fervor to his dear Caledonians, accompanied by several laborers, and supplied with a dozen horses, loaded with implements of agriculture and carpentry.

"Father Nobili and myself were most hospitably entertained during our stay at Fort Colville. The kindness of the Honorable Mr. Lewes and family I shall never forget. Truly and deservedly has Commodore Wilkes stated, 'That the liberality and hospitality of all the gentlemen of the Honorable Hudson's Bay company are proverbial.' "

CHAPTER XV

CATHOLIC MISSIONS—CONCLUDED

OVERLAND JOURNEY FROM OLD WALLA WALLA TO THE SPOKANE—DESMET TAKES A FRIENDLY INDIAN PIPE—FROM THE SPOKANE TO COLVILLE—TRIP FROM SPOKANE TO THE COEUR D'ALENE MISSION—A SUMMER ENCAMPMENT DESCRIBED—TAKING "POT LUCK" WITH INDIANS—SUPERSTITIONS OF THE COEUR D'ALENES—THEY WORSHIP A WHITE MAN'S SPOTTED SHIRT AND BLANKET—MISSION EFFORTS OF AN IROQUOIS CHIEF—FATHER POINT'S LABORS AMONG THIS TRIBE—GOVERNOR STEVENS' HOSPITABLE RECEPTION AT THE OLD MISSION—MISSIONARIES TAKE THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE TO THE U. S.—CAPTAIN M'CLELLAN AMONG THE YAKIMAS—ST. MICHAEL'S MISSION NEAR HILLYARD—FATHER CARUANA AMONG THE SPOKANES.

FROM Colville DeSmet descended the Columbia in one of the barges of the Hudson's Bay company, stopping at Fort Okanogan, where he administered baptism to forty-three persons. From Vancouver he set out in July on a return to the interior, and under date of July 26, 1846, in a letter from St. Ignatius, on the lower Pend d'Oreille river, thus records the incidents of an overland journey from old Walla Walla on the Columbia:

"The eighth day after my departure from Fort Vancouver, I landed safely at Walla Walla, with the goods destined for the different missions. In a few days all was ready, and having thanked the good and kind-hearted Mr. McBean, the superintendent of the fort, who had rendered me every assistance in his power, we soon found ourselves on the way to the mountains, leading a band of pack mules and horses over a sandy, dry plain, covered with bunch-grass and wormwood."

In fair weather this William B. McBean could be kind and hospitable to a degree; but when, in his defense, all is said that may be said, the distressing fact remains that he behaved badly when begged for succor and defense by survivors of the Whitman massacre. Thwaites, editor of "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents," says that McBean was an educated half-breed, who succeeded Archibald McKinley at Fort Walla Walla in 1845. "He attained an unpleasant notoriety in connection with the Whitman massacre, because of his Catholic proclivities, and his tardiness in aiding the survivors; but most of the charges against him were unfounded. In New Caledonia he had a reputation for being despotic and wily, also somewhat fanatical in religious matters."

With all the deep ardor of a lover of nature, Father DeSmet enjoyed his life on the trail—afloat on rushing mountain river, by campfire beneath the solemn pines, or out upon the free and starlit prairie. "We encamped for the night," re-

sumes his narrative, "in a beautiful little meadow, watered by the Walla Walla river, where we found abundance of grass for our animals. These were soon unloaded and left free to graze at leisure. We next made a fire, put on the camp kettle, stretched the bed, consisting of a buffalo robe, and smoked together the friendly Indian pipe, whilst supper was preparing. We found ourselves at home and perfectly at ease in less than a quarter of an hour. The evening was clear and beautiful—not a cloud—our sleep, sound and refreshing, prepared us for an early start at dawn of day."

Here was a spectacle—a priest of God puffing at an Indian pipe and unblushingly proclaiming the enjoyment of it—that would have scandalized the zealous Parker, forerunner of Whitman and Spalding in the lone land where rolls the Oregon. Parker detested the incense of the pipe, inveighed against its use by trapper and Indian, and often gravely admonished the Indians against this sin. Like DeSmet, he was brave, and zealous, and a lover of wild nature too; but unlike DeSmet, he seemed not to know when to unbend, or when to look with indulgent eye on a practice which had long been dear to the Indian heart.

"The next day," continues DeSmet, "we found about a dozen Indian lodges, called the Palooses, a portion of the Sapetan (Sahaptin) or Nez Perce tribe. We procured from the Indians here some fresh salmon, for which we made them ample return in powder and lead. But as the grass was withered and scanty, and the pilfering dispositions of these Indians rather doubtful, we resolved on proceeding eight or ten miles farther, and encamped late in the evening on the Pavilion river (now the Palouse).

"On the fifth day of our departure from Walla Walla, we reached the Spokane river, and found a good fording for our animals. You will see with pleasure the chart I have made of the headwaters of this river, which, though beautiful and interesting, is yet, like all the other rivers in Oregon, almost an unbroken succession of rapids, falls and cascades, and of course ill-adapted in its present condition to the purposes of navigation. The two upper valleys of the Coeur d'Alene are beautiful, and of a rich mold. They are watered by two deep forks, running into the Coeur d'Alene lake, a fine sheet of water, of about thirty miles in length by four or five broad, from which the river Spokane derives its source. I called the two upper forks the St. Joseph's and the St. Ignatius. They are formed by innumerable torrents, descending from the Pointed Heart mountains, a chain of the Rocky mountains. The two upper valleys are about sixty or eighty miles long, and four or eight miles broad. I counted upwards of forty little lakes in them. The whole neighborhood of the Spokane river affords very abundant grazing, and in many sections is tolerably well timbered with pines of different species."

DeSmet probably followed the old Indian trail leading from the Walla Walla valley to Colville, which crossed the Spokane about twenty miles below the falls, and passed through the Tshimakain valley, now Walker's prairie, where Eells and Walker maintained their Protestant mission from 1839 to 1848. "On leaving the river," he says, "we ascended by a steep Indian path. A few miles ride across a pine forest brings you to a beautiful valley leading to Colville, agreeably diversified by plains and forests, hemmed in by high wooded mountains, and by huge picturesque rocks towering their lofty heads over all the rest. Fountains and rivulets are here very numerous. After about thirty miles we arrived at the foot of the

Kalispel mountain, in the neighborhood of St. Francis Regis, where already about seventy metis or halfbreeds have collected to settle permanently."

From St. Ignatius, under date of July 25, 1846, Father DeSmet wrote to Mrs. S. Parmentier, a Brooklyn woman who had made a liberal donation for the support of his missions. "I am indeed ashamed," he begins, "at not having been able sooner to answer the letters which you had the kindness to write me on the 2d of September and the 7th of December, 1844." Evidently the mail service was no better for the Catholic missionaries than it had been for the Protestants, who regarded as one of their chief hardships the long delays involved in communication with eastern friends. Father DeSmet explained that this lady's letters "reached the Rocky mountains only the year after, while I was engaged in a distant mission among the Indians, so that I received them only in the month of July, 1846. . . . I have given directions to the Indians of these different tribes to recite, every week, the Rosary for one of their great benefactresses, meaning yourself. Now, you can not but be aware, that, among the Indians, the beads are recited in each family, so that I am already assured, and I have the consolation of saying to you, that many thousand pairs of beads have already been offered up to God and his august mother for you. Those good Indians—those children of the forest—so dear to my heart, will continue to display their gratitude till I tell them to cease, and that will not be very soon. . . . How happy should I be, my dear, excellent Madam, could I give you to understand how great, how sweet, how enrapturing, is their devotion to the august mother of God. The name of Mary, which, pronounced in the Indian language, is something so sweet and endearing, delights and charms them. . . .

"The usual place of residence of the Kalispels—that in which the reduction of St. Ignatius is now established—is an extensive prairie, called the Bay of the Kalispels, thirty or forty miles above the mouth of Clark or Flathead river. A beautiful grotto exists in the neighborhood of the mission, which I have named the grotto of Manresa, in honor of our Holy Founder. It is very large, and might, at small expense, be fitted up for a church. May the Indians gather in crowds into this new Manresa, and after the example of their patron, St. Ignatius, be penetrated with a feeling sense of heavenly things, and inflamed with the love of God.

"I shall always remember with pleasure the winter of 1844-45, which I had the happiness of spending among these good Indians. The place for wintering was well chosen, picturesque, agreeable and convenient. The camp was placed near a beautiful waterfall, caused by Clark's river being blocked up by an immense rock, through which the waters, forcing narrow passages, precipitate themselves. A dense and interminable forest protected us from the north winds, and a countless number of dead trees, standing on all sides, furnished us with abundant fuel for our fires during the inclement season. We were encircled by ranges of lofty mountains, whose snowclad summits reflected in the sun, their brightness on all the surrounding country." From this description, it seems probable that the rendezvous just described was at Albani Falls, near the present town of Newport.

"The place for wintering being determined, the first care of the Indians was to erect the house of prayer. While the men cut down saplings, the women brought bark and mats to cover them. In two days this humble house of the Lord was

completed—humble and poor, indeed, but truly the house of prayer, to which pure, simple, innocent souls repaired, to offer to the Great Spirit their vows, and the tribute of their affections. . . .

"The great festival of Christmas, the day on which the little band was to be added to the number of the true children of God, will never be effaced from the memory of our good Indians. The manner in which we celebrated midnight mass, may give you an idea of our festival. The signal for rising, which was to be given a few minutes before midnight, was the firing of a pistol, announcing to the Indians that the house of prayer would soon be open. This was followed by a general discharge of guns, in honor of the birth of the infant Savior, and 300 voices rose spontaneously from the midst of the forest, and entoned in the language of the Pend d'Oreilles, the beautiful canticle: *'Du Dieu puissant tout annonce la gloire.'* —'The Almighty's glory all things proclaim.' In a moment a multitude of adorers were seen wending their way to the humble temple of the Lord—resembling, indeed, the manger in which the Messiah was born. On that night, which all at once became bright as day, they experienced, I know not what, that which made them exclaim aloud, 'Oh, God, I give Thee my heart.'

"On the eve the church was embellished with garlands and wreaths of green boughs, forming, as it were, a frame for the images which represent the affecting mysteries of Christmas night. The interior was ornamented with pine branches. The altar was neatly decorated, bespangled with stars of various brightness, and covered with a profusion of ribbons—things exceedingly attractive to the eye of an Indian. At midnight I celebrated a solemn mass, the Indians sang several canticles suitable to the occasion. That peace announced in the first verse of the Angelic hymn, 'The Gloria—Peace on earth to men of good will,' was, I venture to say, literally fulfilled to the Indians of the forest.

"A grand banquet, according to Indian custom, followed the first mass. Some choice pieces of the animals slain in the chase had been set apart for the occasion. I ordered half a sack of flour and a large boiler of sweetened coffee to be added. The union, the contentment, the joy, and charity, which pervaded the whole assembly, might well be compared to the agape of the primitive Christians."

"Fathers Mengarini and Serbinati (the last-mentioned father has since died), had the consolation to see the whole tribe of the Flatheads, among whom they had been laboring, approach the holy table on this day. Twelve young Indians, taught by Father Mengarini, performed, with accuracy, several pieces of music during the midnight mass. Fathers Point and Joset had, also, the consolation of admitting for the first time, nearly the entire tribe of the Coeur d'Alenes, on this auspicious day, to the Holy Communion. The Christmas of 1844 was, therefore, a great and glorious day in the Rocky mountains.

"I will close this already lengthy letter with a few words more concerning the Pends d'Oreilles of the Bay. Early in the spring of 1845, they began to build upon the spot selected for the Reduction of St. Ignatius, and to open fields. On Ascension day of the same year, Father Hoecken administered baptism to upwards of a hundred adults. At my last visit, which I paid them in July last, they had already put up fourteen log houses, besides a large barn, had the timbers prepared for a church, and had upwards of 300 acres in grain, enclosed by a substantial fence. The whole village, men, women and children, had worked most cheerfully.

I counted thirty head of horned cattle—the squaws had learned to milk the cows and churn; they had a few hogs, and some domestic fowls. The number of Christians had doubled since Christmas, 1844."

August, 1846, found DeSmet at St. Mary's mission in Montana, describing, in a letter of August 10, a journey from St. Ignatius mission by way of the Colville country and the Spokane valley, to the mission of the Sacred Heart on the Coeur d'Alene river. "We had beautiful weather, and a path remarkably free from those obstructions so annoying to travelers in the mountains. Towards the middle of our day's journey, we reached a beautiful lake surrounded by hills, and a thick forest of larch (tamarack). I have named it the Lake DeNef, as a token of gratitude towards one of the greatest benefactors of the mission. It discharges itself through a narrow passage, forming a beautiful rapid called the Tournhout-torrent, at the termination of which it joins its limpid waters to those of the river Spokane." In the opinion of Thwaites, who edited a revised volume of DeSmet's correspondence, this was the present Blake's lake in northern Spokane county, "which discharges by the West Branch into Little Spokane river."

The missionary forded the Spokane river, just below the main falls, and followed up the south bank to Lake Coeur d'Alene. "A few words descriptive of our encampments during wet weather may not be out of place," says his narrative of this journey. "The tent erected in haste—saddles, bridles, baggage, etc., thrown into some sheltered spot—large heaps of larch branches or brushwood are cut down and spread over the spot of ground destined for our repose—provision of as much dry wood as can be collected is now brought forth for the whole night; on this occasion we made a fire large enough to roast an ox. These preparations completed, our meal (dinner and supper the same time), consisting of flour, camash roots, and some buffalo tallow, is thrown into a large kettle nearly filled with water. The great heat requiring the cook to stand at a respectable distance from the fire, a long pole serves as a ladle to stir about the contents until the mixture has acquired the proper density, when a vigorous attack is made upon it after a singular fashion indeed. On the present occasion we were six in number, trusting to a single spoon, but necessity soon supplied the deficiency. Two of the company used pieces of bark; two others strips of leather; and the fifth, a small turtle shell."

As the missionary's *compagnons du voyage* were natives—two Kalispels and three Coeur d'Alenes, it may be surmised that they graciously awarded the single spoon to the blackrobe. "Grace being said," continues the father, "a circle is formed round the kettle, and the instruments plunge and replunge into it with as much regularity and address as a number of smiths' hammers plying at the anvils; a few moments, and the contents of the large kettle are gone, leaving not a vestige behind. We found this repast delicious, thanks to our keen appetites. Making due allowance for the taste of others, I confess I have never enjoyed a feast more heartily than such as I have now described, prepared in the open air, after the Indian fashion. All the refined inventions of the art culinary, as sauces, pickles, preserves, pies, etc., designed to quicken or restore weak appetites, are here utterly useless. Loss of appetite, which among the wealthy forms the reigning complaint, furnishing abundant employment to apothecaries and doctors, is here unheard of. If these patients would have the courage to abandon for a time their high living, and traverse the wilds of this region on horseback, breakfasting at daybreak and

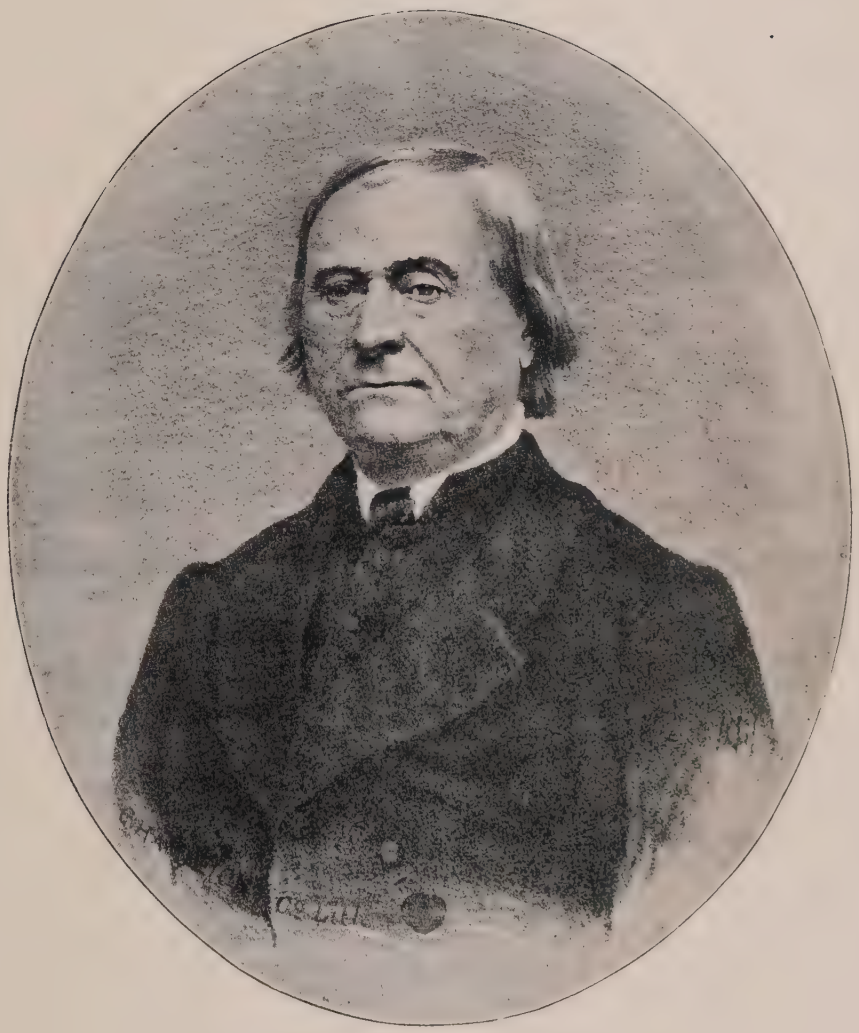
dining at sunset, after a ride of forty miles, I venture to predict that they will not need any refined incitements to relish as I did a simple dish prepared by the Indians."

The scene here described with such good humor and sound, practical philosophy lay in our beautiful valley of the Spokane; and the dietary truths so pleasingly advanced by the pioneer of the gospel and the cross, are as sound today as two-thirds of a century ago. Now, as then, health and the zest of keen appetite may be had for the seeking in our mountain vales and by our wooded waters; but the tribe of apothecaries and the clan of physicians flourish in our midst.

"Having dried our blankets, and said night prayers, our repose was not less sound for having fared so simply, or lain upon a rough couch of brushwood," the good father adds contentedly.

At the Coeur d'Alene mission DeSmet was cordially received by Fathers Joset and Point. All the Coeur d'Alenes of the neighborhood came to welcome him. "The fervor and piety of these poor Indians filled me with great joy and consolation," remarks the missionary, "especially when I considered how great the change wrought in them since their conversion to Christianity. . . . Previous to their conversion, these Indians were shunned by the other tribes, on account, it is said, of their great power in juggling and other idolatrous practices. . . . A single instance will serve to give you some idea of the objects of their worship, and the facility with which they adopt their manitous or divinities. They related to me that the first white man they saw in their country wore a calico shirt, spotted all over with black and white, which to them appeared like the smallpox; he also wore a white coverlet. The Coeur d'Alenes imagined that the spotted shirt was the great manitou himself—the great master of that alarming disease, the smallpox—and that the white coverlet was the great manitou of the snow; that if they could obtain possession of these, and pay them divine honors, their nation would never afterwards be visited by that dreadful scourge; and their winter hunts be rendered successful by an abundant fall of snow. They accordingly offered him, in exchange for these, several of their best horses. The bargain was eagerly closed by the white man. The spotted shirt and the white coverlet became thenceforward, objects of great veneration for many years. On grand solemnities the two manitous were carried in procession to a lofty eminence, usually consecrated to the performance of their superstitious rites. They were then respectfully spread on the grass: the great medicine pipe offered to them, with as much veneration as it is customary with the Indians, in presenting it to the sun, the fire, the earth and the water. The whole band of jugglers, or medicine men, then entoned canticles of adoration to them. The service was generally terminated with a grand dance, in which the performers exhibited the most hideous contortions and extravagant gestures, accompanied with a most unearthly howling."

Father Nicholas Point, who labored long among the Coeur d'Alenes, is authority that this tribe was partly converted to Christianity, about the year 1830, by an Iroquois chief called Ignatius. They had heard, in an imperfect way from the fur traders, that in the faith of the white man there was but one God, who had an invisible place called heaven as abode of good people after death, and an invisible place of torment called hell, where the wicked spirits were consigned. That God's son in heaven, beholding all men running in the road to the bad place, descended



PETER JOHN DE SMET

The great apostle of the Indians

to earth to point them to the good road, but that in order to effect this, it was required that he die upon the cross.

"One evening," says Father Point, in an extended letter recording the details of the conversion of the Coeur d'Alenes, "all the families, who were dispersed in different directions, for fishing, for hunting, and for gathering roots, assembled upon the ground of an old chief called Ignatius, to see the author of this news. Regardless of fatigue, they prolonged their sitting to the silence of the night, and listened to all the details of the glorious message."

While the tribe halted between two opinions, hesitating whether they should abandon their old beliefs and accept the doctrine of the white men, a death-inflicting disease came among them, probably small-pox, and at the moment it raged with greatest violence, one of the dying, afterwards called Stephen, announced that he had heard a voice from heaven, saying, "Cast down thy idols; adore Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be cured."

"The dying man," says Father Point, "believed the word and was cured. He went about the camp and related what had taken place: all the sick who heard him imitated his example, and recovered their health. I have this fact from the mouth of the savages who heard the voice from heaven, and the same has been confirmed by eye-witnesses."

However, remarks Father Point, as neither constancy nor reflection is to be found in the savage, the greater part of the Coeur d'Alenes relapsed into idolatry, hastened in this reactionary tendency by the influence of the medicine men.

"Such," says Father Point, "was pretty nearly the condition of the people when Providence sent among them the Rev. Father DeSmet. His visit disposed them so much in favor of the Blackgowns, that it was determined I should be sent to their aid. Three months after, that is, at the close of the hunting expeditions of the autumn of 1842, I left St. Mary's to place the new converts under the protection of the Sacred Heart of Jesus."

Father Point arrived among the Coeur d'Alenes the first Friday in November, and on the first Friday in December, lifted, with chant and prayer, the cross on the shore of a lake where the savages had gathered for fishing. As the first mission of the Sacred Heart was reared on the banks of the St. Joseph river, this lake was probably the Coeur d'Alene, or Chatcolet lake adjacent to the mouth of the St. Joseph. Soon these Indians "spoke no more of their assemblies of imposters, their diabolical visions, nor superstitious ceremonies, which had before been so common; and most important of all, gambling, which had always occupied a great portion of their time, was two weeks afterwards abandoned; the conjugal bond, which for centuries, perhaps, had known among them neither unity nor indissolubility, was brought back to its primitive character; and a beautiful sight was presented by the medicine men themselves, who, with their own hands, did justice to the wretched instruments hell had used to deceive them. During the long nights of that period it will not be necessary to tell how many sacrifices were made of feathers, wolves' tails, stags' feet, deer's hoofs, wooden images, etc."

With the advent of early spring the Indians assembled at the chosen site for the mission, and with enthusiasm and industry set about the building of a village, formed upon the ancient plans in Paraguay, under which each one contributed ac-

cording to his strength and industry. Trees were felled for cabins, roads opened, a church erected and the public fields enclosed, broken and planted.

From the 9th of September to the date of this letter, a period of six months, "not one single fault which can be called serious," adds Father Point, "has been committed in the village of the Sacred Heart of Jesus; and a great many who reproached themselves with light failings, cease not to make public confession in terms of grief. I have seen husbands come after their wives, and mothers after their daughters, not to excuse the accusations they had made, but to acknowledge that their want of patience and humility were the cause of the failings of others.

"It is worthy of remark that of all the adults who had not yet received baptism, and all who united to prepare for their first communion, not one was judged unworthy to receive the sacraments. Their simplicity, piety, charity, and especially their faith, were admirable. And truly all these virtues were necessary for these good old men, who, for the sake of learning their prayers, had to become the scholars of their children, and for the children to enable them to do violence to their natural vivacity, while they slowly communicated to their old parents and grandparents, a part of what they had learned; and the chiefs would rise at the dawn of day, and sometimes in the middle of the night, to exhort their people to weep over their sins."

Father Point has left us an affectionate description of the sacrament of the holy communion, conferred in the little church in the wilderness by the venerable Father Joset, whose labors have entered so extensively into the early history of the Catholic church in Spokane:

"The church was small; it measured in length fifty feet, and in breadth twenty-four. It was indeed poor, but from every part of the wall and ceiling, were suspended rich festoons of leaves. While the stars were still shining in the firmament, the chant, Lauda Sion, was heard. But who sung that divine canticle? The savages who lately addressed their prayers only to the animals of their mountains. . . . It was Father Joset who had the happiness to distribute to them the bread of life—a happiness so much the more felt, as he had just arrived among them. Before they approached the holy table, he addressed them a few words; but the tender piety apparent in all at the moment of communicating, made him fear to spoil the work of God by adding more words of his own, and he left them to their own devotion."

As repeated floods in the St. Joseph river showed that the first site of the mission had been unfortunately chosen, the church and village of Sacred Heart were moved in 1846 to a more salubrious spot on the Coeur d'Alene river.

VISITED BY GOVERNOR STEVENS

When Governor Isaac I. Stevens came into this country in 1853, in the three fold capacity of governor of Washington territory, Indian commissioner to treat with various tribes between Dakota and Puget Sound, and searcher out of northern routes for a transcontinental railroad, he visited this beautiful mission. Late on an October evening with Antoine Plant for guide, he came to the mission door and sought hospitality of the fathers then in charge. "The mission," said Stevens in his official report to the secretary of war, "is beautifully located upon a hill

overlooking extensive prairies stretching to the east and west toward the Coeur d'Alene mountains and the Columbia river. About 100 acres of the eastern prairie adjoining the mission are enclosed and under cultivation, furnishing employment to thirty or forty Indians—men, women and children. I observed two ploughing, which they executed skilfully; others were sowing wheat, and others digging potatoes.

"Pere Gazzoli received me with the most pleasing hospitality. Associated with him are Pere Ravalli, now absent to secure supplies, and Brothers Charles Huett and Maginn. The latter, however, is a lay brother, attached to the Pend d'Oreille mission, who is here at this time to assist in harvesting.

"Towards evening I witnessed the burial of an Indian chief. The funeral services were conducted after the Catholic form, and I was struck with the harmonious voices of the Indian choristers, and with their solemn observance of the ceremonies.

"The mission is composed of buildings enclosing a square. Some of them are quite old, but the barn is large and new. The church stands a little distance from the rest, and does much credit to those who erected it. It is constructed on a plan designed by Pere Ravalli, and is of the Roman demi-style of architecture. Pulleys and ropes were the only mechanical aids in the construction. Pere Ravalli is quite an architect, and drew up many designs before the one selected was adopted. In his room, which I was kindly given to occupy, was his library. I observed that it contained several standard works on architecture. The church was not completed, although sufficiently so for the performance of services within. The interior is prettily arranged. The altar is supported by two massive timbers of pine which are about four feet in diameter. We were informed that in erecting these pillars, an Indian who was holding one of them became frightened and let it fall, fortunately without injury to any one. The priests live in a self-denying manner, and the good effects of their influence over the Indians around them are plainly manifest.

"There is quite a village of Indians near the mission. They have some half dozen log-houses, but most of them live in lodges.

"While awaiting the arrival of the train, I was enabled more particularly to observe the manner in which the affairs of the mission were conducted. Brother Charles has charge of the buildings and attends to the indoor work, cooks, makes butter and cheese, issues provisions, and pays the Indians for their work, which payment is made in tickets bearing a certain value, 'good for so many potatoes or so much wheat,' etc. By this management the Indians are able to procure their subsistence in the summer by hunting and fishing, and have tickets in store for living during the winter. They are well contented, and I was pleased to observe habits of industry growing upon them. In the barn we saw their operations of threshing: four boys rode as many mules abreast around in a circle, being followed by two girls with flails, who appeared to be perfectly at home in their business. One half of the barn is reserved for their crops, while the other is arranged for cattle. Their stock at present consists of twenty cows, eight pairs of oxen and ninety pigs, which are driven to pasture upon the prairie by Indians boys daily. I noticed an Indian woman milking, and was surprised to see her use both hands, something rarely seen among the Indians. We afterwards visited the field—a large fire was burning, and around it sat Indians roasting and eating potatoes. There

appeared to be a great scarcity of proper implements, and in digging potatoes I noticed that many had nothing better than sharpened sticks."

Governor Stevens remarked that Brother Maginn declared himself to be, like many other naturalized citizens, a good democrat, inquired who was president of the United States, and appeared to be much pleased when informed that he was a democrat.

Two years later, in June, 1855, Governor Stevens revisited this mission. "We were received in the most hospitable and cordial manner, and remained there the next day," says his official report. "To show something of the privations which the missionaries have to undergo, I will remark that Father Ravalli, in his recent trip from The Dalles, had the assistance of only two Indians and an Indian boy in bringing up a train of twenty-two pack animals. He was obliged to see personally to the packing of each one of his animals, doing most of the manual labor himself, and could not get off (though he commenced at early dawn) until towards ten o'clock in the morning."

On the occasion of the governor's first visit to the mission, the Indians were called in from the fields, and he addressed them, saying:

"I am glad to see you and find that you are under such good direction. I have come four times as far as you go to hunt buffalo, and have come with directions from the Great Father to see you, to talk to you, and to do all I can for your welfare. I see cultivated fields, a church, houses, cattle, and the fruits of the earth, the work of your own hands. The Great Father will be delighted to hear this, and will certainly assist you. Go on, and every family will have a house, and a patch of ground, and every one will be well clothed. I have had talks with the Blackfeet, who promise to make peace with all the Indian tribes. Listen to the good father and to the good brothers who labor for your good."

That evening the governor had a long conversation with the father and brothers, and on leaving the next morning he made glad the heart of Brother Charles by presenting him a number of lariats for use in raising the timbers of the uncompleted church.

On the occasion of the governor's second visit to the mission, in June, 1855, the fathers and lay brothers took the oath of allegiance to the government of the United States, and signed naturalization papers. Stevens remarked that they seemed much pleased with the idea of becoming American citizens.

IN THE YAKIMA VALLEY

Captain George B. McClellan, when traveling down the Yakima in 1853, visited the mission in that valley, and George Gibbs, a member of his expedition, has left us this description: "The mission, which, in summer, is maintained in the Ahtanum valley, is transferred (with the moving of the Indians in winter) into that of the main river. There are two priests attached to this mission, belonging to the order of the Oblats, Fathers Pandozy and d'Harbomey. The stations are small log buildings, divided into a chapel and lodging room, with a corral for horses and a spot of enclosed garden ground adjoining the one at Ahtanum. The fathers informed us that they found the Yakimas not very teachable, and that they had accomplished little except as peacemakers; the Indians were lazy and cultivated

the ground with but little regularity, some years not planting at all. They did not believe that a resident farmer would be of use. The Indians, however, say, and justly, that they have no tools, and but little inducement to labor, their country affording other subsistence, and the toil of planting with their own rude implements not being compensated by the results. With proper encouragement, and assistance in breaking up the ground, they would doubtless do more. It is probably an object with the missionaries to discourage secular residents, who might divide their own influence over the natives.

"The courteous attention of these gentlemen to the officers of the expedition requires acknowledgment. They furnished all the information in their power respecting the country, secured good guides to the parties, and acted as interpreters with the Indians. Father Pandozy, in particular, is familiarly acquainted with the Yakima tongue. Kamiaken is the only one of the three brothers who has adopted even the forms of Catholicism, and he refuses to be baptized, because he would be compelled to put away his surplus wives, of whom he has several."

Gibbs states that a number of Yakimas professed to have a remedy for smallpox. "Father Pandozy, one of the missionaries, informed me that he believed it to be the root of a species of iris. He had once tasted it, and it acted as a violent emetic. The Spokanes have also another and different specific. It is known to but few persons, having been gradually forgotten since the former visitation. Recently, when it broke out in one of the Spokane villages, an old woman, who was blind, described it to her daughter, and directed her to proceed towards Kamiaken's country, and that if she encountered none in her way, to get from him some of which he used. The girl, however, did find the herb and returned with it. The mother prepared the medicine, and the smallpox was stayed, but not until it had nearly destroyed the village. We were not successful in obtaining specimens of this plant, but Father Pandozy kindly promised to save some when opportunity offered. In regard to this disease, the greatest scourge of the red man, it has passed through this region more than once, and was probably the first severe blow which fell upon the Oregon tribes. Its appearance seems to have been before any direct intercourse took place with the whites, and it may have found its way northward from California. Captains Lewis and Clark conjectured, from the relations of the Indians, and the apparent age of individuals marked with it, that it had prevailed about thirty years before their arrival. It also spread with great virulence in 1843. From the other, and no less sure, destroyer of the coast tribes, the venereal, the Yakimas, and generally the Indians east of the mountains, are, as yet, exempt. Spirituous liquors have never been introduced into their country, at least beyond the neighborhood of The Dalles."

ST. MICHAEL'S MISSION NEAR SPOKANE

From a manuscript in the Spokane public library, written by one of the residents at Gonzaga college, we extract the following:

In the '60s St. Michael's mission to the Indians was founded on Peone prairie, nine miles northeast of Spokane. Baptiste Peone was the chief. In 1863 he became a Catholic, and from that time till the winter of 1866, when Father Cataldo made the first attempt to establish a permanent mission on the prairie, the converted

chief's home was the stopping place of the missionaries on their periodical visits to the Spokane Indians. Father Cataldo having been assigned to work among them, his first care was to procure a chapel wherein to hold services, but they opposed him, and declared that in the absence of the head chief they could not assume the responsibility of granting his request. But as the chief was not to return for some time, the Father told the Indians that he would erect a chapel, and then if they did not desire to have it, he would totally destroy it at the end of three months. With some murmurings they assented to this proposition, and forthwith Father Cataldo erected a log structure, about two miles from the present St. Michael's mission. When the three months had elapsed, nearly all of the Indians had become Catholic, and when Father Cataldo expressed a willingness to destroy the chapel as he had promised, the new converts, of a different mind now, strongly objected, one of the chiefs boldly declaring that if the head chief did not like what had been done in his absence, he could go elsewhere; and as for the Father's leaving, they would only consent to that upon the terms that another be sent in his place.

For some time after the foundation of this mission, it was very hard to get fathers to go there, as so much other work was to be done, and as a consequence the Indians grew dissatisfied and went to the Protestant faith.

In 1878 the mission was moved to the present site, about three miles from Hillyard, and a priest sent there to officiate regularly. There were about 600 in the Spokane tribe at that time, and of these the Catholics numbered one half.

The Indians of this section used to gather together and do their hunting by driving the game onto Peone prairie, there killing and portioning it. In the fall they would assemble and start out for deer, the hunt taking about a month. An Indian was placed at a deer trail, and if there were not enough Indians, they would build a fire in the trail and put some moccasins on the fire to drive the deer back. After a few days the Indians would start towards the prairie, driving the deer before them, and when they reached the prairie there was great feasting and rejoicing if the hunt had been a profitable one.

The Indians did their fishing at the mouth of the Little Spokane. They would make two nets, one considerably higher than the other, and stretch these across the river, the higher net above the lower. The fish which they were after, known as the s'chiluize in Indian, never went backwards; they were caught in the space between the two nets, and at the end of the season were dried and preserved for food during the winter.

At the beginning of the Nez Perce Indian war, Chief Joseph sent messengers to Seltis, then chief of the Coeur d'Alenes, asking him to join in the war against the whites. Seltis refused point blank, and furthermore took steps to protect the whites in the neighborhood of the Coeur d'Alene tribe. Joseph's men had raided some of the settlements in the Palouse country, and Seltis, hearing of this outrage, immediately gathered together his men and set out to recapture the towns that were said to be raided, and then sent for the whites that had taken refuge in some of the neighboring settlements to return to their farms and towns, and he would protect them and see that no harm came to them. The Colfax people, soon after this magnanimous act of Seltis, asked him and his men to come to Colfax and a banquet would be given in his honor. But the old chief politely refused, as he feared that firewater would be flowing, and it would not be good for his men to attend. The chief

was also great in other ways, as he had been invited to Washington several times by the presidents of that day, but he always refused, as he thought it prudent to stay with and protect his tribe from the ravages of the unscrupulous.

St. Michael's is no longer used to teach the Indian, but as an adjunct to Gonzaga it furnishes a portion of the farm produce used by that institution, and gives a quiet resting place for the tired and overworked fathers and scholastics.

The site was on a slight rise above Chief Peone's camp, and overlooking it so that nearly all parts of the prairie could be seen. There was no water at the site, but the Indians furnished all the necessaries of life, even while they were at outs with the rest of the whites. The priests never suffered for the lack of anything. Two structures were erected side by side, one of them a small residence for the priest, and the other a chapel where services were held. These buildings were destroyed a few years ago by fire caught from a surrounding field. The old graveyard to the east of the mission site still remains, and the graves of the Indians may be seen. The practice of burying above the ground was not followed after the advent of the mission, and all the graves were marked with crosses, which may be seen today. The graves are enclosed in little log huts, with six or eight buried in each enclosure.

Rev. Joseph M. Caruana, S. J., came in 1862. "In September, 1862," said he, "I baptized seventeen Indian children on the very spot where now is located the Northern Pacific depot, then occupied by a large Indian camp fishing for white salmon. The whole country, on both sides of the river, was covered with Indian tepees and bands of cayuses." In 1864 Father Caruana made the acquaintance of James Monaghan, at his ferry down the river, and about the same time of another white man, Camille Lanctau, who had been running a ferry for two or three years, seven miles below the falls.

"About 1866," adds Father Caruana, "was built the first store in the Spokane valley, at what we now call Spokane bridge. Of course that store was started and kept by white people. It was also the nearest postoffice we had. Our previous postoffice was in Walla Walla."

For a continuation of the early-day labors of Catholic missionaries and priests the reader is directed to the chapter on "Catholic Institutions of Spokane."

CHAPTER XVI

GOVERNOR STEVENS' OVERLAND EXPEDITION OF 1853

FIRST GOVERNOR CLOTHED WITH REMARKABLE POWERS—ON THE SUMMIT OF THE COEUR D'ALENES—GUEST OF CATHOLIC FATHERS AT OLD MISSION—IN CAMP AT WOLF'S LODGE—GOVERNOR OBSERVES SPOKANES AT THEIR DEVOTIONS—FIRST VIEW OF LAKE COEUR D'ALENE—MARCHING DOWN THE SPOKANE VALLEY—GOVERNOR VISITS THE FALLS—INDIAN VILLAGE AT MOUTH OF HANGMAN CREEK—PUZZLED BY CHIEF GARRY—FORCED RIDE TO COLVILLE—MEETS CAPT. GEORGE B. M'CLELLAN—BOUNTIFUL SUPPER SERVED BY MRS. M'DONALD—STEAKS COOKED IN BUFFALO FAT—LISTENS TO TALES OF ADVENTURE.

> His life was gentle; and the elements
> So mix'd in him, that Nature might stand up,
> And say to all the world, "This was a man!"
>
> —*Shakespeare.*

CROSSING the country from St. Paul to Puget Sound, to assume office at Olympia, Isaac I. Stevens, first governor of the infant territory, looked upon the troubled waters at Spokane, October 17, 1853. This region showed then little change from the appearance it presented to the fur traders of the rival Astor and Northwest companies, nearly fifty years before. The old *régime* of the Hudson's Bay company had all but disappeared, the Protestant missionaries had left the country five years before, but Catholic missions still flourished, and under their tutelage and the still prevailing influences of the Protestant workers, the Indians had come noticeably under the sway of civilization and peace; the industrious had grown prosperous, and some of them men of relative wealth.

Wide and far-sweeping was the domain over which this brave, energetic and able soldier came to rule, comprising the area now embraced within the boundaries of Washington state, and including as well the Panhandle of northern Idaho and a large section of western Montana, sweeping eastward to the summits of the Rocky mountains.

One better fitted, by temperament, education and training, or by knowledge of human nature, refined or savage, to fill the new office and meet its grave and perplexing duties, President Pierce could scarce have found if he had searched the heart and soul of every strong and able American, north or south. Nearly sixty years have drifted by since Stevens came into the ultimate west; the young territory has grown rich, populous and sovereign; but a greater man than Isaac Ingalls

Stevens it has yet to produce. Had he not fallen in one of the early battles of the civil war, his genius might have swept him to the head of the Union forces; for in bold resolution, in leadership of men, and ability to grapple with dangers and difficulties, he showed himself vastly the superior of Captain George B. McClellan when, side by side, they played their parts on the broad stage of the Pacific northwest. But Stevens was to fall in early action, and McClellan to command the Union armies, and temporize on the Potomac as he had procrastinated on the Columbia.

Stevens came clothed with remarkable powers. Additional to his governorship, he commanded a large and thoroughly equipped expedition to search out passes and routes for a railroad from the Mississippi to Puget Sound, and was empowered to negotiate treaties with Indian tribes between the Dakotahs and the Pacific.

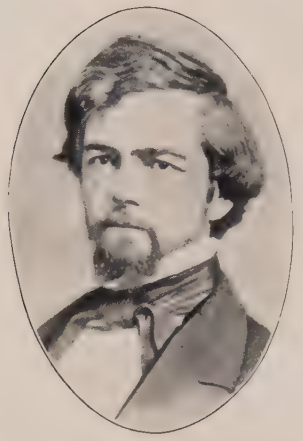
"It is difficult," says the son, Hazard Stevens, in his 'Life of General Isaac I. Stevens,' "to realize the magnitude of the task here outlined. It was to traverse and explore a domain 2,000 miles in length by 250 in breadth, stretching from the Mississippi river to the Pacific ocean, across 1,000 miles of arid plains and two great mountain ranges, a region almost unexplored, and infested by powerful tribes of predatory and warlike savages; to determine the navigability of the two great rivers, the Missouri and the Columbia, which intersect the region; to locate by reconnoissance and to survey a practicable railroad route; to examine the mountain passes and determine the depth of winter snow in them; to collect all possible information on the geology, climate, flora and fauna, as well as the topography, of the region traversed; and finally to treat with the Indians on the route, cultivate their friendship, and collect information as to their languages, numbers, customs, traditions and history; and all this, including the work of preparation and organization, to be accomplished in a single season."

After months of scientific labor, Stevens and his party attained, on a fair October day, the summit of the Coeur d'Alene mountains, and from those clear heights the governor looked down upon a large part of his imperial domain. In his official reports he has left a description of that scene:

"Upon awakening this morning we were surprised to be greeted by one of the loveliest days imaginable. The sky was clear, and the air as soft and balmy as a morn in summer. After striking camp, we ascended to the highest point of the ridge, about one mile and a half from camp. Here we made a long halt, enjoying the magnificent view spread open to us, which, I venture to say, can scarcely be surpassed in any country. Far distant in the east the peaks of the Rocky mountains loom up into view, stretched out to a great length, while the Flathead lake and the valley thence to the Blackfoot pass was plainly visible. Nearly the entire range of the Coeur d'Alene mountains, clothed with evergreen forests, with here and there an open summit covered with grass; numerous valleys intersecting the country for miles around; courses of many streams, marked by the ascending fog, all conduced to render the view fascinating in the greatest degree to the beholder. The mountains were covered with luxuriant coarse grass. Seated on this point, Mr. Stanley was enabled to transfer this beautiful panorama to his sketch-book.

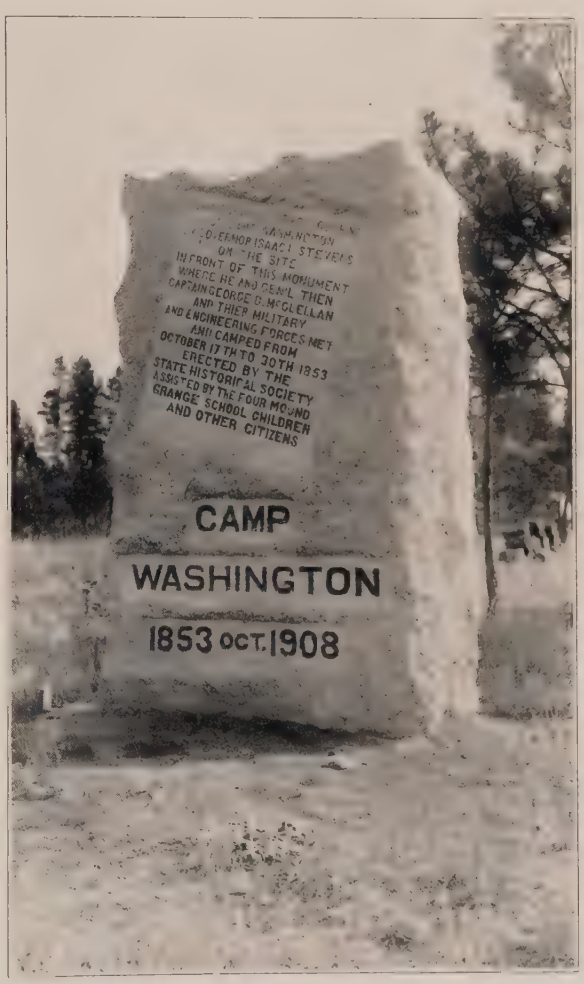
"Descending the peak to the general level of the ridge, we continued on for nearly six miles, when the descent commenced, and in less than three miles we passed down a very steep descent and gained the base of the mountains, which we estimated rose 3,500 feet above it. This brought us into a valley filled with gigantic

GOVERNOR STEVENS
As a young army officer

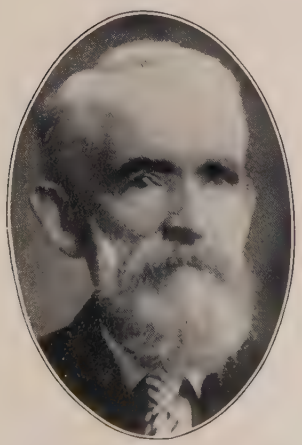


GOVERNOR STEVENS
in 1853

HAZARD STEVENS
The Governor's son, who, as a boy of thirteen, witnessed the great council at Walla Walla



MONUMENT ERECTED ON SITE OF CAMP WASHINGTON



FRANCIS J. D. WOLFF
Who was with Governor Stevens

cedars. The larch, spruce and vine maple are found in today's march in large quantities, the latter giving a pleasing variety to the forest growth. About four o'clock we encamped on the bank of the stream, which here grows much wider."

The expedition was now on the headwaters of the south fork of the Coeur d'Alene river, and descending that valley, the governor, guided by Antoine Plant of the Spokane valley, drew rein late that evening at the hospitable doors of the Catholic mission.

Under the vigilant eye of Governor Stevens this extensive government expedition had traversed the wide prairies of the Dakotahs, crossed over the Rocky mountains, and descended into our beautiful Inland Empire, without encountering serious mishap. Perhaps a better conception of the character of the expedition and the military rigor of its government en route will be obtained from the following orders which were issued early in the campaign by Governor Stevens:

"The most careful attention to animals is enjoined upon all persons engaged in this expedition, and will be rigidly enforced. The animals must not go beyond a walk, except in case of necessity; and each mounted man must walk some four or five miles each day to rest his animal, unless it be impracticable, in consequence of his duties. At halts, men must dismount.

"On the march the train will keep together as much as possible; the speed of the wagons will be regulated by Governor Stevens' ambulance or wagon, or by the instrument wagon. The acting quartermaster will regulate the pace of the leading team in such a manner that all other teams can keep up without forcing the mules. No person except guides, or those having permission, will precede the train by more than one-fourth of a mile, or go further from it than that distance, unless in case of necessity, or for the performance of some duty."

Camp regulations were embodied in the following order:

1. There is no such thing as an escort to this expedition. Each man is escorted by every other man. The chiefs of the scientific corps will, equally with the officers of the army, act as officers of the guard. It is confidently believed that every member of the expedition will cheerfully do his duty in promoting all the objects of the expedition, sharing its toils of every description.

2. Each man of the expedition will habitually go armed. The chief of each party and detachment will rigidly inspect arms each morning and evening. Except in extraordinary cases there shall be no march on Sunday. On that day there will be a thorough inspection of persons and things. Clothes should be washed and mended, and, if water can be found, each man will be required to bathe his whole person. This course is taken to secure health.

3. The Indian country will be reached in ten days. There is no danger to be apprehended, except from the want of vigilance of guards, and the carelessness of single men. The chief of a party or detachment will inspect the guard from time to time in the night, and report every case of inattention to duty.

4. It will be the habitual rule of each member of the scientific corps to take charge of his own horse, and to take from and place in the wagon his own personal baggage. As private servants are not allowed, the necessity of this rule will be apparent. There are exceptional cases, however, as the chief of a party, or where great labor has to be performed.

5. There will be no firing of any description, either in camp or on the march,

except by the hunters and guides, and certain members of the scientific corps, without permission of the chief of the expedition, or, in case of detachments, of the officer in charge of the detachment.

Leaving the Coeur d'Alene mission on the morning of October 15, the expedition encamped "in a beautiful prairie, called the Wolf's Lodge, with good grass." Here the governor met a party of 100 Spokanes, with 300 horses on their way to hunt buffalo on the plains beyond the Rocky mountains.

"Towards sundown this evening," wrote Stevens, "I was greatly interested in observing our friends, the Spokanes, at their devotions. A bell rang, and the whole band gathered in and around a large lodge for evening prayers. There was something solemn and pathetic in the evening psalm resounding through the forests around us. This shows what good results can flow from the labor of devoted missionaries; for the Spokanes had had no religious instruction for the last five years. As I went down the river, and met band after band of the Spokanes, I invariably found the same regard for religious services. Afterwards they came around my camp-fire and we had a talk. They tell me that six days since Governor Ogden (of the Hudson's Bay company) and three gentlemen, with some soldiers, left Walla Walla for Colville to meet me. Garry, they say, is at his farm, four miles from the Spokane House. I spoke to them also with reference to being on friendly terms with the Coeur d'Alenes."

With quick and prophetic eye Governor Stevens took notice of the opportunities for future settlement: "The country through which we have passed today, though obstructed with fallen timber, and rolling, and at times broken in surface, was arable, and reminded me of a great deal of country that I have seen in New England, where there are now productive farms."

He was of Massachusetts birth, seventh in descent from the first settler at Andover, and having been brought up from infancy amid New England surroundings, where hard-willed men had struggled with adverse nature and come off victorious from the combat, had developed a peculiar faculty for comprehending, almost within a glance, the future productive possibilities of a broad region which then lay wild and savagely beautiful. He had developed, too, a system of gathering information by questioning occasional settlers, trappers and missionaries, as chance gave him the desired opportunity. He was ever ready for a "talk" with chief or head man, and often, after a day of the severest travel, would eagerly sit up half the night or more to draw out the conversational powers of his frontier host. From the good fathers and brothers at the Coeur d'Alene mission he learned that "the country intermediate between this and Clark's fork on the Pend d'Oreille lake is arable, well-watered, and not much intersected by spurs or ridges."

Soon after leaving camp on the morning of the sixteenth the party came in view of lake Coeur d'Alene, shimmering below them in the mellow October sunlight, and eleven miles from camp "struck it near its western extremity." Stevens described the lake as "a beautiful sheet of water surrounded by picturesque hills mostly covered with wood. Its shape is irregular, unlike that given it upon the maps. Its waters are received from the Coeur d'Alene river, which runs through it. Below the lake the river is not easily navigable, there being many rapids, and in numerous instances it widens greatly and runs sluggishly through a shallow channel. Above the lake I am informed by the missionaries that it is navigable nearly to the mis-

sion. Upon the eastern side appears a range of hills, along the eastern base of which I think the road from the mission to Walla Walla passes."

Leaving the lake, at the site of the present city of Coeur d'Alene, the expedition followed down the Spokane river on its northern bank, passing a camp of Coeur d'Alenes occupied with their trout fisheries.

When Governor Stevens entered the country, the Spokane river, from the lake to the mouth of the Little Spokane, still bore the fur traders' designation, the Coeur d'Alene, and the Spokane valley was called the Coeur d'Alene prairie. The broad region sweeping westward from the falls to the Columbia, bearing the present day designation of the Big Bend country, was then termed the Spokane plains.

Passing on down the valley, the party "witnessed a touching sight, a daughter administering to her dying father;" and still keeping through open woods, "on a most excellent road, in two miles further came to the Coeur d'Alene prairie, a beautiful tract of land containing several hundred square miles. Trap rock, projecting above the surface of the ground, borders the river as we enter the prairie."

Continuing on, they met a half breed, Francis Finlay, on his way from his home at Colville to the Bitter Root valley with his family, "among whom we saw his pretty half-breed daughter." They impressed the governor as being well dressed and presenting "a very respectable appearance."

Three miles before reaching the night's encampment, they met a party of Spokanes who informed them that Chief Garry was at his farm and was holding there some of the horses that had been left with him by Lieutenant Saxton, who had come in from the Columbia river to join the main expedition in the interior.

Leaving camp, the governor, accompanied by Antoine the guide, Osgood and the artist Stanley, "turned from the trail to visit the falls of the Coeur d'Alene river (the Spokane), while Lavette took the train ahead on the trail to the Spokane House. There are two principal falls," reported Stevens, "one of twenty feet and the other of from ten to twelve feet; in the latter there being a perpendicular fall of seven or eight feet; for a quarter of a mile the descent is rapid, over a rough bed of rocks, and in this distance we estimate a fall of 90 to 100 feet," rather an under-estimate, both of the main falls and of the total descent of the river.

One mile below the falls, at the mouth of Hangman creek, the governor found a small Indian village whose inhabitants were catching salmon. He "noticed one large woman, who seemed to pride herself upon her person, which she took pains to set off in the most becoming manner, by means of a blanket wrapped around her."

The road from Hangman creek to Spokane House, at the mouth of the Little Spokane, was described as passing over "a sandy prairie interspersed with groves of pine. Crossing a dividing ridge with high and steep banks, we came into the prairie in which the Spokane House is situated, in which were two Spokane villages. We inquired for Garry, and I sent him a request that he would visit me at my camp. The train we found a mile below the junction, across the Spokane. The Indians indicating a good camp some distance beyond, we moved on eight and a half miles to it, which we reached half an hour before sundown. Here there was good grass and plenty of water, and we soon made up a large campfire."

After arranging matters in camp, the governor observed, after nightfall, a fire down the river, "and strolling down to the place came upon a camp of Spokane Indians, and found them engaged in religious services, which I was glad of the

opportunity to witness. There were three or four men, as many women, and half a dozen children. Their exercises were: 1, address; 2, Lord's prayer; 3, psalms; 4, benediction; and were conducted with great solemnity."

In its work of exploring routes for a transcontinental railroad, the United States government had adopted the plan applied more than forty years before by John Jacob Astor in his bold enterprise of founding on the northwest coast of America his Pacific Fur company, namely, of sending one expedition overland and a second by sea, around Cape Horn and into the Columbia river. On Governor Stevens' request, command of the water expedition had been entrusted to Captain George B. McClellan. "As the route was new and comparatively unexplored," says Stevens, "it was determined to organize the whole command into two divisions—the eastern division being under my immediate direction, and the western division under Captain George B. McClellan, of the corps of engineers, who was ordered to report to me, and whose field of duty is best shown by the following extract from the general instructions: 'A second party will proceed at once to Puget Sound and explore the passes of the Cascade range, meeting the eastern party between that range and the Rocky mountains, as may be arranged by Governor Stevens.' "

Stevens had reason to believe that McClellan's party was somewhere in the interior, and his object now was to consolidate the two parties and plan out the further work of exploration. Garry and a number of other Spokanes came in that evening and "gave rumors of a large party having arrived opposite Colville; also of a small party having gone from Walla Walla to Colville." There was also a report of the arrival of a party, at Walla Walla from the mountains. The governor was further informed that an old man had just come from the Yakima valley in four days, bringing news of a party operating in that vicinity, towards Colville. "I can not learn," wrote Stevens, "whether the party is under Captain McClellan or one of his officers. The Indians confirm the intelligence given by the Cayuse Indians at the Coeur d'Alene mission, that thirty wagons have crossed the Cascades by the military road, but rumors vary as to their success in getting through."

The governor was puzzled by Chief Garry's apparent lack of candor. "Garry," he wrote from the field, "was educated by the Hudson's Bay company at Red river, where he lived four years, with six other Indians from this vicinity, all of whom are now dead. He speaks English and French well, and we have had a long conversation this evening; but he is not frank, and I do not understand him." Stevens' first measure of the Spokane chief squares with the judgment of James N. Glover, who considered him "an old skulker." In justice, however, to the memory of the aged chieftain, who lies buried in Greenwood cemetery, we add that Stevens later readjusted his first estimate and learned to place much confidence in Garry's sincerity and ability. The chief was then cultivating an extensive field; he had learned farming from Elkanah Walker, the protestant missionary who labored among the Spokanes for nearly ten years, and had a good crop of wheat when Governor Stevens came into his country, and was going to Colville the next day to have some of it ground at the old Hudson's Bay mill.

Stevens resolved to push on to Colville, and at half past eight the next morning broke camp and started north. On the way there they were joined by an old Indian from the Yakima country, who had been directed by Garry to meet the governor and impart further information concerning the party of white men he had

FIRST PHOTO TAKEN OF FRONT STREET, PORTLAND, IN 1852,
JUST PRIOR TO THE ARRIVAL OF GOVERNOR STEVENS

seen beyond the Columbia river. The old man stated that a large party had reached the bank of the river opposite Colville the day before. "I was satisfied from his accounts," says Stevens, "that the party was McClellan's, and accordingly determined on going to Colville tonight. Antoine has horses half way. We rested until 2 o'clock and then set out, Antoine and myself pushing ahead of the train. We met Antoine's family encamped in a fine prairie, with whom Antoine remained, sending his brother-in-law on with us as a guide."

At a point twenty-eight miles from Colville the governor was told that he could not complete the journey that day, as it was growing late and parts of the road were bad, "but being determined to do so we pushed on and reached Brown's at 5:45, who informed us that the distance to Colville was eighteen miles. After partaking of some bread and milk, we resumed the road with the same animals, dashing off at full speed, going eight or nine miles an hour most of the way, and reached Colville at nine o'clock. Mr. McDonald, the trader in charge, gave me a most hospitable reception and addressed a note to McClellan, who had just gone to his camp near by, informing him of my arrival. McClellan came up immediately, and though I was fairly worn out with the severity of the ride, we sat up till one o'clock. At 11 we sat down to a nice supper prepared by Mrs. McDonald and regaled ourselves with steaks cooked in buffalo fat, giving them the flavor of buffalo meat. I retired exhausted with the fatigues of the day."

"During our stay at Colville," wrote Stevens, "we visited McDonald's camp. Near it there is a mission, under Pere Lewis, whom we visited. The Indians about the mission are well disposed and religious. In the evening we listened to the thrilling stories and exciting legends of McDonald, with which his memory seems to be well stored. He says intelligence had reached him through the Blackfeet of the coming of my party; that the Blackfeet gave most singular accounts of everything connected with us. For instance, they said that our horses had claws like the grizzly bear; they climbed up the steep rocks and held on by their claws; that their necks were like the new moon; and that their neighing was like the sound of distant thunder. McDonald has, of course, given a free translation of the reports made by Indians.

"We listened to his accounts of his own thrilling adventures of his mountain life, and a description of an encounter with a party of Blackfeet is well worth relating. At the head of a party of three or four men he was met by a band of these Indians, who showed evidences of hostility. By signs he requested the chief of the Blackfeet to advance and meet him, both being unarmed. When the chief assented and met him half way between the two parties, McDonald caught him by the hair of the head, and, holding him firmly, exacted from the remaining Indians promises to give up their arms, which they accordingly did, and passed on peacably. He has lived here many years, and is an upright, intelligent, manly and energetic man."

CHAPTER XVII

FROM SPOKANE TO WALLA WALLA AND VANCOUVER

M'CLELLAN PROCRASTINATES ON THE COLUMBIA AND IN THE CASCADES—HAD LITTLE FAITH IN THE COUNTRY—STEVENS ASSEMBLES HIS PARTY IN CAMP WASHINGTON—CHEERED BY A KEG OF COGNAC—VISITS OLD MISSION ON WALKER'S PRAIRIE—COLVILLE VALLEY SETTLERS SEEK NATURALIZATION—FIELD CAPITAL NEAR SPOKANE—FEASTING IN CAMP WASHINGTON—BEEF HEAD, TEXAS FASHION—ARMY OFFICERS SHRINK FROM WINTER SERVICE—GARRY TELLS STEVENS OF INDIAN MYTHS—ACROSS THE PALOUSE COUNTRY—FINE POTATOES IN WALLA WALLA VALLEY—TRIBUTE TO MARCUS WHITMAN—DOWN THE COLUMBIA IN A CANOE—GUEST AT VANCOUVER OF CAPTAIN BONNEVILLE.

McCLELLAN had been only measurably successful with his end of the work. He had arrived at Vancouver, on the Columbia on the 27th of June, but with characteristic disinclination to move until every detail of equipment and preparation was worked out, he did not put his party in motion till July 18, and then to find, before he had penetrated the Cascade mountains a great distance, that his thoroughness of preparation was but a handicap, as he had organized a larger expedition than he could expeditiously move through a tangled and broken mountain region. Unable to penetrate the western slopes of the Cascades with his unwieldly expedition, he directed his efforts east of the Cascades, where the country was more open, and by means of detachments had gleaned a pretty fair knowledge of the passes as far north as the Methow. McClellan's report on the character of the prairie country between the Columbia river and Spokane was based on long range observation. From the summit of a high ridge separating the waters of the Yakima and the Wenatchee he obtained a view which he described most drearily:

"That portion of the Cascade range which crosses the Columbia sinks into an elevated plateau, which extends as far as the limit of vision to the eastward; this is the Spokane Plain. On it we could see no indication of water, not a single tree; and except on the mountain spur, not one spot of verdure. It was of a dead, yellowish hue, with large clouds of black blending into the yellowish tinge, and appeared to be a sage desert, with a scanty growth of dry bunch-grass, and frequent outcroppings of basalt."

"McClellan, as appears from his report," says Hazard Stevens in the biography of his father, "took a decidedly unfavorable opinion of the country, and of a railroad route across the Cascades. He declared in substance that the Columbia river pass was the only one worth considering, that there was no pass whatever north of

it except the Snoqualmie pass, and gave it as his firm and settled opinion that the snow in winter was from twenty to twenty-five feet deep in that pass.

"His examination of the pass was a very hasty and cursory one, with no other instruments than a compass and a barometer, and extended only three miles across the summit. His only information as to the depth of winter snow was the reports of Indians, and the marks of snow on the trees, or what he took to be such. Thus the most important point, the real problem of the field of exploration entrusted to him, namely, the existence and character of the Cascade passes, he failed to determine. He failed utterly to respond to Governor Stevens' earnest and manly exhortation, 'We must not be frightened with long tunnels, or enormous snows, but set ourselves to work to overcome them.' He manifested the same dilatoriness in preparation and moving, the same timidity in action, the same magnifying of difficulties, that later marked and ruined his career as an army commander.

"Two railroads now cross the range which he examined—the Northern Pacific, by a pass just south of the Snoqualmie and north of the Nahchess, the very place of which McClellan reported that 'there certainly is none between this (the Snoqualmie) and the Nahchess pass;' and the Great Northern, by a pass at the head of the Wenatchee or Pisquouse river, of which stream he declared, 'It appears certain that there can be no pass at its head for a road.' The snows he so much exaggerated have proved no obstacle, and in fact have actually caused less trouble and obstruction in these passes than in the Columbia pass itself."

Since the foregoing was written, Snoqualmie pass has been appropriated by the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul, and R. E. Strahorn's North Coast system has found an excellent pass farther to the south, and following closely, in fact, the line of march followed by McClellan between Vancouver and the valley of the Yakima.

Hazard Stevens adds that one of the lines of the Northern Pacific (the Mullan branch from Missoula) now crosses the Coeur d'Alene pass on Governor Stevens' route, to the vicinity of the mission, running thence south of Coeur d'Alene lake to Spokane.

Describing the valley of the Columbia, McClellan wrote:

"Through a valley of about a mile in breadth, in which not a tree is to be seen and seldom even a bush, and which is bordered by steep walls of trap, lava and sandstone, often arranged in a succession of high plateaux or steps, the deep blue water of the Columbia flows with a rapid, powerful current. It is the only lifelike object in the desert." "The character of the valley is much the same as far as Fort Okinakane. It occasionally widens out slightly, again it is narrowed by the mountains pressing in. Sometimes the trail passes over the lower bottom, at others elevated and extensive terraces, and in a few places over dangerous points in the mountains."

McClellan measured the stream just above the mouth of the Wenatchee, (then called the Pisquouse) and found it 371 yards wide in September. Fifteen miles further up it was 329 yards wide.

"It will be seen," reported Stevens, "that though a very fine examination had been made of the eastern slope of the Cascades, no line had been run by Captain McClellan to Puget Sound, and I deemed it of the greatest consequence to carry through such a line, so that we could speak with positiveness and certainty of the

grades on the western sides, and the other facts bearing upon the question of railroad practicability. Captain McClellan was of opinion that it was possible to carry such a line through at this season of the year, although he apprehended that some difficulty might be found from the presence of snow."

Governor Stevens resolved to assemble the whole party in a camp south of the Spokane river, and "then to arrange parties so as to move to the Sound and the lower Columbia river in such a way as would give the best additional knowledge of the country." Chief Garry, having come in with his wheat, was dispatched with a letter to Lieutenant Donelson relative to the place of rendezvous. Stevens decided to remain at Colville another day, and to leave October 20 for the concentration camp, "a valley south of the Spokane river, some ten or twelve miles south of the Spokane House. This spot," explained Stevens, "is only a short distance off the trail leading from Walker and Eells' mission to Walla Walla."

When the party moved off the following morning, Trader McDonald presented the governor with "a keg of cognac to cheer the hearts of the members of all parties, and obliged us also to take a supply of port wine." On the way to the evening camp they passed McDonald's grist mill "on Mill river, the only one in the neighborhood." McDonald kept them company, and that night they enjoyed a "glorious supper of smoking steaks and hot cakes, and the stories added to the relish with which it was eaten." McDonald was a born *raconteur,* and as they sat around the flaring campfire charmed them "with a recital of his thrilling adventures, and expressed much regret that the expected arrival of the Hudson's Bay express from Canada obliged him to return the next morning."

From Stevens' journal: October 22.—We got off early, and at Brown's stopped to purchase horses, and succeeded in obtaining two, one for McClellan and the other for myself. McDonald accompanied me some distance further, when, bidding each other adieu, I pushed ahead, and reaching a small stream I found that McClellan's party had taken the left bank, and that the captain, who came up afterwards with Mr. Stanley, had gone on to join them. We took the right, and thus avoided a bad crossing in which McClellan's party became involved. We encamped upon the borders of the stream. Our train is now larger and more heavily laden than before, in consequence of the increased supplies. Today we have thirteen packs. At night we killed a cow, purchased of Brown, and we still have an ox in reserve, to be killed when we meet Donelson. I may say here that two pounds of beef and half pound of flour per man is not too much for a day's allowance.

October 23.—Snow is falling this morning, and it has cleaned our beef admirably. I received a note from McClellan, just after starting out, saying that in consequence of yesterday's difficulty with the train he thought that he had better remain with his own train. He afterwards, at my request, joined me, leaving the train under the charge of Duncan. We journeyed but ten miles, encamping near where we had seen Antoine's family in going to Colville. The snow ceased falling about noon, with five inches upon the ground. It is light, and we think it will disappear in a few days. The Indians inform me that we shall not probably find it south of the Coeur d'Alene river; and from their statements it would seem that this river is a dividing line as regards climate.

October 24.—We started this morning with the intention of reaching the

appointed place of meeting tonight. McClellan, Minter, Osgood, Stanley and myself pushed ahead, and at noon we reached the old Chemakane mission, so called from a spring of that name near by. The mission was occupied by Messrs. Walker and Eells, but in 1849, in consequence of the Cayuse difficulties, it was abandoned. These gentlemen labored ardently for the good of the Indians. Walker was a good farmer and taught them agriculture, and by them his name is now mentioned with great respect. The house occupied by Walker is still standing, but that of Eells has been burned down. The site of the mission is five miles from the Spokane river, in an extensive open valley, well watered and very rich. Here we met Garry and some 200 Spokanes. Garry has forwarded the letter to Donelson, but had received no intelligence of his arrival in the Coeur d'Alene plain. We therefore concluded to encamp here, and tomorrow McClellan and myself are to accompany Garry to the Spokane House. The route by Walker and Eells' mission to Colville united with that taken by us twelve or fourteen miles from the mission. It is a better route, affording good grazing during the whole distance. The Colville or Slawntehus and Chemakane valleys have productive soil, and are from one to three miles wide, and bordered by low hills, covered with larch, pine and spruce, having also a productive soil, which gradually become broken and lower towards the south. In the evening the Indians clustered around our fire, and manifested much pleasure in our treatment of them. Gibbs was indefatigable in collecting information in regard to these Indians. I have now seen a great deal of Garry and am much pleased with him. Beneath a quiet exterior he shows himself to be a man of judgment, forecast and great reliability, and I could see in my interview with his band the ascendency he possesses over them. Near the mission lives Solomon Pelter, a settler, who, by Garry's permission, has taken up his abode in this valley. I told Pelter, in reply to his request to be permitted to remain here, that though I had no power to authorize him, yet I could see no objection to his so doing; that I looked with favor upon it, and requested him to have an eye to the interests of the Indians.

"I should have mentioned, in its proper place, that in Colville valley there is a line of settlements twenty-eight miles long. The settlers are persons formerly connected with the Hudson's Bay company, and they are anxious to become naturalized, and have the lands they now occupy transferred to themselves. I informed them that I could only express my hopes that their case would be met by the passage of a special act. They are extensive farmers and raise a great deal of wheat."

Governor Stevens and Captain McClellan, guided by Chief Garry, went on to Spokane House the following morning. Garry's family they found occupying a comfortable lodge, and Garry informed them that he always had on hand flour, sugar and coffee, with which he could make his friends comfortable. "We then went to our new camp south of the Spokane, which had been established while we were visiting Garry's place. From the Chemakane mission the train left the river, and passing through a rolling country covered with open pine woods, in five miles reached the Spokane, and crossing it by a good and winding ford, ascended the plain, and in six miles, the first two of which was through open pine, reached Camp Washington."

To Secretary W. H. Gilstrap of the State Historical society I am indebted for interesting details regarding the location, after a lapse of fifty years, of the site of

Camp Washington. A distant relative of the secretary, Owen B. Gilstrap, informed him that in plowing he had unearthed an old musket, a rusted sword and other warlike implements, and expressed a belief that his homestead, near Four Mound prairie, had been the scene of an Indian battle. Secretary Gilstrap replied that while the find was a most interesting one, it could hardly mark a battleground, for the site lay north of Wright's line of fighting in the war of 1858, and history afforded no evidence of any other engagement between whites and Indians in that vicinity.

Secretary Gilstrap surmised that the relics might have connection with Governor Stevens' movements in this section, and a rereading of the official reports seemed to confirm his belief. He discovered in the governor's reports a detailed description of his operations in the Spokane country in 1853, and learned that the party, after leaving the Spokane House, at the junction of the Spokane and Little Spokane rivers, had traveled six miles and halted at a spot which afforded good grass and water. The old route was followed, and at a distance of six miles a glade was found in the pine woods; in it a spring which formed a little lake of two acres, and surrounded by a small meadow. No other spot in the vicinity met the description, but Mr. Gilstrap, in the true spirit of historical research, was careful not to jump at a conclusion, and induced "Curly Jim," an aged Spokane who was a youth when Stevens entered this country, to accompany him to the scene. The aged Indian retained a keen recollection of the incidents described by Stevens, and pointed out the exact site of historic Camp Washington.

"I believe the people of Spokane county can justly make the claim that within their borders was consummated the organization of the new commonwealth," said Mr. Gilstrap in a recent conversation with the author; "and in a sense this historic site of Camp Washington was the first capital of the territory. For here Governor Stevens relinquished his duties as explorer and searcher out of routes for future railroads, and entered upon his duties under the president's commission as governor."

Mr. Gilstrap has also an interesting explanation of the origin of the name "Four Mound." At a point not distant from Stevens' camp four large natural stone monuments stand out against the surrounding landscape, and on the largest of these Indian hands erected nearly a century ago four cairns of broken rock. These remain today. Aged Indians preserve a tradition that Camp Washington was a rendezvous for trappers and traders prior to the coming of Governor Stevens. From time immemorial the place had been a natural gathering place by reason of the advantages which prompted Stevens to choose it for his camp—its abundance of grass and water; and while it was six miles distant from the trading post at Spokane House, it appears that the traders frequently transported a part of their wares there and exchanged them for furs brought in by Indian hunters. Even today the old Indian trails, worn deep in places by the passing of many feet, are still in evidence, having survived the winter snows and summer rains of more than half a century.

When Governor Stevens entered the new territory of Washington, the Hudson's Bay company still maintained trading posts at Colville, Walla Walla, Vancouver and Steilacoom, near Tacoma, but its oldtime autocratic sway was tottering to a fall. It still asserted extensive though ill defined rights, and its officers were most

anxious to cultivate the friendship and good will of the first governor. With far-seeing political vision, Stevens anticipated the seductive influences that would be extended towards himself and other members of the expedition, and in his instructions to Captain McClellan and others was explicit and emphatic:

"I am exceedingly desirous (he wrote) that no exertion should be spared to have means of our own for our expedition, and shall much prefer to be in condition to extend aid than to be obliged to receive aid from others. Whilst we will gratefully receive aid from the company in case of necessity, let it be our determination to have within ourselves the means of the most complete efficacy. I am more and more convinced that in our operations we should be self-dependent, and whilst we exchange courtesies and hospitalities with the Hudson's Bay company, the people and the Indians of the Territory should see that we have all the elements of success in our hands. The Indians must look to us for protection and counsel. They must see that we are their true friends, and be taught not to look, as they have been accustomed to, to the Hudson's Bay company. I am so impressed with this fact that I wish no Indian presents to be procured from British posts. I am determined, in my intercourse with the Indians, to break up the ascendency of the Hudson's Bay company, and permit no authority or sanction to come between the Indians and the officers of this government."

For five days the expedition remained in Camp Washington, making arrangements to move westward. Lieutenant Donelson came in with his detachment on the 28th, "and soon we all sat down to a fine supper prepared for the occasion," wrote Governor Stevens. "All the members of the expedition were in fine spirits; our table was spread under a canopy, and upon it a great variety of dishes appeared—roasted beef, bouilli, steaks, and abundance of hot bread, coffee, sugar, and our friend McDonald's good cheer." Probably so great a feast had not been spread in the country since the *regale* days of forty years agone, when trader, trapper and *voyageur* cheered their hearts with creature comforts on some great feast day of the church of Rome.

"But the best dish," adds Stevens, "was a beef's head cooked by friend Minter in Texas fashion. It was placed in a hole in the ground, on a layer of hot stones, with moss and leaves around it to protect it from the dirt, and then covered up. There it remained for some five or six hours, when removing it from the place where it was deposited, the skin came off without difficulty, and it presented a very tempting dish, and was enjoyed by every member of the party."

The question now confronting Governor Stevens was, were the animals in fit condition for severe work in the Cascade mountains? He was deeply concerned with the importance of running a survey through the Snoqualmie pass (Sno-qual-moo he wrote it in his reports), but "was unwilling, after so much labor and fatigue, to assign the gentlemen to duty, when they did not have confidence in their means, unless it was a case of imperative necessity."

Accordingly he resolved to leave the matter to their judgment, and while both McClellan and Donelson "were ready cheerfully to conform to any direction, they did not desire to go upon the duty; and accordingly, somewhat reluctantly, I determined to send the whole party to the Walla Walla, thence to The Dalles and Vancouver, and thence to Olympia, making carefully a survey of the country on the route.

"I will here observe," says Stevens in mild criticism, "that all the gentlemen

FALLS OF SPOKANE AS SKETCHED BY AN ARTIST WITH GOVERNOR STEVENS, 1853

SPOKANE FALLS IN THE EARLY '80s—L. W. RIMA IN THE FOREGROUND

UPPER SPOKANE FALLS, 1881

were too much influenced in their judgment by the belief that snows would fall early and deep in the Sno-qual-moo pass, and on the route from the Coeur d'Alene, under the base of the Bitter Root, to the Walla Walla. The little fall of snow which I have mentioned—although in snow countries it is simply an incident of the fall, having nothing to do with betokening the approach of winter, but rather indicating, if anything, a late winter—had not been appreciated, and was thought to indicate that winter was already upon us. The necessary instructions were sent accordingly. I sent word by an Indian expressman to Lieutenant Arnold at Colville, informing him of the arrangements, and also letters to Lieutenant Mullan and Mr. Tinkham, at Fort Owen; for I was now satisfied, from what I had gathered upon the route, that Mr. Tinkham would find great difficulty in moving over the southern Nez Perce trail to Fort Walla Walla in December. The fall of snow varies exceedingly at short distances apart on the Bitter Root mountains, as I then had reason to believe, and as was afterwards demonstrated. I still desired that Lieutenant Donelson should go up the Coeur d'Alene, although all the other parties went on the direct route, but he did not desire to do this. And I will again observe, that had I possessed at Camp Washington information which I gained in six days afterwards at Walla Walla, I should have pushed the party over the Cascades in the present condition of the animals; but Captain McClellan was entitled to weight in his judgment of the route, it being upon the special field of his examination."

Leaving Camp Washington, the expedition traveled in a southerly direction through the Palouse country. They came, on the second day, to a chain of small lakes, abounding in wild fowl. "We saw in one of these lakes," wrote Stevens, "surrounded by ducks and geese, a pair of white swans, which remained to challenge our admiration after their companions had been frightened away by our approach."

"Garry assures us," added the governor, "that there is a remarkable lake called En-chush-chesh-she-luxum, or Never Freezing Water, about thirty miles to the east of this place. It is much larger than any of the lakes just mentioned, and so completely surrounded by high and precipitous rocks that it is impossible to descend to the water. It is said never to freeze, even in the most severe winters. The Indians believe that it is inhabited by buffalo, elk, deer and all other kinds of game, which they say may be seen in the clear, transparent element."

Garry also narrated a superstition respecting a point of painted rock in Pend d'Oreille lake, near a place then occupied by Michael Ogden. He assured Governor Stevens that the Indians never dared to venture by the mystic point, apprehending that such act of sacrilege, as related in their legends, would be resented by the Great Spirit, who would cause a terrific commotion in the waters and cause them to be swallowed up in frightful waves. The painted rocks were said to be very high, and to "contain effigies of men and beasts, and other characters, made, as the Indians believe, by a race of men who preceded them as inhabitants of the land." Similar painted rocks exist at the upper end of lake Chelan.

On the afternoon of November 1 the expedition arrived at the junction of the Palouse and the Snake, and crossing Snake river, pitched camp on its southern bank. Chief Wi-ti-my-hoy-she, of a band of Palouse Indians encamped near the mouth of the Palouse, exhibited a medal of Thomas Jefferson, dated 1801, given to his grandfather, he said, by Captains Lewis and Clark when they passed through the country in 1805.

Governor Stevens was unable to visit the falls of the Palouse, but inserted in his official report, the following description, supplied him by Stanley, the artist, who had seen them in 1847:

"The Palouse river (Stevens spelled it Peluse) flows over three steppes, each of which is estimated to have an ascent of a thousand feet. The falls descend from the middle of the lower of these steppes. There is no timber along the course of this stream, and but few willow or other bushes; yet the soil is fertile and the grass nutritious and abundant even in winter. The fall of water, which is about thirty feet wide, can not be seen from any distant point, for flowing through a fissure in the basaltic rocks, portions of which tower above in jagged pinnacles, it suddenly descends some 125 feet into a narrow basin, and thence flows rapidly away through a deep canyon. The distance from the falls to Snake river is about nine miles. The valley widens considerably for about half a mile from the mouth of the Palouse. The home of the Palouse Indians is near this junction, where they devote much of their time to salmon fishing. The salmon ascend to the falls, but these Indians have a legend which tells of the wickedness of the Indians higher up the country, and how the Great Spirit, in his displeasure, placed the falls as a barrier to the further ascent of the salmon."

From the crossing of Snake river the governor pushed rapidly to old Fort Walla Walla, on the Columbia. The country between the Snake and Walla Walla rivers he described as "high rolling prairies. On the road I traveled," he added, "the grass was uniformly good, but on leaving the Snake the first water was the Touchet, twenty-seven and one half miles distant. This was the longest march we had accomplished without water after leaving Fort Benton, perhaps the longest between the Mississippi and the Columbia. Captain McClellan, by a slight change of direction, striking the Touchet higher up, and crossing the Walla Walla valley by a more central line, found good water and camps at less than twenty miles apart."

At Fort Walla Walla the governor was the guest of Factor Pembrum of the Hudson's Bay company. He remained in the Walla Walla country till November 8, and on the fourth and fifth rode through the valley.

November 4.—We started on the trip through this valley, riding upon our horses. Arriving at the Hudson Bay farm, we exchanged them for fresh ones, sending back to Walla Walla (on the Columbia) the old ones by an Indian. This farm is eighteen miles from Walla Walla, and is a fine tract of land, well adapted to grazing or cultivation. It is naturally bounded by streams, and is equivalent to a mile square. There is the richest grass we have seen since leaving St. Mary's. Two herders tend their animals, and a small house is erected for their accommodation. From this we went to McBane's house, a retired factor of the company, from whence we had a fine view of the southern portion of the valley, which is watered by many tributaries from the Blue mountains. The land here is very fertile. McBane was in charge of Fort Walla Walla during the Cayuse difficulties. Thirty miles from Walla Walla, and near McBane's, lives Father Chirouse, a missionary of the Catholic order, who, with two laymen, exercises his influence among the surrounding tribes. A party of immigrants, who had lost nearly all their animals, are sheltered here at this time. From Chirouse and McBane I learned that the immigrants frequently cast wishful eyes upon the valley, but having made no arrangements with the Indians, they are unable to settle there.

November 5.—We remained with Mr. McBane over night, and returned to the fort by way of the Whitman mission, now occupied by Bumford and Brooke. They were harvesting, and I saw as fine potatoes as ever I beheld--many weighing two pounds, and one weighing five and a half. Their carrots and beets, too, were of extraordinary size. Mr. Whitman must have done a great deal of good for the Indians. His mission is situated upon a fine tract of land, and he had erected a saw and grist mill. It is said that his death was brought about by the false reports of a troublesome half-breed, who reported having heard Mrs. Whitman say to her husband, when speaking of the Indians: "We will get rid of them some day." From Bumford's to the mouth of the Touchet are many farms, mostly occupied by the retired employes of the Hudson's Bay company. On our return we met Pu-pu-mox-mox, the Walla Walla chief, known and respected far and wide. He possesses not so much intelligence and energy as Garry, but he has some gifts of which the latter is deprived. He is of dignified manner and well qualified to manage men. He owns over 2,000 horses, besides many cattle, and has a farm near that of the Hudson's Bay company. On the occurrence of the Cayuse war he was invited to join them, but steadily refused. After their destruction of the mission he was asked to share the spoils, and again refused. They then taunted him with being afraid of the whites, to which he replied: "I am not afraid of the whites, nor am I afraid of the Cayuse. I defy your whole band. I will plant my three lodges on the border of my own territory, at the mouth of the Touchet, and there I will meet you if you dare to attack me." He accordingly moved his lodges to this point and remained there three or four weeks. Stanley (the artist) was on his way from Walker and Eells' mission to Whitman's mission, and, indeed, was actually within three miles of the mission when he learned of the terrible tragedy which had been enacted there, and the information was brought to him by an Indian of Pu-Pu-mox-mox's band. Pu-pu-mox-mox has saved up a large amount of money (probably as much as $5,000), still he is generous, and frequently gives an ox and other articles of value to his neighbors. Some of his people having made a contract to ferry the immigrants across the river who crossed the Cascades this year, and then having refused to execute it, he compelled them to carry it out faithfully, and, mounting his horse, he thrashed them until they complied. He has the air of a substantial farmer.

From the Walla Walla valley Governor Stevens continued down the Columbia in a canoe, carefully examining the principal rapids between the mouth of the Walla Walla and the Cascades, and from the best examination which he was able to make, "became at once convinced that the river was probably navigable for steamers, or at all events worthy of being experimentally tested."

The night of November 14 he passed at the Cascades, meeting there "several gentlemen—men who had crossed the plains, and who had made farms in several states and in Oregon or Washington—who had carefully examined the Yakima country for new locations, and who impressed me with the importance of it as an agricultural and grazing country." The new governor's faith, sympathy and even affection for the pioneers stand out in clear expression in his official reports and private correspondence. Of them he said in one of his reports:

"They have crossed the mountains, and made the long distance from the valley of the Mississippi to their homes on the Pacific; they have done so frequently, having to cut out roads as they went, and knowing little of the difficulties before them.

They are therefore men of observation, of experience, of enterprise, and men who at home had, by industry and frugality, secured a competence and the respect of their neighbors; for it must be known that our immigrants travel in parties, and those go together who were acquaintances at home, because they mutually confide in each other. I was struck with the high qualities of the frontier people, and soon learned how to confide in them and gather information from them."

As an example in contrast, we offer an extract from a letter from Captain George B. McClellan to Secretary of War Jefferson Davis, of date September 18, 1853:

"But the result of my short experience in this country has been that not the slightest faith or confidence is to be placed in information derived from the inhabitants of the territory; in every instance when I have acted upon information thus obtained, I have been altogether deceived and misled."

From the Cascades Governor Stevens continued his canoe voyage to Vancouver, where he remained from the seventeenth to the nineteenth as the guest of Captain Bonneville, made famous by the genius of Washington Irving, and where he also became acquainted with the officers of the Hudson's Bay company.

CHAPTER XVIII

OLYMPIA, THE BACKWOODS CAPITAL, IN 1853.

FIVE DAYS' HARD TRAVEL FROM VANCOUVER—GOVERNOR DRENCHED IN AN INDIAN CANOE—HEARTY PIONEER GREETING—MRS. STEVENS' GRAPHIC PICTURE OF THE SQUALID LITTLE CAPITAL—"WHAT A PROSPECT!"—SHE BREAKS DOWN AND CRIES—LATER LEARNED TO LOVE THE COUNTRY AND ITS PEOPLE—HORSEBACK ACROSS THE LOVELY PRAIRIES—PLEASING PICTURE OF FATHER RICARD'S MISSION—COLUMBIA LANCASTER ELECTED TO CONGRESS—BUSY DAYS FOR THE GOVERNOR—MENACED BY POLITICAL RUIN—PEREMPTORY ORDER FROM JEFFERSON DAVIS—STEVENS GOES BY SEA TO NATIONAL CAPITAL—HIS ENEMIES ROUTED.

"Not stones, nor wood, nor the art of artisans make a state; but where men are who know how to take care of themselves, there are cities and walls."

—*Attributed to Alcaeus by Aristides.*

FIVE days of the hardest sort of travel it took the first governor of Washington to go from Vancouver to Olympia, cramped up for the greater part of the time in an Indian canoe, and drenched by the cold November rains; but Stevens facetiously dismisses the incident by "advising *voyageurs* in the interior, when they get suddenly into the rains west of the Cascades, to take off their buckskin underclothing." He neglected the precaution, "and among the many agreeabilities of this trip up the Cowlitz was to have the underclothing of buckskin wet entirely through." And buckskin possesses a strong retentive affinity for moisture.

But a warm and hearty pioneer greeting awaited him at Olympia, and when, a few days later, he delivered a lecture descriptive of his long overland journey and the feasibility of building a railroad from St. Paul to Puget Sound, the whole town turned out and greeted enthusiastically his confident predictions that they would live to hear the locomotive's whistle echoing amid the wooded hills of that primeval wilderness.

Looking backward over the vista of sixty years, one marvels that congress possessed the prescience then to found an embryo commonwealth in this remote and sparsely settled region. There were fewer than 5,000 inhabitants in all the territory's wide expanse, from the Pacific to the summits of the Rocky mountains. Olympia, the capital, was a dreary, rain-drenched mudhole, and the future cities of Spokane, Seattle, Tacoma, Walla Walla and Yakima had either no existence on the map, or were, at best, a few shacks and cabins hastily thrown up against the winter's rains and snows. Mrs. Stevens, who came to Olympia two years after, and,

who, as wife of the governor was the social leader of her husband's vast political domain, has recorded graphically her impressions of the squalid little capital:

"At night we were told, on ascending a hill, 'There is Olympia!' Below us, in the deep mud, were a few low, wooden houses, at the head of Puget Sound. My heart sank, for the first time in my life, at the prospect. After ploughing through the mud, we stopped at the principal hotel, to stay until our house was ready for us. As we went upstairs there were a number of people standing about to see the governor and his family. I was very much annoyed at their staring and their remarks, which they made audibly, and hastened to get in some private room, where I could make myself better prepared for an inspection. Being out in rains for many days had not improved our appearance or clothes. But there seemed no rest for the weary. Upon being ushered into the public parlor, I found people from far and near had been invited to inspect us. The room was full. The sick child was cross and took no notice of anything that was said to her. One of the women saying aloud, 'What a cross brat that is,' I could stand it no longer, but opened a door and went into a large dancing hall, and soon after, when the governor came to look me up, I was breaking my heart over the forlorn situation I found myself in—cold, wet, uncomfortable, no fire, shaking with chills. What a prospect!"

But the mistress of the capital soon found fire, and more cheering and refined greetings, and quickly learned to catch her husband's brave and sympathetic spirit. Many of the people called on her, and she found them pleasant and agreeable. "Many of them were well educated and interesting young ladies, who had come here with their husbands, government officials, and who had given up their city homes to live in this unknown land, surrounded by Indians and dense forests."

Mrs. Stevens dwelt there for three years, and learned to love the country roundabout. "There was a pleasant company of officers, with their wives, stationed at Steilacoom, twenty miles from Olympia, with whom I became acquainted, and had visits from and visited. Naval ships came up Puget Sound, with agreeable officers on board. I had a horse to ride on horseback across the lovely prairies. . . . About two miles down there was a Catholic mission, a large dark house or monastery, surrounded by cultivated land, a large garden in front filled with flowers, bordered on one side, next the water, with immense bushes of wall flowers in full bloom; the fragrance, resembling the sweet English violet, filling the air with its delicious odor. Father Ricard, the venerable head of this house, was from Paris. He had lived in this place more than twenty years. He had with him Father Blanchet (later of beloved memory in our own inland region), a short, thickset man, who managed everything pertaining to the temporal comfort of the mission. Under him were servants, who were employed in various ways, baking, cooking, digging and planting. Their fruit was excellent and a great rarity, as there was but one more orchard in the whole country. There was a large number of Flatheads settled about them, who had been taught to count their beads, say prayers, and were good Catholics in all outward observances; chanted the morning and evening prayers, which they sang in their own language in a low, sweet strain, which, the first time I heard it, sitting in my boat at sunset, was impressive and solemn. We went often to visit Father Ricard, who was a highly educated man, who seemed to enjoy having some one to converse with him in his own language. He said the Canadians used such bad French."

A proclamation by the governor, published soon after his arrival at Olympia in

November, 1853, designated January 30 as election day to choose a delegate to congress, and members of the legislature, and summoning that body to meet in the capital on the twenty-eighth of February. Columbia Lancaster, a lawyer, was elected delegate, and the legislature having assembled on the appointed day, Governor Stevens, in his first message, recommended the adoption of a code of laws and organization of the country east of the Cascades into counties. On his recommendation, the legislature memorialized congress for a surveyor general and a land office, for more rapid surveys of public lands, for amendment of the land laws so that single women would have the same footing as married ones, for a grant of lands for a university, for improved mail service, and for a wagon road from Puget Sound to Walla Walla.

Busy days were these for the governor, filled with absorbing duties and official cares. In an Indian canoe he had explored the shores of Puget Sound, and notwithstanding the congressional appropriation for railroad surveys and exploration had become exhausted, he drove forward that important work with his usual intelligence and vigor, and thereby incurred grave peril of political ruin. To provide the necessary funds for the immediate and pressing needs of the survey, he drew on Corcoran & Riggs, government bankers at Washington, for $16,000, and these drafts were dishonored. Jefferson Davis, secretary of war, was in deep sympathy with the pro-slavery party in congress, which neglected no intrigue to discourage and prevent the building of a northern line of railroad.

About that time the political situation was explained to Stevens in a letter from his old friend Halleck, then stationed in California. "The pro-slavery extension party," pointed out Halleck, "will work very hard against the North Pacific states, which must of necessity remain free." Halleck added that a vigorous conspiracy was then fomenting in California. "The first branch of this project was to call a new convention in California, dividing it into two states, making the southern one a slave state, with San Diego as the port and terminus of a railroad through Texas. Circulars and letters to that effect were sent to pro-slavery men in California, and the attempt made to divide the state, but it failed. The next move was to acquire Lower California and parts of Sonora and Chihuahua, making Guaymas the terminus, and the newly acquired territory slave states. . . . If the territory is acquired, it will be a slave territory, and a most tremendous effort will be made to run a railroad, if not the railroad, from Texas to Guaymas, with a branch to San Francisco."

Corroborative of these warnings, the governor received a curt and peremptory order from Secretary Davis, disapproving his arrangements and ordering him to suspend his winter operations. This critical situation he met with a quick resolution to hasten to the national capital and thwart the cunning schemes of southern politicians, and to justify his apparent desertion of territorial duties, the legislature readily passed a joint resolution that "no disadvantage would result to the territory should the governor visit Washington, if, in his judgment, the interests of the Northern Pacific Railroad survey could thereby be promoted."

Leaving Olympia March 26, the governor went by way of the Cowlitz river to the Columbia, and took steamer for San Francisco, arriving there early in April. Taking the isthmus route, he was in New York in May, and proceeding promptly to Washington, presented before the department a report so thorough and

convincing that Secretary Davis was moved to submit to congress an estimate to cover the deficiency. The necessary appropriation was made, and the protested drafts honored. Of this incident General Hunt afterwards wrote:

"I followed him in the thorough work he made of the Northern Pacific Railway survey—of his row with Jeff Davis for overrunning in his expenditures the amount assigned him, and so preventing Jeff's designs of defeating that road. In 1854 I had, at Fort Monroe, occasion to describe your father to old Major Holmes, a classmate of Jeff. He went to Washington, and on his return told me, 'Your friend Stevens is ruined. Davis refuses to recommend to congress to make good the expenditures as contrary to orders. It will ruin Stevens.' 'Wait awhile,' said I; 'I see by the last Union that Stevens has just arrived, en route to Washington, at Panama. He will leave Jeff nowhere.' Soon after he arrived in Washington, was followed by an appropriation covering all his bills, and so Jeff failed all round."

CHAPTER XIX

NEGOTIATING TREATIES WITH THE INTERIOR TRIBES

STEVENS PLUNGES INTO AN ARDUOUS TASK—WALLA WALLA A GREAT COUNCIL GROUND—GOVERNOR MEETS THERE 5,000 INDIANS IN 1855—NEZ PERCES MASS A THOUSAND WARRIORS—A STRIKING PAGEANT—HAUGHTY MESSAGE FROM THE YELLOW SERPENT—KAMIAKEN PROUD AND SCORNFUL—FEASTING, HORSE-RACING AND FOOT-RACING—INDIAN ORATORY AND SARCASM—CHIEF LAWYER EXPOSES A PLOT TO MASSACRE THE GOVERNOR'S PARTY—CONSPIRACY IS THWARTED—THE TREATIES EXPLAINED—A STARTLING INCIDENT—STORMY COUNCIL—TREATIES CONCLUDED—CELEBRATED WITH A SCALP DANCE.

"The passions are the only orators that always persuade; they are, as it were, a natural art, the rules of which are infallible; and the simplest man with passion is more persuasive than the most eloquent without it."

—*La Rochefoucauld.*

CONGRESS had enacted the donation land act, which held out to settlers the enticing offer of 320 acres to a single man, 320 acres each to married man and wife, who would cross the plains and mountains and found homes in Oregon. No serious attempt had been made to establish treaty rights with the possessing Indians, who, finding themselves ignored and their property rights disregarded, and noting the swelling stream of white immigration, grew startled, suspicious, alarmed and restless. This native discontent was fast deepening into indignation and anger, and throughout the interior bolder spirits were advocating a widespread uprising and war of extermination before it should become forever too late to roll back the white invaders.

To face and solve this difficult problem, to allay the Indians' grievance and patch up tardy treaties with the tribes both east and west of the Cascade mountains, was the delicate and difficult duty laid by government upon the governor of the young territory of Washington. Returning from the national capital, Stevens promptly plunged into this arduous undertaking, and having first established treaties with the Indians in the Puget Sound country, we find him, in the early months of 1855, inviting two great councils with the tribes between the Cascade and the Rocky mountains.

Indian Agents A. J. Bolon and R. H. Lansdale were sent that spring among the powerful tribes of the Inland Empire, to point out to the chiefs the advantages that would accrue to their people by entering peaceably into just and liberal

treaty relations with the government, and on the suggestion of Kamiaken, head chief of the Yakimas, the Walla Walla valley was selected for the council ground. "There of old," said Kamiaken, "is the place where we held our councils with the neighboring tribes, and we will hold this council there now."

Preparatory to the assembling of the tribes, a large quantity of merchandise and provisions was taken up the Columbia in keelboats to Walla Walla, and a party of twenty-five men was organized at The Dalles, in eastern Oregon, and with packtrain, mules, riding animals and provisions, sent to the council ground to prepare for the coming of the redmen, and afterwards to accompany Governor Stevens to the scene of another great council, to be held near the site of the present city of Missoula, Montana.

"The Walla Walla council, like the Blackfoot," says Hazard Stevens, "was conceived and planned exclusively by Governor Stevens. He alone impressed the necessity of them upon the government, and obtained the requisite authority. The work of collecting the Indians was done chiefly by his agents, and it was not until he learned from Doty that the Indians had agreed to attend, and that the council was assured, that he invited Superintendent Palmer (of Oregon) to take part in it as joint commissioner with himself for such tribes as lived partly in both territories. This fact he caused to be entered on the joint record of the council."

Leaving the governor's office in charge of Secretary of State Mason, Governor Stevens set out from Olympia early in May for the Walla Walla valley. The route taken by his party lay across country to Cowlitz landing, where canoes were taken down the Cowlitz to the Columbia; thence by steamboat to Vancouver, and thence by steamboats and portage to The Dalles, where the United States maintained a military post of two companies of the Fourth infantry, under Major G. J. Rains, and where Superintendent Joel Palmer of the Oregon agencies awaited his coming.

"The outlook for effecting a treaty was deemed unfavorable by all," says Hazard Stevens. "Governor Stevens was warned by Father Ricard, of the Yakima mission, that the Indians were plotting to cut off the white chiefs who might attempt to hold a council. The Snake Indians had attacked and massacred parties of white immigrants recently, and Major Rains was under orders to send a force on the immigrant road to protect them."

But the governor was determined to carry out the arrangements, for he foresaw that retreat at this critical moment, after the council had been agreed upon, the Indians invited to the rendezvous, and gifts assembled on the ground, would involve a fatal show of weakness and in all probability prove the very means to precipitate the threatened uprising. After supper he discussed the situation for two hours with Major Rains, and persuaded that officer to give him a small detachment of forty soldiers. "I remarked," he wrote in his diary, "that the services of a small force in checking insolence would be as good as 200 men subsequently. We deemed it necessary to maintain our dignity and that of our government at the council, and we would seize any person, whether white man or Indian, who behaved in an improper manner. There were unquestionably a great many malcontents in each tribe. A few determined spirits, if not controlled, might embolden all not well disposed, and defeat the negotiations. Should this spirit be shown,

they must be seized; the well affected would then govern in the deliberations, and I anticipated little or no difficulty in negotiating. I then alluded to my determination to call out the militia of the territory should I find, on reaching the council ground, that any plan of hostilities was being matured.

"So doubtful did General Palmer consider the whole matter, that it was only the circumstance of a military force being dispatched which determined him to send to the treaty ground presents to the Indians. He stated to me that he had concluded to send up no goods; but, the escort having been ordered, he would send up his goods."

History, I believe, will sustain the opinion that in tense dramatic interest, in wealth of savage staging and barbaric color, and in ultimate influence alike upon the white man and his red brother, the Walla Walla council stands out in bold relief, the most important, the most striking historic event in the Inland Empire, if not within the entire Pacific northwest. Five thousand Indians gathered there—2,000 warriors sat in council, and the proceedings were enlivened by fierce native eloquence and haughty flights of bitter irony and biting wit. Tribe found itself arrayed against tribe, and faction set against faction; some counseled peace, some boldly stood for unrelenting war; and some there were who carried on audaciously their angry plot to sound the dreadful tocsin by massacreing on this council ground the governor's party and his little soldier escort of forty men.

The council ground lay on the right bank of Mill creek, six miles from the Whitman mission, and within the present limits of the city of Walla Walla. "The valley," says the governor's biographer, "was almost a perfect level, covered with the greatest profusion of waving bunch-grass and flowers, amidst which grazed numerous bands of beautiful, sleek mustangs, and herds of long-horned Spanish cattle belonging to the Indians, and was intersected every half mile by a clear, rapid, sparkling stream, whose course could be easily traced in the distance by its fringe of willows and tall cottonwoods. Now every foot of this rich valley is under cultivation, a dozen grist mills run their wheels by these streams, and the very treaty ground is the center of the thriving town of Walla Walla." A city it has grown since that was penned, with 20,000 people dwelling together in culture, prosperity and wealth.

Towards evening of May 21 came the governor and his party upon the scene, drenched by the soaking rains through which they had ridden since early morn, but cheered by the sight of barbaric comfort that met their eager eye. Hazard Stevens, who, then a boy of 13, rode with his father to the council ground, thus describes the historic scene:

"The camp was found pitched, and everything in readiness for the council. A wall tent, with a large arbor of poles and boughs in front, stood on level, open ground, a short distance from the creek and facing the Blue mountains, all ready for the governor. This was also to serve as the council chamber, and ample clear space was left for the Indians to assemble and seat themselves on the ground in front of the arbor. A little farther in front, and nearer the creek, were ranged the tents of the rest of the party, a stout log house to safely hold the supplies and Indian goods, and a large arbor to serve as a banqueting hall for distinguished chiefs, so that, as in civil lands, gastronomy might aid diplomacy. A large herd of beef cattle and a pile of potatoes, purchased of Messrs. Lloyd Brooke, Bumford &

Noble, traders and stock-raisers, who were occupying the site of the Whitman mission, and ample stores of sugar, coffee, bacon and flour, furnished the materials for the feasts."

Previous to the arrival of the Indians, the following program was adopted:

1. Governor Stevens to preside.

2. Each superintendent to be sole commissioner for the Indians within his jurisdiction.

3. Both to act jointly for tribes common to both Oregon and Washington, each to appoint an agent and commissary for them, and goods and provisions to be distributed to them in proportion to the number under the respective jurisdictions.

4. Separate records to be kept, to be carefully compared and certified jointly as far as related to tribes of both Territories.

5. To keep a public table for the chiefs.

The following officers were appointed for the joint treaties:

Washington: Commissioner, Governor Isaac I. Stevens; secretary, James Doty; commissary, R. H. Crosby; agent, R. H. Lansdale; interpreters, William Craig and N. Raymond.

Oregon: Commissioner, Joel Palmer; secretary, William C. McKay; commissary, N. Olney; agent, R. R. Thompson; interpreters, Matthew Danpher and John Flette.

As additional interpreters Governor Stevens appointed A. D. Pambrun, John Whitford, James Coxie and Patrick McKensie.

Lieutenant Gracie and his little command from The Dalles arrived on the 23d, and with the lieutenant, as guest, came Lieutenant Kip, who was to participate in the Wright campaign in the Spokane country two years later and record in entertaining style his experiences in a little book called "Army Life on the Pacific." For their comfort the governor had pitched a tent, while the soldiers threw up rough shelters of boughs, covered with canvas pack-covers. The two officers dined with the governor, "off a table constructed from split pine logs," says Kip, "smoothed off, but not very smooth."

Now all was ready for the Indian hosts. First came the Nez Perces, men, women and children, 2,500 in all, the greater part of the tribe, for the occasion was deemed one of high moment and perhaps of enduring significance to them and their descendants for untold generations. Dear to the Indian heart is studied ceremonial, and learning of the approach of the barbaric cavalcade, the commissioners drew up their little party on a knoll which commanded a fine view of the wide and flower spangled valley. In token of Nez Perce friendship throughout the Cayuse war that followed the Whitman massacre of 1847, the officers in that campaign had presented the tribe with a large American flag. This they bore aloft in the soft May sunshine, and sent ahead of their advancing hosts to be planted upon the knoll.

"Soon their cavalcade came in sight," says an observer of this stirring scene,* "a thousand warriors mounted on fine horses and riding at a gallop, two abreast, naked to the breechclout, their faces colored with white, red and yellow paint in fanciful designs, and decked with plumes and feathers and trinkets fluttering in the sunshine. The ponies were even more gaudily arrayed, many of them selected

* Hazard Stevens.

for their singular color and markings, and many painted in vivid colors contrasting with their natural skins—crimson slashed in broad stripes across white, yellow or white against black or bay; and with their free and wild action, the thin buffalo line tied around the lower jaw,—the only bridle, almost invisible—the naked riders, seated as though grown to their backs, presented the very picture of the fabled centaurs. Halting and forming a long line across the prairie, they again advanced at a gallop still nearer, then halted, while the head chief, Lawyer, and two other chiefs rode slowly forward to the knoll, dismounted and shook hands with the commissioners, and then took post in rear of them. The other chiefs, twenty-five in number, then rode forward, and went through the same ceremony. Then came charging on at full gallop in single file the cavalcade of braves, breaking successively from one flank of the line, firing their guns, brandishing their shields, beating their drums, and yelling their warwhoops, and dashed in a wide circle around the little party on the knoll, now charging up as though to overwhelm it, now wheeling back, redoubling their wild action and fierce yells in frenzied excitement. At length they all dismounted and took their stations in rear of the chiefs. Then a number of young braves, forming a ring, while others beat their drums, entertained the commissioners with their dances, after which the Indians remounted and filed off to the place designated for their camps. This was on a small stream flowing parallel to Mill creek, on the same side with and over half a mile from the council camp. The chiefs accompanied the governor to his tent and arbor, smoked the pipe of peace, and had an informal talk."

As the Indians came to the council on invitation of the commissioners, they were regarded as guests of the government, and rations were issued to the Nez Perces and some other petty tribes then on the ground—one and a half pounds of beef, two pounds of potatoes, and a half pound of corn to each person.

Next to arrive were the Cayuses, Walla Wallas and Umatillas. Without pomp or pageantry they encamped on the opposite side of Mill creek, at a point more than a mile removed from the whites. An intervening fringe of leaf trees completely concealed them from view. As head chief of the Walla Wallas and Umatillas, the aged Pu-pu-mox-mox, or Yellow Serpent, exerted autocratic sway over his own people, and was a personage of marked influence with neighboring tribes. He was a thrifty soul, and by trade with the immigrants passing through his domains en route to the Willamette valley, had acquired a large sum in coin. His herds ran into the thousands. Notwithstanding his son had been murdered by California gold miners, he had always maintained friendly relations with the whites, although the loss of his son still rankled in his breast, and as he had grown somewhat childish, malcontents were striving, by frequent reference to that outrage, to inflame his mind and induce him to join in a war of extermination.

The day after their arrival, the Nez Perce chiefs and head men, to the number of more than thirty, came over to dine with the commissioners. Seated upon the ground, in two long parallel lines, they quite filled the arbor. They brought voracious appetites to the banquet, and Governor Stevens and Commissioner Palmer, who had graciously assumed the office of carvers, discovered that they had burdened themselves with a strenuous task. At length, their arms wearied by the work and the perspiration dropping from their faces, they were glad to yield the honors to two husky packers. "The table for the chiefs was kept up during the council,

and every day was well attended, but it was not again graced by the presence of the commissioners."

An envoy from Pu-pu-mox-mox, the Yellow Serpent, brought the haughty and ominous message that the Yakimas, Cayuses and Walla Wallas would accept no provisions from the commissioners; that they would bring their own, and it was their desire that the Young Chief, Lawyer, Kamiaken and himself, head chiefs of the Cayuses, Nez Perces, Yakimas and Walla Wallas respectively, should do all the talking for the Indians at the council. Refusing to accept any tobacco for his chief, the messenger was overheard to mutter as he rode disdainfully away, "You will find out by and by why we won't take provisions."

Father Chirouse of the Catholic mission among the Walla Wallas, and Father Pandosy of the Yakima mission, came in to attend the council, and reported that with the exception of Kamiaken these Indians were generally well disposed towards the whites. This chief had been heard to say, "If Governor Stevens speaks hard, I will speak hard, too." Other Indians had said that Kamiaken would come to the council with his young men, "but with powder and ball." When invited to the council by the governor's secretary, Mr. Doty, he had scornfully rejected the tendered presents, declaring that he "had never accepted anything from the whites, not even to the value of a grain of wheat, without paying for it, and that he did not wish to purchase the presents." Speaking of this noted chief, Governor Stevens said: "He is a peculiar man, reminding me of the panther and the grizzly bear. His countenance has an extraordinary play, one moment in frowns, the next in smiles, flashing with light, and black as Erebus, the same instant. His pantomime is great, and his gesticulation much and expressive. He talks mostly in his face, and with his hands and arms."

Rumors ran over the great encampment that these tribes had allied to oppose a treaty, and fears were expressed that an attempt to open the council would be the signal for a warlike outbreak.

The next day a body of 400 mounted Cayuses and Walla Wallas, armed and in full gala dress, and yelling like demons, rode furiously thrice around the Nez Perces camp, and soon thereafter Young Chief, accompanied by his principal sub-chiefs, rode up to the governor's tent, but dismounted on invitation with apparent reluctance, and shook hands with a cold and forbidding demeanor, refused to smoke, and remained but a few moments. "The haughty carriage of these chiefs," wrote Stevens in his journal, "and their manly character have, for the first time, in my Indian experience, realized the descriptions of the writers of fiction."

Head Chief Garry of the Spokanes attended the council, but only as an observer. It had been found impossible to assemble the Spokanes at a point so distant from their country, within the brief time that offered, and Governor Stevens proposed a separate treaty with them, later on his return from the Missouri.

A messenger sent to invite the Palouses to the council returned with a single chief of that tribe, who said that his people took little interest and would not come.

Sunday, May 27, Governor Stevens made this entry in his journal: "There was service in the Nez Perce camp and in the Nez Perce language, Timothy being the preacher. The commissioners attended. The sermon was on the ten commandments. Timothy has a natural and graceful delivery, and his words were

repeated by a prompter. The Nez Perces have evidently profited much from the labor of Mr. Spalding, who was with them ten years, and their whole deportment throughout the service was devout."

The next day came the Yakimas. Agent Bolon and an interpreter went out to meet them, and returned bringing Kamiaken and the Yellow Serpent. The latter affected to be grieved and indignant over reports that he was unfriendly to the whites, and declared his purpose to face the commissioners and ask why such slanders had been circulated against him. Soon thereafter, in company with Kamiaken, Owhi and Skloom, Yakima chiefs, rode into camp, dismounted and shook hands in apparent friendship, but in the smoke that followed in the arbor they used their own tobacco exclusively, declining that tendered them by the commissioners.

Governor Stevens formally opened the council in the afternoon of May 29, 1855. Two thousand Indians, more than half of them Nez Perces, were present, seated on the ground in semi-circular rows forty deep, one behind the other. Facing them, under the arbor in front of the tent, sat the commissioners, secretaries, interpreters and Indian agents. Timothy, chief and preacher of the Nez Perces, assisted by several of his young men who had been taught to read and write by the missionary Spalding, were provided a table beneath the arbor and kept their own records for that great and powerful tribe.

Beyond a silent, solemn smoking of the peace pipe, the appointment and swearing in of two interpreters for each tribe, and some brief preliminary remarks, little was accomplished the first day. Before adjourning to ten o'clock the next morning Governor Stevens repeated the offer of provisions for the various tribes, suggesting that two oxen be taken to each camp and slaughtered for its use.

"We have plenty of cattle," replied Young Chief of the Cayuses. "They are close to our camp. We have already killed three and have plenty of provisions.

General Palmer to the interpreter: "Say to the Yakimas, 'You have come a long way; you may not have provisions. If you want any, we have them, and you are welcome.' "

"Kamiaken is supplied at our camp," was the quick interjection of Young Chief of the Cayuses, who declined, too, to dine at the table of the commissioners; but Pu-pu-mox-mox (the Yellow Serpent) and the great war chief Kamiaken were more friendly in demeanor, dining with the commissioners and remaining afterwards a long time in their tent, smoking and talking in a friendly way.

May 30 and 31 were devoted to a careful explanation by Governor Stevens of the two treaties that were under consideration. "There were to be two reservations," says his son Hazard Stevens—one in the Nez Perce country of 3,000,000 acres, on the north side of Snake river, embracing both the Kooskooskia (Clearwater) and Salmon rivers, including a large extent of good arable land, with fine fisheries, root grounds, timber and mill sites, and was for the accommodation of the Cayuses, Walla Wallas, Umatillas and Spokanes, as well as the Nez Perces.

"The other embraced a large and fertile tract on the upper waters of the Yakima, and was for the Yakimas, Klickitats, Palouses and kindred bands.

"The reservations were to belong to the Indians, and no white man should come upon them without their consent. An agent, with school teachers, mechanics and farmers, would take charge of each reservation, and instruct them in agriculture,

trades, etc.; grist and saw mills were to be built; the head chiefs were to receive an annuity of $500 each, in order that they might devote their whole time to their people; and annuities in clothing, tools and useful articles were to be given for twenty years, after which they were to be self-supporting.

"The advantages of the reservations were dwelt upon. They embraced some of the best land in the country, and were large enough to afford each family a farm to itself, besides grazing for all their stock; they contained good fisheries, abundance of roots and berries, and considerable game. They were near enough to the great roads for trade with the immigrants, yet far enough from them to be undisturbed by travelers. By having so many tribes on one reservation, the agent could better look after them, and could accomplish more with the same means at his disposal.

"The staple argument held out was the superior advantages of civilization, and the absolute necessity of their adopting the habits and mode of life of the white man in order to escape extinction. Governor Stevens also exorted them to treat for the sake of the example upon their inveterate enemies, the Blackfeet; that thereby they would prove themselves firm friends of the whites, and that he would then take delegations from each tribe with his party and proceed to the Blackfoot country, and make a lasting treaty of peace, so that they could ever after hunt the buffalo in safety, and trade horses with the Indians east of the Rocky mountains."

Young Chief of the Cayuses began to show an apparent yielding. On the third day of the council he dined, for the first time, with the other head chiefs at the governor's table, and that evening sent word that his young men had grown weary of the close confinement of the long sessions, and as they desired a holiday, he asked that the next day be given up to diversion, and no council be held until Saturday. The commissioners, pleased at this indication of a more tractable spirit, cheerfully assented to the idea.

There were now assembled on the ground, according to Lieutenant Kip, "about 5,000 Indians, including squaws and children;" and their encampment and lodges, scattered over the valley for more than a mile, presented "a wild and fantastic appearance." The holiday was given over to feasting, horse-racing and foot-racing. Despite all missionary efforts to break up the gambling evil, that passion still ran high in the Indian breast, and fierce gaming attended these council races. "The usual course was a long one, sometimes two miles out and back," says Hazard Stevens. "Oftentimes thirty horses would start together in a grand sweepstakes; the riders and betters would throw into one common pile the articles put up as stakes—blankets, leggings, horse equipments and whatever else was bet, and the winner would take the whole pile. The foot races were equally long, and the runners would be escorted in their course by a crowd of mounted Indians, galloping behind and beside them so closely that the exhausted ones could hardly stop without being run down. The riders and runners were invariably stripped to the breechcloth, and presented many fine, manly forms, perfect Apollos in bronze."

When the council reassembled, Saturday, June 2, Governor Stevens invited the Indians to speak freely. "We want you to open your hearts to us," he said, and seizing this invitation, the opponents of the treaties promptly took the lead in the resulting oratory.

"We have listened to all you have to say," began the Yellow Serpent, "and now we desire you to listen when any Indian speaks. I know the value of your speech

from having heard such speeches in California, and having seen treaties there. We have not seen in a true light the object of your speeches, as if there were a tree set between us. Look at yourselves: your flesh is white; mine is different, mine looks poor."

Thus with native skill of oratory, Yellow Serpent began an affected plea of inferiority, of humility, of inability to cope in cunning with the white commissioners. Then, with a quick turn of insinuation, he declared, "If you would speak straight, then I would think you spoke well." Then came a sharp thrust at the demoralizing effects of that superior white civilization, upon which Governor Stevens had dwelt in all his utterances: "Should I speak to you of things that happened long ago, as you have done? The whites made me do what they pleased. They told me to do this, and I did it. They used to make our women to smoke. I supposed then they did what was right. When they told me to dance with all these nations that are here, I danced. From that time all the Indians became proud and called themselves chiefs.

"Now how are we here as at a post? From what you have said, I think that you intend to win our country, or how is it to be? In one day the Americans become as numerous as the grass. This I learned in California. I know it is not right; you have spoken in a roundabout way. Speak straight. I have ears to hear you, and here is my heart. Suppose you show me goods, shall I run up and take them? That is the way of all us Indians as you know us. Goods and the earth are not equal. Goods are for using on the earth. I do not know where the whites have given lands for goods.

"We require time to think quietly, slowly. You have spoken in a manner quietly tending to evil. Speak plain to us. I am a poor Indian; show me charity. If there were a chief among the Nez Perces or the Cayuses, and they saw evil done, they would put a stop to it, and all would be quiet. Such chiefs I hope Governor Stevens and General Palmer have."

With cutting sarcasm, the Yellow Serpent added, "I should feel very much ashamed if the Americans did anything wrong. I had but a little to say, that is all."

As if by prearrangement, to bear out Yellow Serpent's assertion that the chiefs would brook no wrong, Camospelo, a Cayuse chief, sharply rebuked some of his young men who had behaved in a disrespectful manner, talking and walking about while the council was in session.

Late that evening Lawyer, chief of the Nez Perces, came secretly to the tent of Governor Stevens and revealed a conspiracy of the Cayuses to massacre all the whites on the council ground. Lawyer, who had suspected treachery, had discovered the peril through a spy, for the plot had been developed in great secrecy. It had been under nightly consideration, and a determination reached in full council of the tribe on the very day that Young Chief had sought as a holiday. They were now only awaiting the assent of the Yakimas and Walla Wallas, and that gained, were to start a war of white extermination.

Lawyer was ready and able to thwart the massacre. "I will come with my family and pitch my lodge in the midst of your camp," he declared, "so that those Cayuses may see that you and your party are under the protection of the head chief of the Nez Perces." Notwithstanding it was then after midnight, Lawyer carried out his promise before daylight, and the next morning caused it to be bruited among

the other Indians that the commissioners enjoyed the protection of the powerful Nez Perces.

Governor Stevens, fearing that full knowledge of the conspiracy would start a panic among the whites, revealed the news only to his secretary, Mr. Doty, and Packmaster Higgins, and through them the soldiers were directed to put their arms in readiness. Night guards were posted, and the council continued as if nothing alarming had developed.

On Monday Lawyer spoke for the treaty, and several of his chiefs followed in similar tenor. They were followed by Kamiaken:

"I have something different to say from what the others have said. They are young men who have spoken as they have spoken. I have been afraid of the white man. His doings are different from ours. Perhaps you have spoken straight that your children will do what is right. Let them do as they have promised."

"I do not wish to speak," declared the Yellow Serpent, contemptuously. "I leave that to the old men."

Eagle-from-the-Light, a Nez Perce chief, spoke with deep feeling and pathetic import. His speech was regarded by some of the white men as the most impressive heard at the council:

"You are now come to join together the white man and the red man. And why should I hide anything? I am going now to tell you a tale. The time the whites first passed through this country, although the people of this country were blind, it was their heart to be friendly to them. Although they did not know what the white people said to them, they answered Yes, as if they were blind. They traveled about with the white people as if they had been lost.

"I have been talked to by the French (employes of the fur companies) and by the Americans; and one says to me, Go this way, and another says Go another way, and that is the reason I am lost between them.

"A long time ago they hung my brother for no offense, and this I say to my brother here, that he may think of it. Afterwards came Spalding and Whitman. They advised us well and taught us well—very well. It was from the same source —the light (the east). They had pity on us, and we were pitied, and Spalding sent my father to the east—the States, and he went. His body has never returned. He was sent to learn good counsel, and friendship and many things. This is another thing to think of. At the time, in this place here, when there was blood spilled on the ground, we were friends to the whites, and they to us. At that time they found it out that we were friends to them. My chief, my own chief, said, 'I will try to settle all the bad matters with the whites,' and he started to look for counsel to straighten up matters, and there his body lies beyond there. He has never returned.

"At the time the Indians held a grand council at Fort Laramie, I was with the Flatheads, and I heard there would be a grand council on this side next year. We were asked to go and find counsel, friendship and good advice. Many of my people started, and died in the country—died hunting what was right. There were a good many started; on Green river the smallpox killed all but one. They were going to find good counsel in the east, and here am I, looking still for counsel, and to be taught what is best to be done.

"And now look at my people's bodies scattered everywhere, hunting for knowledge—hunting for some one to teach them to go straight. And now I show it to you,

and I want you to think of it. I am of a poor people. A preacher came to us, Mr. Spalding. He talked to us to learn, and from that he turned to be a trader, as though there were two in one, one a preacher and the other a trader. He made a farm and raised grain and bought our stock, as though there were two in one, one a preacher, the other a trader. And now one from the east has spoken, and I have heard it, and I do not wish another preacher to come, and be both trader and preacher in one. A piece of ground for a preacher big enough for his own use is all that is necessary for him.

"Look at that; it is the tale I had to tell you, and now I am going to hunt friendship and good advice. We will come straight here—slowly perhaps, but we will come straight."

As the Indians were slow to speak, Governor Stevens and Commissioner Palmer devoted the next two days to further explanation of the treaties and a large map, showing the boundaries of the reservations, the streams, root grounds and camping places.

Reticence, however, continued the prevailing attitude of the aboriginal mind. The chiefs were slow to speak, and when Steachus, regarded as most amicable of all the Cayuse leaders, expressed his sentiments, they revealed, even in that friendly quarter, a spirit of disapprobation and doubt.

"My friends," began this chief, "I wish to show you my heart. If your mother were in this country, gave you birth and suckled you, and, while you were suckling, some person came and took away your mother, and left you alone and sold your mother, how would you feel then? This is our mother—this country—as if we drew our living from her. My friends, all of this you have taken. Had I two rivers, I would leave the one, and be contented to live on the other. I name the place for myself, the Grande Ronde, the Touchet towards the mountains, and the Tucanon."

Willing to divide his native land with the white invaders, but grieved and mournful over the thought of yielding it all, to the last rood and acre, and moving with his people to a strange and distant reservation. With dim eye and savage, angry heart, this forbidding prospect had been glimpsed by the Cayuse mind eight years before, when Whitman and his little mission band were slain in protest against that ever increasing train of tented wagons, rolling out of the mysterious and distant east, and rumbling down the western slopes of the beautiful Blue mountains.

Stevens and Palmer well knew how futile it is to attempt to rush the Indian mind to hasty decision, and tactfully adjourned the council to the following day. Lawyer, speaking then for the Nez Perces, adopted the only line of reasoning that gave the slightest hope of winning over the cold and sullen chiefs of other tribes. He dwelt upon the vast numbers of westward moving whites, the power of their civilization, the utter hopelessness of Indian opposition, and the imperative need of a peaceful adjustment of their relations. Their only refuge, he declared, would be found in placing themselves under the protection of the Great Father at Washington. Silence followed this appeal for the treaty, to be broken by the haughty Young Chief of the Cayuses.

"His country he would not sell. He heard what the earth said. The earth said to him, 'God has placed me here to take care of the Indian, to yield roots for him, and grasses for his horses and cattle.' The water spoke the same way. God has

forbidden the Indian to sell his country except for a fair price, and he did not understand the treaty."

This adroit use of revelation served as a cue for Five Crows, the Yellow Serpent, Owhi and several other chiefs—Owhi, who, three years later, was to meet his death in a daring effort to escape from the guards of Colonel Wright's command.

Pu-pu-mox-mox, or the Yellow Serpent, head chief of the Walla Wallas, proposed that this council should adjourn, and another be held at some future time. He protested that the Indians were treated like children, were not consulted in the drafting of treaties which they were asked to sign, and declared that he wanted no alternative to the complete exclusion of the white people from his domains. Kamiaken, the famous war chief of the Yakimas, maintained a studied silence. "I have nothing to say," was his invariable reply to all appeals to reveal his heart.

Governor Stevens saw that the time had come for plain speaking and vigorous resentment of the accusation that the white commissioners were seeking to deceive the red parties to the proposed treaty.

"My brother and myself have talked straight. Have all of you talked straight? Lawyer has, and his people here, and their business will be done tomorrow.

"The Young Chief says he is blind and does not understand. What is it that he wants? Steachus says that his heart is in one of three places—the Grande Ronde, the Touchet and the Tucanon. Where is the heart of Young Chief?

"Pu-pu-mox-mox can not be wafted off like a feather. Does he prefer the Yakima reservation to that of the Nez Perces? We have asked him before. We ask him now, Where is his heart?

"And Kamiaken, the great chief of the Yakimas, he has not spoken at all. His people have had no voice here today. He is not ashamed to speak. He is not afraid to speak. Then speak out.

"But Owhi is afraid lest God be angry at his selling his land. Owhi, my brother, I do not think that God will be angry if you do your best for yourself and your children. Ask yourself this question tonight, 'Will not God be angry with me if I neglected this opportunity to do them good?' Owhi says his people are not here. Why did he promise to come here, then, to hear our talk? I do not want to be ashamed of Owhi. We expect him to speak straight out. We expect to hear from Kamiaken, from Skloom."

Five Crows here proposed an adjournment. "Listen to me, you chiefs," said he. "Hitherto we have been as one people with the Nez Perces. This day we are divided. We, the Cayuses, the Walla Wallas and Kamiaken's people and others will think over the matter tonight, and give you an answer tomorrow."

Stevens and Palmer had now sufficiently tested out the Indian mind to see that in its present form the treaty would fail of acceptance. Concessions must be made, and to overcome the aversion of the Cayuses, the Walla Wallas and the Umatillas to removing to the Nez Perce lands, they brought forward at the council next day a plan for an additional reservation on the upper waters of the Umatilla, at the base of the Blue mountains. To mollify the stubborn chiefs, the annuities of $500 to be paid each of the head chiefs for ten years were extended over a period of twenty years. The Yellow Serpent was offered the additional advantage of trading with settlers and immigrants at an established trading post, and an annuity of $100 for twenty years to his son. In lengthy, rambling speeches Young Chief and Yellow

Serpent accepted the treaties. "Now you may send me provisions," said the Yellow Serpent in conclusion; but Kamiaken of the Yakimas maintained his sullen bearing and refused to assent to the treaties.

A startling incident now menaced all the efforts of the two commissioners. A small band of warriors, painted, armed, chanting a war-song and waving the gory trophy of a freshly taken scalp, came galloping upon the council ground. Instantly the great assemblage was thrown into conjecture and commotion. Looking Glass, war chief of the Nez Perces, returning from a prolonged hunting trip among the Blackfeet, on the great plains east of the Rocky mountains, had learned, on reaching the Bitter Root valley, that his tribe were in a great council in the Walla Walla valley, negotiating a treaty without his presence or knowledge. This chief, while old, petulant and shifty, had an influence with the tribe second only to that of Lawyer. He had been made furious by the news, and leaving the main body of his hunting party on the Bitter Root river, had hurried westward with a few chosen friends. In spite of his seventy years, and deep and melting snows in the Bitter Roots, the war chief and his party had traveled 300 miles in seven days, and were now arrived upon the council ground at the critical moment when the commissioners were laboring with the recalcitrant Kamiaken. Surrounded by his band of faithful warriors, still waving the scalp-locks of their Blackfeet victims, Looking Glass rode proudly upon the scene, his brow a thunder-cloud of angry protest, his eye darting indignation at his friends, and broke into a fierce Jeremiad against the tribe:

"My people, my people, what have you done? While I was gone, you have sold my country! I have come home, and there is not left me a place on which to pitch my lodge. Go home to your lodges! I will talk to you!"

Instantly the council was adjourned, and Governor Stevens sought private counsel with Lawyer, who thought that the war chief would calm down when he learned the terms of the treaty. Lawyer, said, though, that Looking Glass's untimely return had so unsettled the tribe that the original boundaries of the Nez Perce reservation. though larger than the tribe would need since other provision had been made for the Cayuses, Walla Wallas and Umatillas, could not now be reduced.

When the council met the following day it quickly became apparent that Looking Glass had not softened down. He asserted his head chieftainship over the Nez Perce tribe, and contemptuously said that the boys had spoken yesterday, but now his voice must be heard. After many inquiries and objections, he finally mapped out other lines for the Nez Perce reservation which included nearly all the territory that the tribe had ever claimed. Encouraged by Looking Glass's opposition, the Cayuses withdrew their assent to the treaty, and Young Chief artfully played on the seeming indignity suffered by the Nez Perce war chief, while away fighting the hereditary enemies of his tribe, and still more artfully recognized him as head chief of all the Nez Perces. Lawyer, indignant at this attempted repudiation of his rights, abruptly left the council while Looking Glass was delivering his fierce tirade. The commissioners, refusing to yield to the grasping demands of the aged chief, adjourned the council to the following Monday.

Affairs took now a more hopeful form, for after adjournment, Yellow Serpent for the Walla Wallas, and Kamiaken for the Yakimas, yielding under pressure from their sub-chiefs and head men, came in and signed their respective treaties. The Yellow Serpent had said in the morning, when a spirit of repudiation was in the air,

that his word had passed, and he should sign the treaty regardless of what Looking Glass and his followers among the Nez Perces might do. His example had much influence with Kamiaken.

Later in the evening a new complication, in the aggrieved bearing of the faithful and friendly Lawyer, confronted Governor Stevens. Coming to the governor's tent, this chief said in complaint:

"Governor Stevens, you are my chief. You come from the President. He has spoken kind words to us, a poor people. We have listened to them and agreed to a treaty. We are bound by the agreement. When Looking Glass asked you, 'How long will the agent live with us?' you might have replied by asking the question, 'How long have you been head chief of the Nez Perces?' When he said, 'I, the head chief have just got back; I will talk; the boys talked yesterday,' you might have replied, 'The Lawyer, and not you, is the head chief. The whole Nez Perce tribe have said in council that Lawyer was the head chief. Your faith is pledged; you have agreed to the treaty. I call upon you to sign it.' Had this course been taken, the treaty would have been signed."

"In reply," says Stevens, "I told the Lawyer that we considered all the talk of Looking Glass as the outpourings of an angry and excited old man, whose heart would become all right if left to himself for a time; that the Lawyer had left the council whilst in session, and without speaking; that it was his business to have interfered in this way if it had been necessary. We considered the Lawyer's leaving as saying, 'Nothing more can be done today; it must be finished tomorrow.' Your authority will be sustained, and your people will be called upon to keep their word. You will be sustained. The Looking Glass will not be allowed to speak as head chief. You, and you alone, will be recognized. Should Looking Glass persist, the appeal will be made to your people. They must sign the treaty agreed to by them through you as head chief, or the council will be broken up and you will return home, your faith broken, your hopes of the future gone."

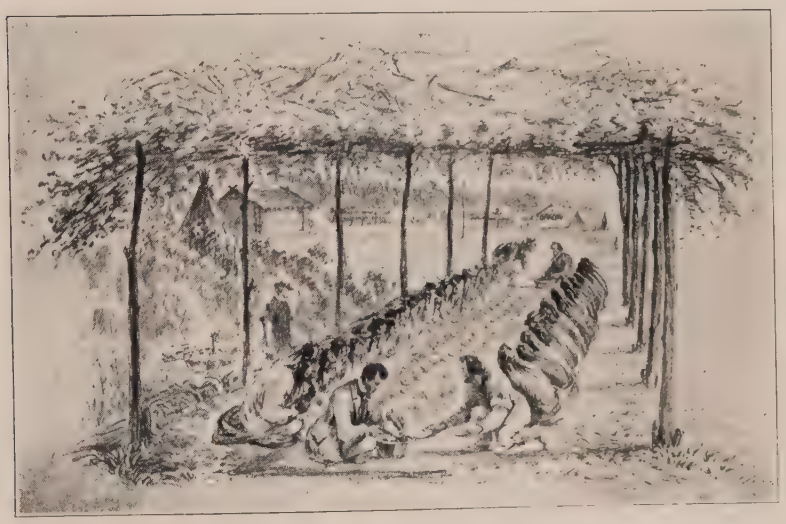
Nez Perce and Cayuse tribal councils, held that night, were not concluded until daylight. The Nez Perces had a stormy council, but ended in an agreement that Lawyer was head chief, and Looking Glass second only to him. This was reduced to writing, and contained a declaration that the faith of the tribe was pledged to Governor Stevens and the treaty must be signed.

A peaceful Sabbath succeeded these stormy events, and pious Timothy, that Timothy who later, in 1858, was to save Colonel Steptoe's little command from utter rout and death, preached a timely sermon, holding up to the execration of the tribe and the retribution of Heaven those members who would follow after the treacherous teachings of the Cayuses and break the unsullied Nez Perce faith. That day Kamiaken, in conference with Stevens, said:

"Looking Glass, if left alone, will sign the treaty. Don't ask me to accept presents. I have never taken one from a white man. When the payments are made I will take my share."

Monday brought the closing scenes of this spectacular and momentous council. Early in the morning Governor Stevens said to Lawyer: "We are now ready to go into council. I shall call upon your people to keep their word, and upon you, as head chief, to sign first. We want no speeches. This will be the last day of the council. Call your people together as soon as possible." "That is the right course,"

WALLA WALLA COUNCIL, 1855



FEASTING THE CHIEFS AT WALLA WALLA COUNCIL

THE SCALP DANCE AT WALLA WALLA COUNCIL
PRESENTS AND SUPPLIES WERE STORED
IN THE LOG HUT

replied Lawyer, as he turned away to assemble his people. Governor Stevens thus describes the closing scenes of the gathering:

"The Looking Glass took his seat in council in the very best humor. The Cayuses and Nez Perces were all present. Kamiaken sat down near the Young Chief. The council was opened by me in a brief speech: 'We meet for the last time. Your words are pledged to sign the treaty. The tribes have spoken through their head chiefs, Joseph, Red Wolf, the Eagle, Ip-se-male-e-con, all declaring Lawyer was the head chief, I call upon Lawyer to sign first.' Lawyer then signed the treaty. 'I now call upon Joseph and the Looking Glass.' Looking Glass signed, then Joseph. Then every chief and man of note, both Nez Perces and Cayuses, signed their respective treaties.

"After the treaties were signed, I spoke briefly of the Blackfoot council, and asked each tribe to send delegations, the Nez Perces a hundred chiefs and braves, the whole under the head chief, or some chief of acknowledged authority, as Looking Glass. There was much talk on the subject on the part of the Indians. Looking Glass said he would have a talk with me alone some other time."

The council ended, presents were distributed among the assembled tribes. In return for his present, Eagle-from-the-Light, the Nez Perce chief who had spoken in eloquent opposition to the treaty, and proudly refused the commissioners' offer of provisions, tendered to Governor Stevens a superb skin of a grizzly bear, with teeth and claws intact. "This skin," he said in a presentation speech, "is my medicine. It came with me every day to the council. It tells me everything. It says now that what has been done is right. Had anything been done wrong it would have spoken out. I have now no use for it. I give it you that you may know my heart is right." Every day throughout the council sessions, Eagle-from-the-Light had sat upon this skin, teeth and claws turned towards the commissioners, refusing the roll of blankets which had been offered him.

"Thus ended," says Governor Stevens' journal, "in the most satisfactory manner, this great council, prolonged through so many days—a council which, in the number of Indians assembled and the different tribes, old difficulties and troubles between them and the whites, a deep-seated dislike to and determination against giving up their lands, and the great importance, nay, absolute necessity, of opening this land by treaty to occupation by the whites, that bloodshed and the enormous expense of Indian wars might be avoided, and in its general influence and difficulty—has never been equaled by any council held with the Indian tribes of the United States.

"It was so considered by all present, and a final relief from the intense anxiety and vexation of the last month was especially grateful to all concerned."

In celebration of the conclusion of the treaty, and the return of Chief Looking Glass and his braves from the buffalo country, the Nez Perces gave a scalp dance. Hazard Stevens, the governor's son, who witnessed with boyish eyes that frightful savage scene, describes it in his biography of Governor Stevens:

"The chiefs and braves, in full war paint and adorned with all their savage finery, formed a large circle, standing several ranks deep. Within this arena a chosen body of warriors performed the war dance, while the densely massed ranks of braves circled around them, keeping time in measured tread, and accompanying it with their wild and barbaric war song. The ferocious and often hideous mien of these stalwart savages, their frenzied attitudes and shrill and startling yells, formed

a subject worthy the pen of Dante and the pencil of Doré. The missionary still had work to do.

"Presently an old hag, the very picture of squalor and woe, burst into the circle, bearing aloft on a pole one of the fresh scalps so recently taken by Looking Glass, and, dancing and jumping about with wild and extravagant action, heaped upon the poor relic of a fallen foe every mark of indignity and contempt. Shaking it aloft, she vociferously abused it; she beat it, she spat upon it; she bestrode the pole and rushed around the ring, trailing it in the dust, again and again; while the warriors, with grim satisfaction, kept up their measured tread, chanted their war songs, and uttered, if possible, yet more ear-piercing yells.

"A softer and more pleasing scene succeeded. The old hag retired with her bedraggled trophy, and a long line of Indian maidens stepped within the circles, and, forming an inner rank, moved slowly round and round, chanting a mild and plaintive air. A number of the stylish young braves, real Indian beaux in the height of paint and feathers, next took post within the circle, near the rank of moving maidens, and each one, as the object of his adoration passed him, placed a gaily decorated token upon her shoulder. If she allowed it to remain, his affection was returned and he was accepted, but if she shook it off, he knew that he was a rejected suitor. Coquetry, evidently, is not confined to the civilized fair, for, without exception, the maidens, as if indignant at such public wooing threw off the token with disdain, while every new victim of delusive hopes was greeted with shouts of laughter from the spectators."

When the council ended thus happily, few of the little band of white participants, realized how perilously near they had been to a death of Indian treachery. If the Nez Perce chief Lawyer had not, through his spies in the hostile Cayuse camp, discovered the conspiracy, warned Stevens and assumed open and conspicuous protectorate over the commissioners and their party, the murderous plot would probably have been consummated, and the fair valley of the Walla Walla would have witnessed a recurrence of that Cayuse treachery which signalized the destruction of the Whitman mission.

"Their design, (says Lieutenant Kip) was first to massacre the escort, which would have been easily done. Fifty soldiers against 3,000 Indian warriors, out on the open plains, made rather too great odds. We should have had time, like Lieutenant Grattan at Fort Laramie last season, to deliver one fire, and then the contest would have been over. Their next move was to surprise the post at The Dalles, as they could also have easily done, as most of the troops were withdrawn, and the Indians in the neighborhood had recently united with them. This would have been the beginning of their war of extermination against the settlers."

"Foiled in their plot," comments Hazard Stevens, "why did they then so quickly agree to the treaties? All the circumstances and evidence go to show that, with the exception of Steachus, the friendly Cayuse, they all—Young Chief, Five Crows, Pu-pu-mox-mox, Kamiaken and their sub-chiefs—all signed the treaties as a deliberate act of treachery, in order to lull the whites into fancied security, give time for Governor Stevens to depart to the distant Blackfoot country, where he would probably be wiped out by those truculent savages, and for the Nez Perces to return home, and also for completing their preparations for a wide-spread and simultaneous onslaught on all the settlements. Scarcely had they reached home from the council

when they resumed such preparation, buying extra stores of ammunition, and sending emissaries to the Spokanes, Coeur d'Alenes and even to some of the Nez Perces and to other tribes, to incite them to a war, actually held a council of the disaffected at a point in the Palouse country the following month, and, within three months of accepting ostensibly the protection of the Great Father, precipitated the conflict. Agent Bolon and many white miners and settlers in the upper country were massacred, and settlements as widespread as Puget Sound and southern Oregon, 600 miles apart, were attacked on the same day. In this conspiracy and contest, Kamiaken was the moving spirit, the organizer, the instigator, whose crafty wiles never slept, and whose stubborn resolution no disaster could break. But in the end, after protracted and stubborn resistance, they were defeated and compelled to move on their reservations, and live under the very treaties they so treacherously agreed to, and under which they still live and have greatly prospered.

"Over 60,000 square miles were ceded by these treaties. The Nez Perce reservation contained 5,000 square miles, including mountain and forest as well as good land, and provision was made for moving other tribes upon it. The payment for the Nez Perce lands comprised $200,000 in the usual annuities, and $60,000 for improving the reservation, saw and grist mills, schools, shops, teachers, farmers, mechanics, etc. Ardent spirits were excluded. The right to hunt, fish, gather roots and berries, and pasture stock on vacant land was secured, and provision was made for ultimately allotting the land in severalty. An annuity of $500 for twenty years was given the head chief, and a house was to be built for him, and ten acres of land fenced and broken up the first year. At the special request of the Indians, the claim and homestead of William Craig (near Lewiston) was confirmed to him, and was not to be considered part of the reservation, although within its boundaries."

Besides Lawyer and Looking Glass, fifty-six sub-chiefs signed the Nez Perce treaty. Of these was Joseph, father of the younger Joseph, who, twenty-two years later, was to become famous as leader of the warring Nez Perces and fight a brilliant running battle, over a long and devious trail, baffling again and again Generals Howard and Gibbon, and inflicting heavy losses on the regulars engaged in that memorable campaign of 1877.

Eight hundred square miles were embraced in the Umatilla reservation. The treaty carried $100,000 in annuities, $50,000 for improvements, $10,000 for moving the immigrant road, and provisions for a saw and a grist mill, two schoolhouses, a blacksmith shop, wagon and plough-making shop, carpenter and joiner shop, tools and equipments. For instruction, teachers, farmers and mechanics were provided for twenty years. The head chief received the same allowance as in the Nez Perce treaty, and Pu-pu-mox-mox was granted the privilege of conducting a trading post at the mouth of the Yakima, and received besides three yoke of oxen and liberal stores of agricultural machinery and farm implements. The canny old chief had certainly driven a hard bargain. This treaty was signed by three head-chiefs and thirty-two sub-chiefs.

The Yakima treaty carried the same general provisions as the Nez Perce and Umatilla agreements. In addition to their large reservation in the Yakima country, they were given a smaller one on the Wenatchee, where they had a fishery. The payments carried $200,000 in annuities, $60,000 for improving the reservations, and allowances for instruction, etc., similar to those in the other treaties.

CHAPTER XX

NEGOTIATING THE FLATHEAD TREATY IN MONTANA

WALLA WALLA COUNCIL BREAKS UP—TRAILS FILLED WITH WILD AND PICTURESQUE CAVALCADES—GIFTS FOR THE SPOKANES—STRIKING BORDER CHARACTERS—PEARSON THE EXPRESS RIDER—STEVENS' LITTLE PARTY MOVES EASTWARD ACROSS THE INLAND EMPIRE—GREAT COUNCIL ON THE HELLGATE—GOVERNOR STEVENS EXPLAINS THE TREATIES—MORE INDIAN ORATORY—CUTTING THE GORDIAN KNOT—"EVERY MAN PLEASED AND EVERY MAN SATISFIED."

SCENES of extraordinary bustle and seeming confusion succeeded the termination of the council. A great village of more than 5,000 people was quickly demolished and as quickly passed from view. Lodges were lowered, the scattered herds were rounded up, and decked in their gorgeous and resplendent gifts of scarlet blankets and gaily figured calicoes, the assembled tribes scattered to every point of the compass. They "filled all the trails leading out of the valley with their wild and picturesque cavalcades."

Next in order now was the holding of other great councils with the Flatheads and neighboring tribes, the Spokanes, and the warlike Blackfeet in the buffalo country east of the Rocky mountains. As the territory of Washington joined then the territory of Nebraska, Alfred Cumming, superintendent of Indian affairs for Nebraska, had been appointed as one of three commissioners to negotiate the Blackfoot treaty. General Palmer of Oregon had been named as the third, but his territory having at most, only remote association with the far eastern tribes, he declined the appointment, and with the Oregon officers left for the Willamette valley.

As Stevens intended to negotiate a separate treaty with the Spokanes, on his return from the Blackfoot council, A. J. Bolon, Indian agent of the Yakimas, was despatched with a small party to old Fort Walla Walla on the Columbia, with goods intended for the Spokanes, there to be stored for safe-keeping. He was next to visit and inspect the Yakima reservation, and after that proceed to The Dalles, bring the Nez Perce goods to Walla Walla, where he was to load up with the Spokane goods and pack them to Antoine Plant's ranch on the Spokane river, preparatory to the governor's council on his return from the country of the Blackfeet.

"It was a beautiful sunny June morning, the 16th," says Hazard Stevens, "when the little train drew out from the deserted council ground and took its way in single file across the level valley prairie, covered with luxuriant bunch-grass

and vivid-hued flowers. A large, fine-looking Coeur d'Alene Indian named Joseph, led the way as guide; then rode the governor with his son, Secretary Doty, Agent Lansdale, and Gustave Schon, the artist, barometer carrier and observer; then came Packmaster Higgins, followed by the train of eleven packers and two cooks, and forty-one sleek, long-eared pack-mules, each bearing a burden of 200 pounds, the men interspersed with the mules to keep them moving on the trail; while seventeen loose animals, in a disorderly bunch, driven by a couple of herders, brought up in the rear. It was a picked force, both men and animals, and made up in efficiency for scanty numbers.

"The artist, Gustave Schon, a soldier of the Fourth infantry, detailed for the trip, was an intelligent German, a clever sketcher, and competent to take instrumental observations.

"Higgins, ex-orderly sergeant of dragoons, a tall, broad-shouldered, spare, sinewy man, a fine swordsman and drillmaster, a scientific boxer, was a man of unusual firmness, intelligence, and good judgment, and quiet, gentlemanly manners, and held the implicit respect, obedience and good will of his subordinates. He afterwards became the founder, banker and first citizen of the flourishing town of Missoula, at Hellgate in the Bitter Root valley.

"A. H. Robie worked up from the ranks, married a daughter of Craig, and settled at Boise City, Idaho, where he achieved a highly prosperous and respected career.

"Sidney Ford, a son of Judge Ford, was a handsome, stalwart young Saxon in appearance, broad-shouldered, sensible, capable, and kindly. The others were all men of experience on the plains and mountains, brave and true. By all odds the most skilful and picturesque of these mountain men, and having the most varied and romantic history, was Delaware Jim, whose father was a Delaware chief and his mother a white woman, and who had spent a lifetime—for he was now past middle age—in hunting and traveling over all parts of the country, from the Mississippi to the Pacific, meeting with many thrilling adventures and hair-breadth escapes.

"Many of the men were clad in buckskin moccasins, breeches and fringed hunting shirts; others in rough, serviceable woolen garb, stout boots and wide slouch hats. All carried navy revolvers and keen bowie knives, and many in addition bore the long, heavy, small-bored Kentucky rifle, which they fired with great deliberation and unerring skill.

"One of the most remarkable men connected with the expedition was the express rider, W. H. Pearson. A native of Philadelphia, of small but well knit frame, with muscles of steel, and spirit and endurance that no exertion apparently could break down, waving, chestnut hair, high forehead, a refined, intelligent and pleasant face, the manners and bearing of a gentleman—such was Pearson."

In one of his official reports Governor Stevens pays cordial tribute to this splendid border character: "Hardy, bold, intelligent and resolute, having a great diversity of experience, which had made him acquainted with all the relations between Indians and white men from the borders of Texas to the forty-ninth parallel, and which enabled him to know best how to move, whether under southern tropics or the winter snows of the north, I suppose there has scarcely ever

been any man in the service of the government who excelled Pearson as an expressman."

Taking the Nez Perce trail, the party moved leisurely up through the Walla Walla valley into the Palouse country, camped one night on Hangman creek south of the falls of the Spokane, passed thence into the Coeur d'Alenes, and moving up the Coeur d'Alene river, by way of the Catholic mission, retraced the governor's route of 1853, and crossing the summit of the Bitter Root mountains on July 1, descended the St. Regis de Borgia, and came to the Bitter Root river on July 3.

While encamped on Hangman creek, Governor Stevens was visited by the Palouse chief Slah-yot-see and thirty braves, the chief complaining because no goods had been given him at the Walla Walla council. The governor promptly met his whining with this terse reply:

"Slah-yot-see, you went away before the council was ended. Koh-lat-toose remained and signed the treaty. He was recognized as the head chief of the Palouses, and to him the goods were given to be distributed among his tribe as he and the principal men should determine. I have brought no goods to give you. Go to Koh-lat-toose. He is the chief, and it is from him you must obtain your share of the presents. Had you remained until the council terminated, you would have had a voice in the distribution of the goods. Kamiaken, your head chief, signed the treaty, and said that he should bring the Palouses into the Yakima country, where they properly belonged."

The crossing of the Bitter Root river was safely effected on July 4, although the stream was then at its torrential stage. Moving eastward, the party was met on the 7th by 300 chiefs and warriors of the Flathead, Pend d'Oreille and Kootenay tribes, and with a rattling discharge of musketry were conducted to their encampment near the Hellgate river. After a pleasant conference of several hours, the governor's party established camp on the main river, a mile distant from the Indian rendezvous. That afternoon three head chiefs—Victor of the Flatheads, Alexander of the Pend d'Oreilles, and Michelle of the Kootenays, along with several sub-chiefs, visited the governor, and after the peace pipe had been duly smoked, were addressed by him in his usual opening vein. He spoke of the recent council at Walla Walla, and proposed the following Monday as opening day for their council.

"The Flatheads or Salish," says Hazard Stevens, "including the Pend d'Oreilles and Kootenays, were among those who had been driven westward by the Blackfeet, and now occupied the pleasant valleys of the mountains. They were noted for their intelligence, honesty and bravery, and although of medium stature and inferior in physique to the brawny Blackfeet, never hesitated to attack them if the odds were not greater than five to one. Having been supplied by the early fur-traders with firearms, which enabled them to make a stand against their out-numbering foe, they had always been the firm friends of the whites, and like the Nez Perces, often hunted with the mountain men and entertained them in their lodges. A number of Iroquois hunters and half-breeds had joined and intermarried with them. (These Iroquois had been brought into this country by the old Northwest Fur company, as *voyageurs* or boatmen, in which occupation they generally excelled all others.) The Bitter Root valley was the seat of the Flatheads proper. The Pend d'Oreilles lived lower down the river, or northward in two

bands—the Upper Pend d'Oreilles on the Horse plains and Jocko prairies, and the lower Pend d'Oreilles on Clark's fork, below the lake of their name, and were canoe Indians, owning few horses. The Kootenays lived about the Flathead river and lake. All these, except the Lower Pend d'Oreilles, went to buffalo, and their hunting trips were spiced with the constant peril and excitement of frequent skirmishes with their hereditary enemies. The Jesuits, in 1843, established a mission among the Lower Pend d'Oreilles, but in 1854 moved to the Flathead river, near the mouth of the Jocko. They also started a mission among the Flatheads in the Bitter Root valley, forty miles above Hellgate, where they founded the beautiful village of St. Mary, amid charming scenery; but the incessant raids of the Blackfeet were surely but slowly 'wiping out' these brave and interesting Indians, and the mission was abandoned in 1850 as too much exposed. The Owen Brothers then started a trading post at this point, which they named Fort Owen; and fourteen miles above it Lieutenant Mullan built his winter camp in 1853, known as Cantonment Stevens, which has been succeeded by the town of Stevensville."

At the opening session of the council, Monday, July 9, Governor Stevens made a long speech in which he pointed out the superior advantages of civilization, their need of the protecting arm of the Great Father to stop the incessant and decimating wars with the Blackfeet, and the detailed terms and advantages proposed by the government. But while the Indians were most friendly in spirit, and willing and even eager to follow the white man's way, they shrank from the requirement of the proposed treaty which compelled them all to go upon the same reservation. But to the governor this requirement seemed advisable and beneficial, since all three tribes belonged to the common Salish family, speaking the same language and being closely intermarried and otherwise allied. He therefore offered to segregate a tract for them either in the upper Bitter Root valley in Victor's country, or the Horse plains and Jocko river in the Pend d'Oreille territory.

When the governor had finished, the chiefs, one by one, voiced either their open opposition or expressed emphatic reluctance to the adoption of this plan. Big Canoe, a Pend d'Oreille chief, objected to relinquishing any part of his territory, but thought the whites and Indians could continue to dwell together without treaties or reservations. In his speech, as translated by the interpreters, he said:

"Talk about treaty, when did I kill you? When did you kill me? What is the reason we are talking about treaties? We are friends. We never spilt the blood of one of you. I never saw your blood. I want my country. I thought no one would ever want to talk about my country. Now you talk, you white men. Now that I have heard, I wish the whites to stop coming. Perhaps you will put me in a trap, if I do not listen to you, white chiefs. It is our land, both of us. If you make a farm, I would not go there and pull up your crops. I would not drive you away from it. If I were to go to your country and say, 'Give me a little piece,' I wonder would you say, 'Here, take it.' I expect that is the same way you want me to do here. I am very poor. This is all the small piece I have got. I am not going to let it go. I did not come to make trouble; therefore I would say, I am very poor.

"It is two winters since you passed here. Every year since my horses have

gone to the Blackfeet. Here this spring the Blackfeet put my daughter on foot. She packed her goods on her back. It made me feel bad. I was going on a war party as your express passed along. Then I think of what I heard from you, my father, and take my heart back and keep quiet. If I had not listened to your express, I should have gone on war parties over yonder. We drove one band of horses from the Blackfeet. I talked about it to my Indians. I said, 'Give the horses back, my children.' My chief took them back. You talked about it strong, my father. My chief took them back. That is the way we act. When I found my children were going on war parties, I would tell them to stop, be quiet. Tell them I expect now we will see the chief. I expect he will talk to the Blackfeet again."

Governor Stevens: "I will ask you, my children, if you fully understand all that was said yesterday? I ask you now, can you all agree to live on one reservation? I ask Victor, are you willing to go on the same reservation with the Pend d'Oreilles and Kootenays? I ask Alexander, are you willing to go on the same reservation with the Flatheads and Kootenays. I ask Michelle, are you willing to go on the same reservation with the Flatheads and Pend d'Oreilles? What do you, Victor, Alexander and Michelle, think? You are the head-chiefs; I want you to speak."

Victor: "I am willing to go on one reservation, but I do not want to go over yonder" (the Pend d'Oreille country).

Alexander: "It is good for us all to stop in one place."

Michelle: "I am with Alexander."

Governor Stevens: "The Pend d'Oreilles and Kootenays think it well to have all these tribes together. Perhaps Victor might think so by and by, if the place suits. Alexander and Michelle wish to live together, their people in one place; they have a thousand people, the land ought to be good. Each man wants his field; the climate ought to be mild.

"I ask Victor, Alexander and Michelle to think it over. Will they go to the valley with Victor, or to the mission with Alexander and Michelle? I do not care which. You will have your priests with you, whether you go to the mission or Fort Owen. Those who want the priest can have him. The Great Father means that every one shall do as he pleases in regard to receiving the instructions of the priests."

Next day's council brought no change of mind, Victor refusing to move to the mission, Alexander declining to go to the valley; neither objecting to the other coming to his place. To overcome this deadlock, Governor Stevens proposed a holiday and feast, and used the delay to send for Father Hoecken to investigate a rumor that the priests were exerting an adverse influence on the negotiations. Father Hoecken arrived before the conclusion of the council and quickly convinced the governor of the falsity of the rumor. He expressed complete approval of the treaty, and on its conclusion signed the instrument as one of the witnesses.

Twelve hundred Indians were now encamped on the treaty grounds, and for their pleasure on the day of the feast two beeves, coffee, sugar, flour and other provisions were supplied them. After the feast the Indians counseled among themselves respecting the treaty.

But at next day's council the deadlock seemed as unbroken as ever. Victor

refused to speak, declaring that he had not yet made up his mind. At this point the governor adopted a taunting tone:

"Does Victor want to treat?" he asked. "Is he, as one of his people has called him, an old woman? Dumb as a dog. If Victor is a chief, let him speak now."

To escape Stevens' adroit pressure, Victor abruptly left the council and went to his lodge. The next day he sent word that his mind was not yet made up, and the governor adjourned the council to Monday, when Victor, manifestly to "save his face" before the governor and his own people, brought forward a compromise arrangement. He proposed that the two tracts under consideration should be carefully surveyed and examined by Governor Stevens, and the one found best should be chosen for the reservation.

Alexander and Michelle persisting in their decision the governor cut the Gordian knot by accepting Victor's plan so far as it concerned him and his people and giving the others the reservation around the mission.

"My children (he said) Victor has made his proposition. Alexander and Michelle have made theirs. We will make a treaty for them. Both tracts shall be surveyed. 'If the mission is the best land, Victor shall live there. If the valley is the best land, Victor shall stay there. Alexander and Michelle may stay at the mission."

The three head-chiefs then signed the treaties, but Moses, a sub-chief of the Flatheads, would not sign.

"My brother is buried here," he protested. "I did not think you would take the only piece of ground I had. Here are three fellows (the head-chiefs); they say, 'Get on your horses and go.' Last year when you were talking about the Blackfeet you were joking."

Governor Stevens: "How can Moses say, I am not going to the Blackfoot country? I have gone all the way to the Great Father to arrange about the Blackfoot council. What more can I do? A man is coming from the Great Father to meet me. Does Moses not know that Mr. Burr and another man went to Fort Benton the other day?"

With fine imagery Moses rejoined: "You have pulled all my wings off and then let me down."

Governor Stevens: "All that we have done is for your benefit. I have said that the Flatheads were brave and honest and should be protected. Be patient. Everything will come right."

Moses: "I do not know how it will be straight. A few days ago the Blackfeet stole horses at Salmon river."

Governor Stevens, to the interpreter: "Ask him if he sees the Nez Perce chief Eagle-from-the-Light; he is going to the Blackfoot council with me."

Moses: "Yes, I see him; they will get his hair. The Blackfeet are not like these people; they are all drunk."

When the influenital men had signed, Governor Stevens said:

"Here are three papers which you have signed, copies of the same treaty. One goes to the President, one I place in the hands of the head-chief, and one I keep myself. Everything that has been said here goes to the President. I have now a

few presents for you. They are simply a gift, no part of the payments. The payments can not be made until we hear from the President next year."

After a council protracted for eight days, success crowned the governor's labors. "Every man pleased and every man satisfied," as he expressed it.

This reservation, which was opened to white settlement in 1909, embraced 1,250,000 acres. The treaty carried $84,000 in annuity goods, $36,000 to improve the reservation; salaries of $500 a year for twenty years, with a house and ten acres fenced and ploughed, to the three head-chiefs; schools, mills, hospitals, shops; teachers and mechanics for twenty years; the right to fish, hunt, gather roots and berries, and pasture stock on vacant land outside the reservation. The three tribes were to constitute one nation, under the head chieftainship of Victor, to be called the Flathead nation. Father Hoecken, R. H. Lansdale, W. H. Trappan, R. H. Crosby and William Craig witnessed the treaty. About 20,000 square miles were ceded. The treaty grounds were adjacent to the present thriving and progressive city of Missoula.

"This is not the place," says Governor Stevens in his narrative of 1855, "to go into the details of the Flathead treaty." With calm confidence in the judgment of history and the unbiased verdict of posterity, the governor adds: "I trust the time will come when my treaty operations of 1855—the most extensive operations ever undertaken and carried out in these latter days of our history—I repeat, I trust the time will come when I shall be able to vindicate them, and show that they were wise and proper, and that they accomplished a great end. They have been very much criticised and very much abused; but I have always felt that history will do these operations justice. I have not been impatient as to time, but have been willing that my vindication should come at the end of a term of years. Let short-minded men denounce and criticise ignorantly and injuriously, and let time show that the government made no mistake in the man whom it placed in the great field of duty as its commissioner to make treaties with the Indian tribes."

CHAPTER XXI

PEACE COUNCIL WITH THE WARLIKE BLACKFEET

COURIERS SUMMON NUMEROUS TRIBES—GREAT COUNCIL AT MOUTH OF THE JUDITH—NEBRASKA'S COMMISSIONER PROCRASTINATES—STEVENS' OPENING ADDRESS—TREATY NEGOTIATED AFTER THREE DAY CONFERENCE—COATS AND MEDALS GIVEN TO THE CHIEFS—GERMAN SONGS ROLL ACROSS THE MISSOURI—HOMERIC FEAST OF BUFFALO RIBS AND FLAPJACKS—LISTENING TO THRILLING TALES OF TRAPPER DAYS.

BREAKING camp at the conclusion of the Flathead council, Governor Stevens and party hastened eastward for the great peace council with the Blackfeet. Fort Benton, head of navigation on the Missouri, was the appointed rendezvous, where his party were to meet Colonel Alfred Cumming, Indian superintendent for Nebraska territory, who had been designated by the government as the other commissioner to negotiate this treaty. Under plans carefully worked out by Stevens, Cumming was to ascend the Missouri by steamboat, bringing with him the necessary goods and provisions for the council; but Cumming, who was amazingly pompous, petulant and inefficient, had proceeded so dilatorily that he himself at one time despaired of getting on the ground that season, and proposed that the government postpone the council to the following year.

Officials at Washington realized that this course would never do; that Governor Stevens, with great difficulty, having notified numerous tribes and bands ranging over a vast extent of country, that the council would be held late in the summer of 1855, failure to carry out these arrangements would be taken by the Indians as a manifestation of broken faith; the council must be held. Cumming was thereupon admonished to go forward with the original plans, but his disregard of Governor Stevens' recommendations involved him in additional delays, and when Stevens and party arrived at Benton, they met the disappointing news that Cumming and all the goods and provisions were far down the Missouri; that the Nebraska official had prematurely unloaded the steamer, and was trying to cordelle the freight up the swift current of the upper Missouri in small boats.

Stevens sent out couriers in all directions, advising the various bands that the council could not be held at the designated date, and asking them to hold their people in readiness for a later summons. Chafing under these delays and disappointments, foreseeing that the Indians could not be held indefinitely as they must shift their camps with the erratic movements of the buffalo, and were in danger of passing beyond call, the governor decided to change the council ground from Fort Benton to the mouth of the Judith, farther down the Missouri, and thus eliminate

the delay involved in cordelling the merchandise and provisions over that long and difficult reach of the river.

"Had the goods arrived at any time during this waiting period," says Hazard Stevens, "not less than 12,000 Indians would have attended the council, comprising 10,000 Blackfeet, 1,100 Nez Perces, 700 Flatheads and Pend d'Oreilles and 400 Snakes, the western Indians numbering 2,200." When the council finally assembled, October 16, only 3,500 Indians were in attendance. The double purpose of the proposed treaty was to establish an enduring peace between the Blackfeet and the tribes living west of them, and locate the former upon a reservation. In his opening speech the governor said:

"My children, my heart is glad today. I see Indians east of the mountains and Indians west of the mountains sitting here as friends—Bloods, Blackfeet, Piegans, Gros Ventres; and Nez Perces, Kootenays, Pend d'Oreilles, Flatheads; and we have the Cree chief sitting down here from the north and east, and Snakes farther from the west. There is peace now here between you all present. We want peace also with absent tribes, with the Crees and Assiniboines, with the Snakes, and yes, even with the Crows. You have all sent your message to the Crows, telling them you would meet them in friendship here. The Crows were far, and could not be present, but we expect you to promise to be friends with the Crows. . . .

"I shall say nothing about peace with the white man. No white man enters a Blackfoot or a western Indian's lodge without being treated to the very best. Peace already prevails. We trust such will continue to be the case forever. We have been traveling over your whole country, both to the east and west of the mountains, in small parties, ranging away north to Bow river, and south to the Yellowstone. We have kept no guard. We have not tied up our horses. All has been safe. Therefore I say, peace has been, is now and will continue, between these Indians and the white man."

The treaty was then read, the governor explaining its terms, sentence by sentence. Speeches by all the chiefs followed, extolling the advantages of peace and manifesting the best of feeling. On the third day the treaty was negotiated and signed by all the attending chiefs and head men. Three days more were given up to the distribution of presents, including coats and medals to the chiefs, with appropriate speeches by the two commissioners, exhorting them to respect their pledges to the Great Father and control their young braves in the interest of enduring peace. The personnel of the officers was: Isaac I. Stevens and Alfred Cumming, commissioners; James Doty, secretary; Thomas Adams and A. J. Vaughn, reporters. The interpreters were: James Bird, A. Culbertson and M. Roche for the Blackfeet; Benjamin Kiser and G. Schon, for the Flatheads; William Craig and Delaware Jim, for the Nez Perces.

"The treaty was much more than a treaty of peace as far as the Blackfeet were concerned," comments Hazard Stevens, "for it gave them schools, farms, agricultural implements, etc., an agent, and annuities of $35,000 for ten years, of which $15,000 was devoted to educating them in agriculture and to teaching the children. It contained the usual provision prohibiting intoxicating liquor. The extensive region between the Missouri and the Yellowstone was made the common hunting ground of all the tribes. All agreed to maintain peace with each other, including those tribes that were unable to be present, the Crows, Crees, Assiniboines and

Snakes. The treaty was made obligatory on the Indians from their signing it, and on the United States from its ratification, which occurred the next spring, and it was duly proclaimed by the president on April 25, 1856.

"The peace made at this council was observed with gratifying fidelity in the main. The Blackfeet ceased their incessant and bloody raids, and met their former enemies on friendly terms upon the common hunting grounds. Within a few years, in 1862-63, large white settlements sprang up on the headwaters of the Missouri, but they were spared the horrors and sufferings of Indian warfare with so powerful a tribe, largely in consequence of this treaty. The council, which Governor Stevens planned and carried out with such foresight, sagacity and indefatigable exertions during two years, bore fruit at last in the perpetual peace he hoped for and predicted. Few treaties with Indians have been so well observed by them as this by the 'bloodthirsty' Blackfeet. They took no part in the great Sioux wars, nor in the outbreak of Joseph. They were afterwards gathered together on a large reservation, including the country about the Sun river, where the governor proposed to establish their farms."

A pleasing description of the council ground has been recorded by the same author, who, as a boy of 13 accompanied his father and witnessed the savage and barbaric council. It was "a wide, level plain, covered with a noble grove of huge cottonwoods. It was on the left bank of the Missouri, nearly opposite but below the mouth of the Judith. This stream was also bordered by broad bottoms, which were covered wih large sage-brush, and fairly swarming with deer. The governor's camp was pitched under the lofty cottonwoods, and lower down was the camp of the crew of men who had dragged the boats up the river. They were a hundred strong, mostly Germans, having many fine voices among them, and were fond of spending the evenings in singing. The effect of their grand choruses, pealing forth over the river and resounding among the lofty trees, was magnificent.

"In the governor's camp an unusually large Indian lodge—a great cone of poles covered with dressed and smoke-stained buffalo skins—was erected and used as an office tent, where the records were copied and smaller conferences held. Every night between eleven and twelve, when the work of the day was concluded, the governor would call in the gentlemen of the party, a few chiefs, and some of the interpreters, and have a real Homeric feast of buffalo ribs, flapjacks with melted sugar, and hot coffee. Whole sides of ribs would be brought in, smoking hot from the fire, and passed around, and each guest would cut off a rib for himself with his hunting knife, and sit there holding the huge dainty, three feet long, and tearing off the juicy and delicious meat with teeth and knife, principally the former. No description can convey an idea of the hearty zest and relish and enjoyment, or the keen appetites, with which they met at these hospitable repasts, and recounted the varied adventures and experiences of their recent trips, or listened as Craig, Delaware Jim, or Ben Kiser related some thrilling tale of trapper days, or desperate fight with Indian or grizzly bear."

A far cry this may seem from the night-lighted streets of Spokane, with their flaring electric signs, swift-passing automobiles, and pleasure-seeking throngs; but these nomadic scenes in Walla Walla vale, and by Missoula's flowing waters, and on the distant plains where mingle the Judith and the Missouri, required their setting and their shifting, seven and fifty years ago, else had there been no peace with In-

dian tribes, no settlement by daring and adventurous pioneers, no turning of the soil to farm and garden, or felling of the forest monarchs; no rocking out of millions in placer gold or delving deep for hidden treasures of mineral vein and chamber. And without these antedating achievements, where now could be the beautiful, the substantial empress city of the Inland Empire?

CHAPTER XXII

TRIBES OF INTERIOR TAKE TO THE WARPATH

NEWS TO SHAKE THE STOUTEST HEART—GOVERNOR CUT OFF FROM OLYMPIA—PEARSON'S DESPERATE RIDE THROUGH HOSTILE COUNTRY—STEVENS ADVISED TO DESCEND THE MISSOURI AND RETURN BY SEA—REJECTS THAT COUNSEL AND BOLDLY RETURNS BY DIRECT ROUTE—CROSSES BITTER ROOTS IN THREE FEET OF SNOW—STARTLES INDIANS BY SUDDEN APPEARANCE IN COEUR D'ALENES—FORCED MARCH TO THE SPOKANE—MEETS MINERS FROM COLVILLE COUNTRY—STORMY COUNCIL WITH SPOKANES—GARRY VACILLATES—STEVENS BLAMED FOR YAKIMAS OUTBREAK—SPOKANES CONCILIATED—"SPOKANE INVINCIBLES" ORGANIZED AS MILITIA COMPANY—NEZ PERCES GIVE GOVERNOR AN ARMED ESCORT—HOSTILES ROUTED BY OREGON VOLUNTEERS—STEVENS RETURNS SAFELY TO OLYMPIA.

"It is vain for the coward to flee; death follows close behind; it is only by defying it that the brave escape."—*Voltaire.*

IN BUOYANT spirits, with no premonition of impending peril, Governor Stevens and party left the Blackfoot council ground. "Everything had succeeded to our entire satisfaction, and, indeed, beyond our most sanguine expectations," the governor reported. "The greatest delight and good will seemed to pervade the minds of all the Indians, and we left them at the mouth of the Judith on our way to Fort Benton, and proceeded thence to the waters of the Pacific, rejoiced that our labors had had such a consummation."

Packing up, the little party of twenty-four faced westward on October 24, reached Fort Benton the next day, and after a two day pause there, preparing for the long homeward journey, left Benton October 28. On the evening of the twenty-ninth, while in camp on the Teton, the evening meal dispatched and the men assembled around the campfire, a horseman was seen approaching in the gathering twilight. It was the daring express rider, W. H. Pearson, bearing news calculated to shake the stoutest heart. He had ridden desperately and long, and as his exhausted mount staggered into the firelight, it was seen, from Pearson's wild, emaciated and haggard appearance, that he had passed through some ordeal of a trying nature. Eager arms lifted him from the saddle, friendly hands ministered to the fainting man with warmth and food; and he then delivered his dispatches and a made a report that, for a moment, struck consternation to that little band on desert plains a thousand miles from home.

"The great tribes of the upper Columbia country, the Cayuses, Yakimas, Walla

Wallas, Umatillas, Palouses and all the Oregon bands down to The Dalles, the very ones who had signed the treaties at the Walla Walla council and professed such friendship, had all broken out in open war," says Stevens' biographer. "They had swept the upper country clean of whites, killing all the settlers and miners found there, and murdered Agent Bolon under circumstances of peculiar atrocity. Major Haller, sent into the Yakima country with a hundred regulars and a howitzer, had been defeated and forced to retreat by Kamiaken's warriors, with the loss of a third of his force and his cannon. The Indians west of the Cascades had also risen simultaneously, and laid waste the settlements on Puget Sound and in Oregon, showing that a widespread conspiracy prevailed. The Spokanes and Coeur d'Alenes were hostile, or soon would become hostile under the spur and taunts of the young Cayuse and Yakima warriors sent among them to stir them up, and even some of the Nez Perces were disaffected. A thousand well armed and brave hostile warriors under Kamiaken, Pu-pu-mox-mox, Young Chief and Five Crows, were gathered in the Walla Walla valley, waiting to 'wipe out' the party on its return; squads of young braves were visiting the Nez Perces, Spokanes and Coeur d'Alenes, vaunting their victories, displaying fresh gory scalps, and using every effort to cajole or force them into hostility to the whites.

"The daring expressman's story of how he ran the gantlet of the hostile tribes with the dispatches and information upon which depended the lives of the party, heightened the impression made by his wretched appearance and doleful tidings."

He had left The Dalles on his return trip, fresh and well mounted, and riding all day and night, reached Billy McKay's ranch on the Umatilla at daylight. The place was deserted. Lassoing a fresh mount, he saw a band of hostiles, racing down the hills towards the valley, and as he sprang into the saddle, they gave fierce yells and cries of "Kill the white man! Kill the white man!" They pursued him for many miles, but he slowly drew away, and at nightfall turned off the trail at right angles, rode for several miles, and then took a course parallel with the regular route. Riding in this strategic manner, resting a few hours in secluded covert, and seeking unusual fords, he reached Lapwai, and after a day's rest, pushed on over the Bitter Root mountains. A blinding snowstorm beset him, a tree fell and crushed his Nez Perce companion, and the trail was buried under several feet of new-fallen snow. Unable to travel further on horseback, Pearson improvised snowshoes, cutting the frames with his knife, and weaving the webs with strands of his rawhide lariat; and packing blankets and a little dried meat upon his back, pushed over the snow-buried heights, and after four days of this desperate travel, descended into the Bitter Root valley, near Fort Owen, where rest, a fresh mount and friendly greetings awaited him. Three days more, and he was in Stevens' camp on the Teton.

"He brought me letters from official sources (so runs the governor's record), stating that my only chance of safety was to go down the Missouri and return to the western coast by the way of New York;" but the governor's "determination was fixed and unalterable that an attempt should be made to reach the settlements by the direct route, and that all dangers on the road should be sternly confronted." Secretary Doty was sent back to Fort Benton for a large quantity of powder and ball, additional arms and additional animals, and these procured, the governor

decided to hasten homeward at express speed. Pushing on to Hellgate, he purchased every good mule and horse that he could get in the valley.

"The question was, what should be our route home," says Stevens. "It was important, it seemed to me, to our success, that we should be able to cross the mountains and throw ourselves into the nearest tribes, without their having the slightest notice of our coming. I felt a strong assurance that if I could bring this about, I could handle enough tribes and conciliate the friendship of enough Indians to be sufficiently strong to defy the rest. There would certainly be no difficulty from the snow down Clark's fork (and through the Spokane valley), but it was known that the Upper and Lower Pend d'Oreille Indians were along the road, and no party could travel over it without its approach being communicated to the Indians; whereas Indian report had it that the Coeur d'Alene pass was blocked up with snow at this season of the year, and I felt satisfied that they would not expect us on this route, and therefore I determined to move over it. It was the shorter route of the two; it was a route where I desired to make additional examinations; it was a route which enabled me to creep up, as it were, to the first Indian tribe, and then, moving rapidly, to jump upon them without their having time for preparation. I knew that Kamiaken and Pu-pu-mox-mox had sent a body of warriors to cut off my party; and that we had to guard against falling into an ambush, but an Indian has not patience to wait many days for such a purpose, and I thought, looking to all these things, that the line of safety was to move over the Coeur d'Alene pass."

Notwithstanding the members of the party, almost without exception, looked upon this plan as most desperate, still they maintained a cheerful spirit, obeyed every order with alacrity, "and enjoyed themselves very much in the evening camp."

In three feet of snow they crossed the Bitter Root mountains November 20, and moving down the headwaters of the Coeur d'Alene river the following day, came to good grass, with fine water, affording excellent range for the exhausted animals. Here a day was taken for needed recuperation. "From the appearance of all that surrounded us," reported Stevens, "I was satisfied that there were no Indian runners on the lookout for us."

When within twenty-five miles of the Catholic mission, the governor, deeming it impracticable to take the whole train in in one day without breaking down the horses, took Pearson, Craig and four Nez Perces, and starting at daylight, pushed rapidly into the mission, "throwing ourselves into the midst of the Indians, and, with our rifles in one hand, and our arms outstretched on the other side, we tendered to them both the sword and the olive branch. They met us very cordially," says the governor's narrative,* "every Indian left his lodge and gathered around us. I had told the four Nez Perces, 'When you reach the Coeur d'Alenes, talk to them Blackfoot; tell them about our great council and treaty at Fort Benton; tell them that they can hunt buffalo without being disturbed by their hereditary enemies, the Blackfeet; tell them that the lion and the lamb have lain down together; get their minds off their troubles here, and turn them to other subjects in which they take an interest.' It is enough for me to say that we established the most cordial relations with the Coeur d'Alenes. We found that the emissaries of the Yakimas

* By the Indians Stevens was called the Hyas Tyee Skookum Tum-Tum, the "Big Chief with the Strong Heart."

had only left that point some four or five days, having despaired of our crossing the mountains."

The train arrived the next day, and Stevens determined to push on to the Spokane river, having sent forward from the mission Craig and a part of the Nez Perces, to bring a large delegation of the latter tribe into the proposed council with the Spokanes, and to arrange for a friendly Nez Perce escort through the hostile country and on to the military post at The Dalles.

"Moving from the Coeur d'Alene mission on the 27th day of November," continues the narrative, "I made our first camp at the Wolf's lodge, some nineteen miles from it, and the next day made a forced march, moving forty miles to the Spokane country. We met Polatkin, one of the principal chiefs of the Spokanes, on our way, and were at Antoine Plant's before dark."

This Antoine Plant, the reader will recall, had served as guide between the Spokane country and the Blackfoot treaty grounds. He was a French Canadian, with one-fourth Blackfoot blood in his veins, but cherished a cordial hatred for his mother's tribe, and when Governor Stevens sought his services as a guide, had eagerly laid aside the pleasures of his peaceful life on the Spokane, and his eye kindled at the prospect of going once more into the land of the warlike and predatory Blackfeet, where, in his more youthful days, he had taken part in numerous battles. Antoine kept a small trading post at a ford on the Spokane river below the site that afterwards became historic as Cowley's bridge. When on the march he had a cheery habit of rousing the encampment at daybreak with a warwhoop. He had been a *voyageur* under the régime of the Hudson's Bay company, but having retired from that service, had settled down to a semi-savage life in the pleasant valley of the Spokane.

Here the governor found a number of miners from the Colville country. Stevens never neglected to strike when the iron was hot. Before midnight he had Indian messengers on the trails, to the Lower Spokanes, to the Colville Indians, and thence on to the Okanogans, and to the Lower Pend d'Oreilles, asking them to meet him in council. Angus McDonald, in charge of the Hudson's Bay post at Colville, and the Jesuit fathers from the mission there, were also invited to visit him in his camp. "We remained on the Spokane nine days," says the governor, "and I had there one of the most stormy councils for three days that ever occurred in my whole Indian experience; yet having gone there with the most anxious desire to prevent their entering into the war, but with a firm determination to tell them plainly and candidly the truth, I succeeded both in convincing them of the facts and gaining their entire confidence. At this council were all the chiefs and people of the Coeur d'Alenes and the Spokanes—the very tribes who defeated Steptoe the past season, the very tribes who have met our troops since in two pitched battles; and I feel that I can, without impropriety refer to the success of my labors among these Indians, backed up simply with a little party of twenty-four men. When our council was adjourned, the Indians gave the best test of their friendship and affection, by each one coming to lay before me his little wrongs and ask redress. They come in a body and offered me a force to help me through the hostilities of Walla Walla valley and on the banks of the Columbia, which I declined, saying that I came not among the Spokanes for their aid, but to protect them as their father."

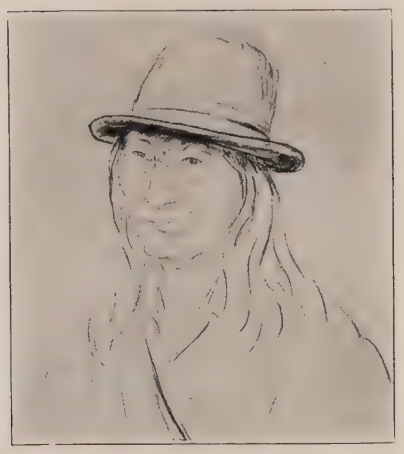
Garry and a party of Coeur d'Alene chiefs and influential men arrived at the

LOOKING GLASS

War Chief of the Nez Perces

OW-HI

A Chief of the Yakimas

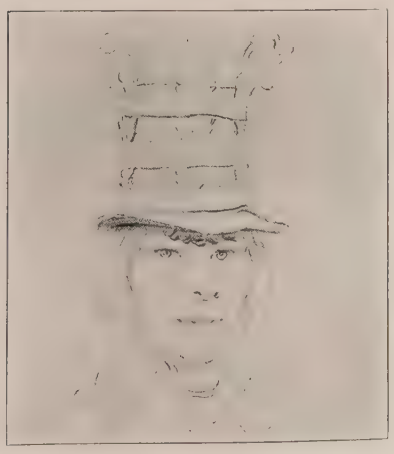


PU-PU-MOX-MOX, OR
YELLOW SERPENT

Head Chief of the Walla Wallas

THE YOUNG CHIEF

Head Chief of the Cayuses



THE LAWYER

Head Chief of the Nez Perces

KAMIAKEN

Head Chief of the Yakimas

council ground November 29. Three days later came McDonald with the Colville chiefs, the missionaries and four white miners. The council was held December 3, 4 and 5, and was marked, says Hazard Stevens, "by disaffected and at times openly hostile views and expressions and uncertain purposes, on the part of the Indians, and steadfast determination to hold their friendship and restrain them from war, on the part of the governor. The Spokanes openly sympathized with the hostiles. Many of their young braves had joined them. They insisted that no white troops should enter their country, and urged the governor to make peace with the Yakimas, for the rumor was current that the troops had driven them across the Columbia and into the region claimed by the Spokanes. They objected to the whites taking up their land before they had made treaties and sold it, and were much stirred up because a number of Hudson's Bay company ex-employes at Colville had staked out claims, and filed with Judge Yantis the declaratory statements claiming them under the donation act. Kamiaken's emissaries had imbued them with all kinds of falsehoods concerning the war and its causes, and the purposes of the whites, particularly of Governor Stevens, and what he did and said at the Walla Walla council. They were to be driven by soldiers from their own country, and forced to go on the Nez Perces reservation without any treaty or compensation. They were to be deported west of the Cascades, and shipped across seas to an unknown and dreadful doom. Highly colored but imaginary stories of wrong and outrage inflicted upon Indians were industriously circulated, and equally mythical tales of Indian victories and exploits."

Prior to the opening of the council, Stevens learned to distrust the petulant, treacherous and aged chief Looking Glass of the Nez Perces. A half-breed interpreter, employed by the governor, to keep a close watch on Looking Glass and Garry, saw Looking Glass enter Garry's tent late one night, and creeping up to the lodge, overheard a conversation wherein Looking Glass proposed a plot to entrap the governor and his party on their arrival in the Nez Perce country, and force him to enlarge the Nez Perce reservation to the area which had been demanded by Looking Glass at the Walla Walla council when he came theatrically upon the council grounds there, after his return from a long hunting trip beyond the Rocky mountains, and to demand such additional payments and advantages as would amount to a stiff ransom.

Stevens met this alarming situation by despatching a messenger to Lapwai, advising Craig of the proposed conspiracy and instructing him how to undermine Looking Glass's hostile influence among the Nez Perces. Garry, unaware that the governor knew of Looking Glass's proposal, boldly and artfully supported his demands in a speech before the council.

"When I heard of the war (said Garry) I had two hearts, and have had two hearts ever since. The bad heart was a little larger than the good. Now I am thinking that if you do not make peace with the Yakimas, war will come into this country like the waters of the sea. From the time of my first recollection, no blood has ever been on the hands of my people. Now that I am grown up, I am afraid that we may have the blood of the whites upon our hands. . . .

"I hope that you will make peace on the other side of the Columbia, and keep the soldiers from coming here. The Americans and the Yakimas are fighting. I think they are both equally guilty. If there were many Frenchmen here, my heart

would be like fighting. These French people here have talked too much. I went to the Walla Walla council, and when I returned I found that all the Frenchmen (settlers in the Colville valley, who were former employes of the fur company) had gotten their land written down on a paper. I ask them 'Why are you in such a hurry to have writings for your lands now? Why don't you wait until a treaty is made?'

"Governor, these troubles are on my mind all the time, and I will not hide them. When I was at the Walla Walla council my mind was divided. When you first commenced to speak, you said the Walla Wallas, Cayuses and Umatillas were to move on to the Nez Perce reservation and the Spokanes were to move there also. Then I thought you spoke bad. Then I thought when you said that, that you would strike the Indians to the heart. After you had spoken of these nine different things, as schools, and shops, and farms, if you had then asked the chiefs to mark out a piece of land—a pretty large piece—to give you, it would not have struck the Indians so to the heart. Your thought was good. You see far. But the Indians, being dull-headed, can not see far. Now your children have fallen. The Indians have spilled their blood, because they have not sense enough to understand you. Those who killed Pu-pu-mox-mox's son in California, they were Americans. Why are those Americans alive now? Why are they not hanged? That is what the Indians think, that it will be Indians only who are hanged for murder. Now, governor, here are these young people—my people. I do not know their minds, but if they will listen to you, I shall be very glad. When you talk to your soldiers and tell them not to cross Snake river into our country, I shall be glad."

"Why is the country in difficulty again?" asked the chief of the Lower Spokanes. "That comes on account of the smallpox brought into the country, and is all the time on the Indians' heart. They would keep thinking the whites brought sickness into the country to kill them. That is what has hurt the hearts of the Yakimas. That is what we think has brought about this difficulty between the Indians and the whites. I think, governor, you have talked a little too hard. It is as if you had thrown away all the Indians. I heard you said at the Walla Walla council that we were children, and that our women and children and cattle should be for you, and then we thought we would never raise camp and move where you wished us to. We had in our hearts that if you tried to move us off we would die on the land."

Then spoke up Stellam, chief of the Coeur d'Alenes: "We have not yet made friends. All the Indians are not yet your children. When I heard that war had commenced in the Yakima country, I did not believe they had done well to commence. I wish you would speak and dry the blood on that land now. If you would do that, then I would take you for a friend. You have many soldiers, and I would not like to have them mix among my people."

Schlateal voiced similar sentiments: "Now the Yakimas have crossed the Columbia, I would not like to have the whites cross to this side. If the whites do not cross the river the Indians will all be pleased. We have not made friendship yet. We have not shaken hands yet. When we see that the soldiers don't cross the Columbia we shall believe you take us for your friends. When you stop that difficulty—the fighting now going on—we shall believe that you intend to adopt us for your children. Then I will believe that you have taken us for your friends, and will take you for my friend."

Peter John, a Colville chief: "My heart is very poor, very bad. My heart is of all nations. I never hide it. My heart is fearful. There are some who have talked bad. I am always thinking that all would be well. I wish all the whites and Indians to be friendly; but even if my people should take up arms against the Americans, I myself would not. I know we can not stop the river from running, nor the wind from blowing, and I have heard that you whites are the same. We could not stop you. I only speak to show my heart. I am done."

Snohomish, a chief of the Lower Spokanes, living near the Columbia, said: "When you went away to the Blackfoot country, and the Yakimas commenced fighting, my heart was broken. Ever since my heart is very small. Ever since I have been thinking, How will the governor speak to us? And yesterday he did speak, and said to the Indians, 'You must keep peace,' and I have been thinking what God would say if we should spill blood on our land. I never loved bad Indians, nor war; I never believed in making war against Americans. I wish they would stop all the Indians and whites from fighting. Now I will stop. I have shown my heart."

Big Star, Spokane chief: "The reason that I am talking now is that all the Indians did not like what you said at the Walla Walla council. They put all the blame on you for the trouble since. The Indians say you are the cause of the war. My heart is very small towards you. My heart is the same as the others for you. Ever since I heard there was war, I was afraid for you. I am afraid you will be killed. You have not yet made a treaty, and you passed us by, and your people have commenced coming—the miners—and they will upset my land. This spring, when my people commenced talking about the ammunition, I said, 'My children, do not listen to my children who wish to do wrong.' I said to the Sun chief, 'What is the reason you are getting into trouble? Your father was good; now he is killed by the Blackfeet.' And this summer, when the governor passed here, I spoke to him again, and he would not listen. I left home and went to the Nez Perces, and there met Mr. McDonald. After crossing the Columbia river these two young fellows overtook me. I spoke to Mr. McDonald to give me good advice to help my children. He did speak, and I thought he gave me good help. I was glad. We had not yet arrived at the fort when that young man (a Spokane) rushed on the whites and choked them. After McDonald and myself had talked to them, I thought they would listen. If I had not tried to make them do right, it would not have hurt my feelings so much. Since that, I am crying all the time."

Quin-quim-moe-so, a Spokane chief living at Eells and Walker's old mission on Walker's prairie, was outspoken in fixing on Governor Stevens the blame for the Yakima uprising: "When I heard, governor, what you had said at the Walla Walla ground, I thought you had done well. But one thing you said was not right. You alone arranged the Indians' land; the Indians did not speak. Then you struck the Indians to the heart. You thought they were only Indians. That is why you did it. I am not a big chief, but I will not hide my mind. I will not talk low. I wish you to hear what I am saying. That is the reason, governor; it is all your fault the Indians are at war. It is your fault, because you have said that the Cayuses and Walla Wallas will be moved to the Yakima land. They who owned the land did not speak, and yet you divided the land."

As the council progressed, Garry assumed a tone of haughty equality and inde-

pendence: "When you look at the red men, you think you have more heart, more sense, than these poor Indians. I think the difference between us and you Americans is in the clothing: the blood and body are the same. Do you think, because your mother was white and theirs dark, that you are higher or better? We are dark, yet if we cut ourselves, the blood will be red, and so with the whites it is the same, though their skin is white. I do not think we are poor because we belong to another nation. If you take those Indians for men, treat them so now. If you talk to the Indians to make a peace, the Indians will do the same to you. You see now the Indians are proud. On account of one of your remarks, some of your people have already fallen to the ground. The Indians are not satisfied with the land you gave them. What commenced the trouble was the murder of Pu-pu-mox-mox's son (by miners in California) and Dr. Whitman, and now they find their reservations too small. If all those Indians had marked out their own reservations, the trouble would not have happened. If you could get their reservations made a little larger, they would be pleased. If I had the business to do, I could fix it by giving them a little more land. Talking about land, I am only speaking my mind. What I was saying yesterday about not crossing the soldiers to this side of the Columbia is my business. Those Indians have gone to war, and I don't know myself how to fix it up. That is your business! Since, governor, the beginning of the world there has been war. Why can not you manage to keep peace? Maybe there will be no peace ever. Even if you should hang all the bad people, war would begin again, and would never stop."

By patient reasoning and convincing denial of the false reports concerning his utterances at the Walla Walla council, the governor dissipated, at least for the time, the growing hostile feelings of the Spokanes, and when the council was over, they expressed friendly sentiments and willingly exchanged their fresh horses for the travel-jaded animals of the party, taking for boot the Indian goods which had been brought up from old Fort Walla Walla for the deferred council. They even gave up some of their rifles, needed by Stevens to arm the miners who had come in from the upper Columbia river bars, and who were now mustered in, along with the other members of the expedition as the "Spokane Invincibles," the first militia company to be organized and armed in the Inland Empire.

"When I moved from Spokane," reported Stevens, "I had with me the best train of the season. I reduced transportation to twelve days, and the packs to eighty pounds, for I desired to be in a condition if the Nez Perces were really hostile, and I was not strong enough to fight, I could make a good run, and then I struck for the Nez Perces country."

Moving down the valley, on the afternoon of December 6, from the treaty grounds at Antoine Plant's place, the party encamped by the falls of the Spokane. "The second day," runs Stevens' narrative of 1855, "I met an express from Craig's, telling me that the Nez Perces were all right, and that the whole tribe would back me up. We moved towards Lapwai, and were four days in reaching that point, the distance being 108 miles. The weather was very disagreeable, being snowy and rainy. In about fifty miles from the Spokane we got upon our old trail to the Red Wolf's ground, which trail we followed for about twenty miles, and then keeping to our left, passed to the mouth of the Lapwai, and thence to William Craig's place on that stream . . . My object not being to give an account of my Indian

BLOCK HOUSE AT UPPER CASCADES OF THE COLUMBIA

Where General Philip Sheridan made his first war record

operations or of the Indian war," says the narrative of 1855 in conclusion, "I will close my narrative at this point, referring you to my official reports should further information be desired in connection with this trip. I will state that on my way into the settlements I remained in the Walla Walla valley some ten days, where I saw much of the Oregon volunteers. Went to The Dalles, in advance of my party, with three men, and, the river being closed by ice, went down from The Dalles to near Vancouver on the trail, and reached Olympia on the 19th of January."

Notwithstanding winter was well advanced when the governor's party came to William Craig's hospitable homestead and the ground was well spread with snow, Chief Lawyer had brought together there 208 lodges, which sheltered more than 2,000 friendly Nez Perces. "An animated council was at once held," says Hazard Stevens. "The council lodge was a hundred feet in length, built of poles, mats and skins, and in this assembled 200 chiefs and principal men, Lawyer presiding. An ox had been killed, and young men, who officiated for the occasion, roasted or boiled the meat at fires in the lodge, and handed it around in large pans, from which each person selected such choice pieces as suited his fancy. The scheme of Looking Glass found no adherent, indeed was not broached, and the unanimous resolve was not only to maintain their friendship to the whites and stand by their treaty, but to escort Governor Stevens with 250 of their bravest and best armed warriors, stark buffalo hunters and Blackfoot fighters every one, and force their way through the masses of hostile Indians gathered in the Walla Walla valley."

Finding no support for his treacherous plot, old Looking Glass craftily turned front and made a virtue of necessity. "I told the governor," he said in council, "that the Walla Walla country was blocked up by bad Indians, and that I would go ahead and he behind, and that's my heart now. Now that he says he will go, I will get up and go with him. Now let none of you turn your face from what has been said. Your old men have spoken, and where is the man who will turn his back on it."

As the council ended an Indian runner came in from the Walla Walla valley with the startling and cheering news that a regiment of 500 Oregon volunteers commanded by Colonel Kelly, who later served as United States senator, had come up from the Willamette valley into the Walla Walla country, and after four days hard fighting had routed the hostiles and driven them out of the valley. The way thus cleared, Governor Stevens could have dispensed with the tendered escort of the Nez Perces, but to confirm their fidelity and cement the bond of friendship, he invited a hundred warriors to go with him as far as the Walla Walla valley.

"It was a clear, bright, frosty December morning that the mingled cavalcade of white and Indian left behind the hospital lodges of the Nez Perces, and filed along the banks of the Lapwai and Kooskooskia," says Hazard Stevens. "Rarely has the Clearwater reflected a more picturesque or jovial crew. Here were the gentlemen of the party, with their black felt hats and heavy cloth overcoats; rough-clad miners and packers; the mountain-men, with buckskin shirts and leggings and fur caps; the long-eared pack-mules, with their bulky loads; and the blanketed young braves, with painted visage, and hair adorned with eagle feathers, mounted on sleek and spirited mustangs, and dashing hither and thither in the greatest excitement and glee. Each of the warriors had three fine, spirited horses, which he rode in turn as the fancy moved him. They used buckskin pads or wooden saddles cov-

ered with buffalo, bear or mountain goat skin. The bridle was a simple line of buffalo hair tied around the lower jaw of the steed, which yielded implicit obedience to this scanty headgear. At a halt the long end of the line is flung loosely on the ground, and the horse is trained to stand without other fastening.

"The demeanor of the young braves on this march was in marked contrast to the traditional gravity and stoicism of their race. They shouted, laughed, told stories, cracked jokes, and gave free vent to their native gaiety and high spirits. Craig, who accompanied the party, translated these good things as they occurred, to the great amusement of the whites. Crossing a wide, flat plain covered with tall rye grass, he related an anecdote of Lawyer, with the reminiscence of which the young braves seemed particularly tickled. While yet an obscure young warrior, Lawyer was traveling over this ground with a party of the tribe, including several of the principal chiefs. It was a cold winter day, and a biting gale swept up the river, penetrating their clothing and chilling them to the bone. The chiefs sat down in the shelter of the tall rye grass, and were indulging in a cosy smoke, when Lawyer fired the prairie far to windward, and in an instant the fiery element in a long, crackling, blazing line, came sweeping down on the wings of the wind upon the comfort-taking chiefs, and drove them to rush helter skelter into the river for safety, dropping robes, pipes and everything that might impede their flight. For this audacious prank Lawyer barely escaped a public whipping.

"It was a gala day for the Nez Perces when the party reached the valley, and were received by the Oregon volunteers with a military parade and a salute of musketry; and when Governor Stevens dismissed them with presents and thanks and words of encouragement, they returned home the most devoted and enthusiastic auxiliaries that ever marched in behalf of the whites.

"The valley was reached on the 20th. Major Chinn commanding the volunteers, and other officers rode out to meet the governor, and, on reaching the volunteer camp, the troops, four hundred in number, paraded and fired a volley in salute as the picturesque column marched past, the fifty sturdy, travel-stained whites in advance, followed by the hundred proud and flaunting braves, curveting their horses and uttering their warwhoops. The volunteers then formed in hollow square, and the governor addressed them in a brief speech, complimenting them on their energy in pushing forward at that inclement season, and gallantry in engaging and routing a superior force of the enemy, and tendering the thanks of his party for opening the road."

Governor Stevens and party eagerly listened to the news of the winter campaign of the volunteers. The engagement had been a severe one, the confederated hostiles resisting firmly for four days, and then falling back in confusion on mistaking a distant pack-train, descending the slopes of the Blue mountains, for a reinforcing column of armed white soldiers. In the combat Pu-pu-mox-mox had been taken prisoner, and attempting to escape from his guard, was killed by a rifle volley. By a singular tragic coincidence, Owhi, another leading chief in this uprising, was to suffer a like fate two years later, while attempting to escape from Colonel Wright's command.

General Wool, commanding the department of the Columbia, had arrived at Vancouver from San Francisco, but had either failed or refused to support the volunteers or send relief to Governor Stevens. He took the view that the Indians were

not to blame, and that the war had been instigated by white speculators. "He had even disbanded two companies of Washington volunteers at Vancouver, after they had been actually mustered into the United States service," declares Hazard Stevens, in a spirited defense of his father; "and a company that had been raised under the direction of Colonel Frank Shaw, for the express purpose of going to the defense of the governor, was dismissed by Wool in spite of the remonstrances of its officers and of Major Rains."

In a succeeding chapter we shall relate the stirring events which followed as a sequel to the Yakima-Walla Walla outbreak, and deal somewhat with Governor Stevens' severe arraignment of General Wool before the war department.

CHAPTER XXIII

GOVERNOR STEVENS AN ARDENT INLAND EMPIRE BOOSTER

SENDS OPTIMISTIC REPORTS TO WASHINGTON—FORESEES GREAT FUTURE FOR WALLA WALLA, PALOUSE, YAKIMA, SPOKANE AND OTHER REGIONS—REMARKABLE FORECAST OF COUNTRY'S RESOURCES—POINTS OUT VALUE OF LOGGED OFF LANDS—REMARKABLE RIDE BY HIS 13 YEAR OLD SON—CHARMED BY WESTERN MONTANA AND IDAHO PANHANDLE—PREDICTS DEVELOPMENT OF MANY RICH MINES—M'CLELLAN BERATES THE COUNTRY—IS PRAISED BY JEFFERSON DAVIS, WHO WANTS TO DISCOURAGE NORTHERN DEVELOPMENT.

Thy voice sounds like a prophet's word;
And in its hollow tones are heard
The thanks of millions yet to be.

—*Fitz Greene Halleck.*

WHEN in the field Governor Stevens took note of climatic conditions, the soil, timber, water, building materials and other elements bearing on future settlement of this region. His reports to Washington are clear, informative, optimistic. He comprehended, as none before him, the country's potential resources, its mild and invigorating climate, and great possibilities for settlement and conversion, through the enterprise, courage and industry of our pioneers, into an empire abounding in pleasant homes and productive industries.

After passing through the Walla Walla country in June, 1855, on his way eastward to the Blackfoot council, he wrote in his journal: "We left our camp in the Walla Walla valley at noon, moving over a delightful rolling country, well grassed and arable; and on June 17 we moved twenty miles over a remarkably fine grazing and wheat country, and camped on the Pa-at-ta-ha creek, a branch of the Touchet river. The following points of today's journey are worthy of attention," adds the governor, "in order to show that this region is not the barren desert it has been represented to be. In six and a half miles we crossed the Smahine creek of the Touchet, where there was good running water. In three miles and three quarters further on we crossed the Kapyah creek of the Touchet, near its junction with the latter stream. There was pine in view in the valley of the Touchet, and the country was very beautiful and inviting. One mile further, on a small fork of the Touchet, several persons have taken claims in the vicinity. . . . The whole country in view was well adapted to purposes of agriculture and stock-raising."

Continuing his description of the country, Governor Stevens said: "Leaving

the Tukanon, we ascended the bluffs and passed over table-land of the same character as that of the first portion of our journey, and reached the Pa-at-ta-ha tributary of the Tukanon. This tributary furnishes a large amount of excellent land; its valley, as well as the table-land between it and the adjacent streams, is uniformly fertile, and at the present time covered with the most luxuriant grass. I will here remark, to guard against misconception, that it must not be inferred, when I speak of a country as being covered with excellent grass, that it is not an arable country, for I suppose it will be admitted that all arable countries ought to furnish grass of some kind. After traveling up this stream three miles, we came to a rather broad trail, which, turning off from the stream, crosses Snake river, eighteen miles below the Red Wolf's ground, and leads to the Coeur d'Alene mission and the Spokane country. . . . The day's journey has been delightful to all the members of my party, for it passed over a most beautiful prairie country, the whole of it adapted to agriculture. In the valley of the Tukanon we found a very experienced and kind-hearted mountaineer, Louis Moragne, who, with his Flathead wife and six children, had gathered about him all the comforts of a home. His eldest daughter was married to a very intelligent American, Henry Chase, a native of my own county, in the good old state of Massachusetts, and they now propose to locate on the Touchet. . . . Moragne is the owner of some fifty horses and many cattle. His potatoes were in blossom and his wheat excellent. He had four acres under cultivation. He succeeded well in raising poultry, of which he had three or four dozen."

Moving northward the governor and his party came to the junction of Alpowah creek and the Snake, where Red Wolf had "a fine field of corn which promises a most luxuriant crop." Stevens estimated the amount under cultivation there at twenty acres, irrigated by the waters of the creek, "and tolerably well set out with fruit trees. I observed," adds the governor, "with great pleasure, that men as well as women and children, were at work in this field, ploughing and taking care of their crops. The corn, planted only six weeks since, was about ready to silk out. From the appearance of the valley of the Alpahwah, I am satisfied that grapes would be a very profitable crop." Snake river valley vineyards are noted for the excellence of their products.

"The Nez Perces country," the official report continues, "is exceedingly well adapted to grazing, and is, for the most part, a fine, arable country. There are very extensive fields of the camas, and the Indians lay up large stores of that nutritious and delightful root."

Moving northward into the Palouse country, the party "reached the table-land. . . . And here I was astonished, not simply at the luxuriance of the grass, but the richness of the soil; and I will again remind the reader that it does not follow because the grass is luxuriant that the country is not arable." The governor closed his journal that day by another expression of astonishment at the luxuriance of the grass and the richness of the soil. "The whole view presents to the eye a vast bed of flowers in all their varied beauty. The country is a rolling table-land, and the soil like that of the prairies of Illinois."

Their next night encampment was on the right bank of the main Palouse river. "The whole country to the westward, as far as the eye could reach, was an open plain, the skies clear, and the atmosphere transparent; I say again, the whole country was, apparently, exceedingly rich and luxuriant." The governor interrogated

very closely his packmaster, Higgins, in reference to the character of the country westward, "for he had crossed it on two different lines between our present trail and that from the mouth of the Palouse; and he assured me that the country which my own eye saw today, and had seen yesterday, was precisely the same country as that found on the westward lines."

"The narrative of these last four days travel," adds Stevens, "shows how extraordinarily well watered the country is west of the spur of the Bitter Root mountains. I will state again, having crossed the great plain of the Columbia from the Chemakane mission north of the Spokane to the mouth of the Palouse, that the difference in the character of the country on these two lines is most extraordinary. A large portion of the country from the Chemakane mission to the mouth of the Palouse is arable, and generally well grassed. There is no deficiency of wood for camps, yet occasionally the basaltic formations crop out of the ground, at which points the country is sterile and uncultivable. But under the spurs of the Bitter Root mountains (the Coeur d'Alenes) the whole country is arable, the soil as rich as the best prairies of Minnesota, and every convenience for the house and farm at hand—water, wood for fires, and timber for building."

Governor Stevens foresaw, nearly sixty years ago, the agricultural future of the timber lands of the Inland Empire, after they should be logged off. "I paid particular attention to the forest growth," he remarks, "and I bore in mind our Puget Sound experience, which had established the fact that the timber lands, as a general thing, were much superior to the prairie lands. When I first went to the Puget Sound country in 1853, that fact was not acknowledged; but the popular impression was that the timber lands were worthless except for the timber. In 1855 there had been experience of crops on timber lands, which established conclusively the fact that they were our most valuable lands for agricultural purposes."

Commenting on the ease of travel in the interior, the governor wrote: "My son Hazard, 13 years of age, had accompanied me from Olympia to the waters of the Missouri. Like all youths of that age, he was always ready for the saddle and delighted in the hunt, and had spent some days with one of my hunting parties on the Judith, where he had become well acquainted with the Gros Ventres. When we determined to change the council from Fort Benton to the mouth of the Judith, I undertook, in the name of the commission, the duty of seeing the necessary messages sent to the various bands and tribes, and to bring them all to the mouth of the Judith at the proper moment. These Indians were scattered from Milk river, near Hammell's Houses, along the Marais, along the Teton, to a considerable distance south of the Missouri, the Flatheads being on the Judith, and the Upper Pend d'Oreilles on Smith's fork of the Missouri, with two bands of the Blackfeet lying somewhat intermediate, but in the vicinity of the Girdle mountains. I succeeded in securing the services of a fit and reliable man for each one of these bands and tribes, except the Gros Ventres, camped on Milk river. There were several men who had had considerable experience among Indians and in voyaging who desired to go, but I had not confidence in them, and accordingly, at 10 o'clock on Sunday morning, I started my little son as a messenger to the Gros Ventres. Accompanied by the interpreter Legare, he made that Gros Ventres camp before dark, a distance of seventy-five miles, and gave his message the same evening to the chiefs, and without

changing horses they were in the saddle early in the morning, and reached my camp at half past three o'clock.

"Thus a youth of thirteen traveled 150 measured miles from 10 o'clock one day to half past three o'clock in the afternoon of the next; and he came in so fresh that he could have traveled, without fatigue, at least thirty miles further that evening. The Gros Ventres made their marches exactly as I had desired, and reached the new council ground at the mouth of the Judith on the very morning which had been appointed, being the first of all the bands and tribes."

Of western Montana, the country lying between the Rocky mountains and the Bitter Roots, Governor Stevens wrote with a far-seeing and prophetic eye. Of the whole area of this beautiful region, some 30,000 square miles, he estimated that 12,000 square miles would be brought under cultivation. "The country in the forks of the Flathead and the Bitter Root, stretching away east above the Blackfoot canyon, is mostly a table-land, well watered and arable; and on all these tributaries—the Bitter Root, the Hellgate, the Big Blackfoot, the Jocko, the Maple river, the Hot Spring river, and the Lou-Lou fork itself—the timber land will be found unquestionably better than the prairie land. It will not be in the immediate bottom or valley of the river where farmers will find their best locations, but on the smaller tributaries some few miles above their junction with the main streams. The traveler passing up these rivers, and seeing a little tributary breaking out in the valley, will, in going up it, invariably come into an open and beautiful country. The observer who has passed through this country often; who has had intelligent men who have lived in it long; who understands intercourse with the Indians, and knows how to verify information which they give him, will be astonished at the conclusions which he will reach in regard to the agricultural advantages of this country; and it will not be many years before the progress of settlements will establish its superiority as an agricultural region."

Although his seat of government was at Olympia, Stevens seemed never to weary in his enthusiastic proclaiming of the beauties, the resources and the favorable climate of the interior of his vast territory. Its verdant and flower-pied prairies charmed his senses, and its more open and park-like forests, as contrasted with the tangled and somber depths of the Puget Sound region, enlivened his fancy and kindled his prophetic fires. He was the first influential "booster" of the Spokane country. We owe to his memory an enduring monument, but it should not be erected until a fund is gathered sufficient to insure artistic genius of the highest order. Young cities that purchase statues prematurely are in danger of amassing a collection of monuments better suited to the cemetery than to public parks and open places.

In his voluminous report to the national government, Stevens described, in great minuteness, the country traversed by his expedition. With quick eye he noted its potential resources, and with facile pen portrayed them with a fidelity to fact that seems remarkably prophetic in the light of subsequent settlement and development. "That portion of the great plain lying east of the main Columbia, and which may be regarded as bounded on the north by the Spokane, and on the east by the foothills of the Bitter Root mountains," says his report of 1855, "is, for the most part, well watered and well grassed. The eastern half of this portion is exceedingly well adapted to agricultural purposes. The various streams—the Palouse, the Camas Prairie creek of the Coeur d'Alene (Hangman), the Spokane and Coeur d'Alene

CONFLUENCE OF SPOKANE AND
COLUMBIA RIVERS

COLUMBIA RIVER BELOW HUNTERS, WASHINGTON

rivers—are well timbered with pine, and numerous rivulets and springs are found through that portion of the country, facilitating the progress of settlements, and rendering the whole at once available to the agriculturist. Indeed, the whole of the western slopes of the Bitter Root mountains are densely timbered with pine, spruce, larch, cedar and other trees. These spurs have, in most cases, a gradual slope to the west, and the valleys of the several streams above referred to, as well as the Clearwater and Clark's fork, are wide and open, including in the lower valley the immediate, gentle and numerous lateral spurs branching off from the main spurs."

Passing to a description of the Palouse and Big Bend regions, Stevens wrote: "This country is better supplied with wood than has been generally imagined. If the *voyageur* traveling over this country, whatever route he takes, be asked what sort of country it is, he will tell you an excellent country for traveling—wood, water and grass everywhere. But the pine of the Spokane extends nearly to its mouth, and for some miles south of the river. The Spokane is the name of the main stream to its junction with the Coeur d'Alene river, when its name is given to a smaller tributary coming from the north (the Little Spokane), the Coeur d'Alene being the main stream.

"One of the most beautiful features of the Coeur d'Alene river and country is the Coeur d'Alene lake, which is embosomed in the midst of gently sloping hills, covered with a dense forest growth; the irregularity of its form, and the changing aspect of the scenery about it, makes it one of the most picturesque objects in the interior.

"The whole valley of the Coeur d'Alene and Spokane is well adapted to settlement, abounding in timber for buildings and for fires, exceedingly well watered, and the greater portion of the land arable. Even on the main route from Colville to the mouth of the Palouse, there is much arable land for thirty miles south of the Spokane. East of this line the whole country may be denominated as cultivable country.

"North of the Great Plain, that is, from the Spokane to the forty-ninth parallel east of the main Columbia, the country for the most part is densely wooded, although many valleys and open places occur, some of them now occupied by settlers, and all presenting advantages for settlement. Down Clark's fork itself (the Pend d'Oreille) there are open patches of land of considerable size, and so on the Kootenay river. North of the Spokane is a large prairie, known as the Coeur d'Alene prairie (the Spokane valley) through which the trail passes from Walla Walla to Lake Pend d'Oreille. . . . From Fort Colville to where the Columbia bends suddenly to the west there is a good deal of excellent land. It will be safe to pronounce the whole country north of the Spokane, and lying between the main Columbia and the Kootenay and the Coeur d'Alene mountains as a cultivable country, although the dense forests will be an obstacle in the way of rapid occupation of the country.

"But here comes in another element of wealth: The country about Colville and on Clark's fork has been pretty thoroughly prospected for gold, and it exists in paying quantities throughout that region. On the Kootenay river are found mines of lead, copper, quicksilver, sulphur and platinum; and there can be no question, from information derived from practical miners, from geological explorers, and especially from the testimony of the Jesuit fathers, DeSmet, Hoecken and Ravalli, that this is a country very rich in minerals."

Of the country lying between the Columbia and the Cascade mountains, including the valleys of the Yakima, the Wenatchee or Pisquouse, the Entiat, Chelan, Methow

and Okanogan, Governor Stevens contended that a great injustice had been done it "by a want of patience and consideration on the part of gentlemen who have gone over it rapidly in the summer, and who have been over it but once. Now the most intelligent *voyageurs* and best practical farmers in that country agree in opinion that there is a large quantity of arable land throughout this country, and very superior grazing. This is the opinion of intelligent Indian chiefs who have themselves made some progress in raising crops, and who are already great stock-raisers."

"On the several tributaries of the Yakima, particularly towards their upper waters, the land is rich and adapted to most of the crops, and so in the valley of the main Yakima itself. This valley has been denominated by some a desert and sage plain; sage does not occur in spots and small quantities, but much of the country is cultivable and productive. It may be observed that in regard to the whole of this central portion of the Territory, it will be necessary to exercise care as to seed-time, and farmers will have a disadvantage over those west of the Cascades in their seedtime being very much shorter; but with ordinary care as to the time of putting in seed no danger need be apprehended from droughts.

"This portion of the country is wooded about half way from the divide of the Cascade mountains to the Columbia itself, but you pass up the main Yakima seventy miles before you reach the building pine, although cottonwood is found on its banks sufficient for camping purposes; but when you reach the Pisquouse or Wenatshapam, you come to a wooded region which extends to the main Columbia. The forest growth of the upper waters of the Clearwater and of the main Columbia from above the mouth of the Wenatshapam, furnishes inexhaustible supplies, which, after being rafted down the streams—that is, the Snake and Columbia rivers—will furnish settlements in the vicinity of those rivers with firewood and lumber at moderate rates."

Worthy of observation, said the governor, was the discovery, by his explorations of 1853, that gold existed "throughout the whole region between the Cascades and the main Columbia to north of the boundary, and paying localities have since been found at several points, particularly on the southern tributary of the Wenatshapam (the Wenatchee). Gold quartz also is found on the Natchess river. The gold-bearing zone, crossing the Columbia and stretching eastward along Clark's fork and the Kootenay river, unquestionably extends to the Rocky mountains."

In sharp contrast to Stevens' optimism, Captain George B. McClellan, reporting from his camp at Ketetas, on Yakima river, September 18, 1853, thus describes the Yakima country: "The last forty-five miles of the trail have been over barren sage plains, mostly without grass, always without timber, and very stony: in some of the valleys pretty good bunch-grass is found. The soil of the valleys of the Yakima and its branches, though very limited in extent, is good enough to make tolerable farms, if irrigated."

This of the orchard soil that has since become world famous. McClellan usually took a pessimistic view, and his discouraging reports were eagerly seized by Jefferson Davis, then secretary of war, to discredit Stevens' enthusiastic laudation of the northern routes. Southern slave-holding interests and sympathizers were then active and adroit in their political manipulations to prevent settlement of northern territories, and at the same time foster the extension of slavery in the vast unsettled areas of the southwest. In this momentous political struggle they had, of

course, the able support of Secretary Davis, who exerted his official influence in support of an extreme southern route that would have for its Pacific terminus the harbor of San Pedro, near Los Angeles, or that of San Diego, still nearer the Mexican boundary. In his report to congress, Secretary Davis quotes McClellan, approvingly, as follows: "I am of the opinion that the Yakima pass is barely practicable, and that only at a high cost of time, labor and money." "The depth of snow upon the summit of this pass has been much discussed," says Davis's report. "Captain McClellan, who made the reconnaissance, says that he and his party spared no pains in inquiring of the Indians during the summer, fall and winter, as to the quantity and nature of the snow in the mountains during the winter. . . . All the information obtained was consistent; and the resulting conclusions, that in ordinary winters there could not be less than from twenty to twenty-five feet of snow in the passes."

Subsequent railroad construction and operation have shown the wildness of these superficial guesses. Governor Stevens, who well understood the unreliability of Indian testimony on this point, as they were opposed, from interest, to the building of railroads in their country, felt, from the beginning, that McClellan's estimates were unreliable, and emphatically urged that officer to make a more thorough examination of the Cascade passes in the winter of 1853-54; but McClellan raised one difficulty after another, failed altogether to grasp Stevens' argument that winter was just the time to examine the passes and gather definite, reliable data, and when another officer, Lieutenant Tinkham, acting under the governor's directions, accomplished the very achievement which McClellan had pronounced impracticable, and at the same time proved the untrustworthiness of McClellan's conclusions, the officer who was later to command the Union armies on the Potomac resented the governor's resolute action, and a coldness grew up between them.

Returning to McClellan's report on the Yakima valley, we find him asserting that while the Indians raised excellent potatoes, "the cold nights (the thermometer frequently standing below thirty-two degrees at sunrise), and the shortness of the season, would be great obstacles in the way of cultivation. . . . The Yakima valley below this is wide, often destitute of grass, no timber of any consequence, and a limited extent of soil that by irrigation could be made moderately productive. On the trail to The Dalles the country is everywhere stony, barren and worthless. The valley of the Columbia, near the mouth of the Yakima, is a vast sage desert."

CHAPTER XXIV

CONFEDERATED INDIAN WAR OF 1858

WAR FLAMES KINDLED OVER A WIDE AREA—CAUSES LEADING UP TO THE OUTBREAK OF TRIBES NORTH OF SNAKE RIVER—YAKIMAS REPUDIATE TREATY AND MURDER THEIR AGENT—STEVENS BITTERLY ASSAILS COMMANDER AT FORT VANCOUVER—STEPTOE'S ILL-FATED EXPEDITION—HIS CANDID REPORT OF THE DISASTROUS REPULSE.

How sleep the brave who sink to rest
By all their country's wishes blest.
When spring, with dewy fingers cold,
Returns to deck their hallowed mould,
She there shall dress a sweeter sod
Than fancy's feet have ever trod.

By fairy hands their knell is rung,
By forms unseen their dirge is sung;
There Honor comes, a pilgrim gray,
To bless the turf that wraps their clay:
And Freedom shall awhile repair,
To dwell a weeping hermit there.

—*William Collins.*

IT IS a fitting coincidence that the United States government has established the military reservation of Fort George Wright on the very scene where that able soldier, four and fifty years ago, dealt his final crushing blow to the confederated hostile Indians in the war of 1858. By that victory a lasting peace was won, and this fair wild land made ready for awaiting pioneers. So condign was that defeat, so stern the treaty language of the stout soldier Wright that the spirit of angry insolence was forever driven from the red warrior's breast, and the Spokanes and Coeur d'Alenes have ever remained our enduring friends.

If the reader, bent on historic search, will follow downward for two miles the west bank of the Spokane from its confluence with Hangman creek, his eye will fall on the scene where Wright and his gallant command struck the river after their memorable running fight of fifteen miles. Retracing his steps a mile, he will discover, at a point one mile down stream from Hangman creek, the spot that was made their night encampment after that strenuous autumn day.

If the reader care to continue his stroll on historic ground, and will seek out a

point on the south bank of the Spokane two miles above the main falls, his foot will press the treaty grounds where the broken and terrified Spokanes, responding to Wright's imperious summons, gathered in penitence and besought his mercy.

Wright's campaign in the autumn of 1858 followed fast upon the disastrous repulse of Colonel Steptoe at a point near the present flourishing town of Rosalia in northern Whitman county. So charged with stirring interest are these events, so fraught with lasting consequences, that they constitute an essential episode in Spokane's history and that of the whole Inland Empire. It is therefore the author's purpose to devote to them a somewhat extended recital.

The period passing between 1853 and 1858 was signalized by many savage Indian uprisings throughout the Pacific northwest. At times within that period the skies were red with war flames from the Rogue river region of southern Oregon northward to Puget Sound, and from the western waters to the Rocky mountains. Some tribes of the interior had, in fact, maintained a constant attitude of haughty insolence since the Cayuse uprising in 1847 and the massacre, at Whitman mission near Walla Walla, of Dr. Marcus Whitman, Mrs. Narcissa Whitman and other members of their household.

Dissatisfaction existed in the minds of some of the interior tribes against certain treaties which had been negotiated in 1855 by Isaac I. Stevens, who bore from the president of the United States a dual appointment as first governor of Washington territory and commissioner empowered to treat with all the Indian tribes of the vast interior from the Missouri to the Pacific. A number of chiefs protested that Stevens had failed to negotiate with the men who were authorized to bind their people by treaty obligations, and angry protests were made against some of the conditions of these treaties.

The unrest was further intensified by a long delay by the senate in its work of treaty ratification and by a conflict of official opinion regarding the ultimate fate of the treaties at Washington. Army officers in the field were positive that ratification and an attempt by the government to enforce the treaties would precipitate a general uprising. Colonel E. J. Steptoe, then commanding at Fort Walla Walla, entered vigorous protest, declaring in a letter to the assistant adjutant-general at San Francisco:

"It is my duty to inform the general that Mr. J. Ross Brown, acting, as I believe, as an agent of the Indian Bureau, did, in a recent conversation with "Lawyer" the Nez Perces chief, assert that Governor Stevens' treaty of Walla Walla would certainly be ratified and enforced. Considering that this statement is in direct opposition to what the Indians have been told by us, and to what, as I believe, nearly all of them desire, it seems to me in very bad taste, to say the least of it. Mr. Brown could not possibly have known that the treaty will be ratified, and even if he had, the proper time to enlighten the Indians on the subject is obviously after it shall have become a law of the land. He had no right to unsettle the Indian's minds on a point respecting which his convictions are probably no stronger than the opposite belief of many others in daily intercourse with them.

"I will simply add that in my opinion any attempt to enforce that treaty will be followed by immediate hostilities with most of the tribes in this part of the country; for which reason it does appear to me greatly desirable that a new commission be appointed, and a new treaty made, thoroughly digested and accepted by both sides."

Obviously it did not occur to Steptoe that if Brown erred in telling the Indians that the treaty would be ratified and enforced, himself and other army officers were alike at fault when they told the red men that it would not be ratified or enforced. Brown's rights as a prophet were at least equal to those of Steptoe and Clarke, commanding the department of the Columbia.

Ringleaders in this sorry business of repudiating treaties were the Yakimas. They had met Governor Stevens in the summer of 1855, entered into treaty relations and accepted agency rule, only, a few months later, to go on the warpath and murder their agent, A. J. Bolon, and a number of other white men in their country. These atrocities they followed up by defeating a detachment of United States troops under Major Haller, and declared their determination to exterminate all the whites in the country.

As we have seen, news of the Yakima war reached Governor Stevens on October 29, 1855, when returning from a council with the Blackfoot nation in Montana. He was two days' march from old Fort Benton, head of navigation on the Missouri, when this alarming intelligence reached him by an express from Acting Governor Mason at Olympia, and his position became one of imminent peril. "At this time," to quote from his report to Jefferson Davis, then secretary of war, but within a few years to be making greater history as president of the southern Confederacy, "my party of twenty-five men were in this condition: our animals were poor and jaded from the constant express service in which they had been employed in the operations preliminary to the Blackfoot council; for our expresses had ranged from Saskatchewan on the north, to the Yellowstone on the south; they possessed but few arms and little ammunition, as we had, in coming up, found no use for them, passing through the territory of friendly Indians."

Stevens, however, as we have seen in a preceding chapter, met the situation with his customary courage and vigor.

The governor complained bitterly to the war department against the refusal of General Wool, commanding at Fort Vancouver, to dispatch regulars to his relief when it became apparent that he had been cut off from the settlements and his party was in imminent danger of destruction. "We had reached a place of safety unaided, excepting by the fortunate movements of the Oregon troops. Not a single man had been pushed forward to meet us, although it was well known we should cross the mountains about a certain time, and arrive at Walla Walla at the time we did."

"Mr. Secretary," continues the indignant governor, "Major-General Wool, commanding the Pacific division, neglected and refused to send a force to the relief of myself and party, when known to be in imminent danger, and believed by those who are best capable of judging, to be coming on to certain death; and this when he had at his command an efficient force of regular troops. It was reserved for the Oregon troops to rescue us. There has been a breach of faith somewhere. I ask for an investigation into the whole matter."

From Walla Walla the governor hastened to Olympia, to deal with the warlike Indians in the Puget Sound country. He found time, however, to map out a winter campaign against the warring savages of the interior, and went to Vancouver to lay it before General Wool, but missed that officer by a few hours, Wool having sailed from Portland for San Francisco. The limitations of this history forbid the presentation here of Stevens' plan in detail, but it may be said in passing that he advanced

there a doctrine of successful Indian warfare which ultimately was applied some twenty years later in Indian wars on the great plains east of the Rocky mountains, after repeated failure had demonstrated that the old plan of spring and summer campaigns was powerless to strike effective blows. Stevens' advice was founded on the well known fact that when young grass comes in springtime, the Indian finds maintenance everywhere, and if menaced by an invading enemy, has only to disperse his people in all directions to baffle and defeat pursuit. But in winter his people can not rove at will or pleasure. They are required by the rigors of climate to concentrate in sheltered places, around their winter stores of provisions, while an invading force of regulars can transport supplies by wagon and keep its horses in good condition by feeding grain.

"I will respectfully urge," advises Stevens in a detailed communication to Wool, "that you forward your preparations with all possible dispatch. Get all of your disposable force in the Walla Walla valley in January. Establish a large depot camp here; occupy Fort Walla Walla and be ready early in February to take the field. February is generally a mild and open month. February and March are the favorable months for operating; all the Indians are destitute of food; the rivers are easy to cross; the mountain passes are closed. In April the Indians can retreat on the Pend d'Oreille route, eastward of the mountains. In May the Coeur d'Alene route is also open; the streams are swollen and the salmon begin to run. In June roots are abundant and the streams difficult to cross. If operations be vigorously prosecuted in February and March, there is little probability of any of the tribes now peaceable, taking part in the war. This is the conclusion to which I was brought by the recent council held by me with the Indian tribes on the Spokane."

Had these recommendations been heeded, there is reason to believe that the interior tribes would have been pacified by early spring of 1856, and history would not have recorded the disastrous repulse of Steptoe in the summer of 1858. Numerous atrocities would have been spared, and the task of subjugating the hostiles would have been far less difficult and expensive than it afterwards proved to be.

This view is ably sustained by Lieutenant John Mullan, an officer under Wright in 1858, and afterwards made famous as surveyor and builder of the historic Mullan trail. "The war feeling of 1855," says this authority, "was not ended in 1858. Many may join issue, but let them remember that at the end of the winter campaign of 1856 there was a mutual withdrawing of troops and Indians from the field. In 1857 no troops were sent into the field. The immigrant routes were all blocked up in consequence of difficulties in the interior, and thus no passage of persons was had through the Indian country. The command under Colonel Steptoe then that entered the country in 1858 was the first military force that tried the field since the apparent cessation of hostilities."

It is true that Steptoe's little command entered the country with no hostile intent. On the contrary, as Mullan says, Steptoe had ever been a firm friend of the Indians, and the objects of his expedition were to "adjust amicably all the differences that existed among the Indians and whites that then had place at Fort Colville; to punish those who had run off cattle from Walla Walla, and at the same time to produce a moral effect on the Indians by moving a military column through the country, and give his men at the same time a field experience."

Steptoe has been severely criticised for apparent over-confidence in the friendli-

ness of the tribes north of the Snake, and the circumstance that his party came with an inadequate supply of ammunition has been cited in substantiation of that belief. But the truth is, Steptoe had given orders for an adequate supply before leaving Walla Walla, but lamentably, as a survivor of the expedition, who served as pack-master, frankly confessed to the author a few years ago, the greater part of the ammunition that had been brought out for packing was overlooked in the excitement of the hour, and the loss was not detected until the party had entered the Spokane country and found itself surrounded by a vastly superior number of furious, taunting warriors.

Apparently no official explanation was made of the scant supply of ammunition, for General Winfield Scott, then commanding the army, commented in this terse manner on Steptoe's report: "This is a candid report of a disastrous affair. The small supply of ammunition is surprising and unaccounted for."

It is not clear, however, that the disaster would have been averted if ammunition had been carried in quantity, for Steptoe's force was vastly outnumbered by the enemy, a part of his soldiers carried old musketoons, an arm inferior to the rifles borne by some of the Indians, and a part of the command were recent recruits who had never been under fire and were inexperienced in field service. It seems probable that with a greater ammunition supply Steptoe would not have made his successful night retreat, and that with the return of day the Indians—who had surrounded his position—would have charged his camp and annihilated his command. Even if they had lacked the courage to close in, they would have renewed the battle and subjected the troops to a repetition of the galling attack as it slowly retreated toward the Snake. In that event it seems certain, too, that the enemy would have sent a sufficient force to the river to capture Steptoe's canoes and thus cut off his retreat to Walla Walla.

Steptoe's official report of his repulse bears evidence of candor, truthfulness and moral courage. Writing, May 23, from Fort Walla Walla, to Major W. M. Mackall, assistant adjutant-general stationed at San Francisco, he said:

"Major: On the second instant I informed you of my intention to move northward with a part of my command. Accordingly on the 6th I left here with companies C, E and H, First dragoons (the term then employed for mounted men) and E, Ninth infantry, in all, five company officers and 152 enlisted men. Hearing that the hostile Pelouses were near Al-pon-on-we, in the Nez Perces land, I moved to that point and was ferried across Snake river by Timothy, a Nez Perces chief. The enemy fled towards the north and I followed leisurely on the road to Colville. On Sunday morning, the 16th, when near the Te-hoto-nim-me (probably Pine creek) in the Spokane country, we found ourselves suddenly in presence of ten or twelve hundred Indians of various tribes—Spokanes, Pelouses, Coeur d'Alenes, Yakimas and some others—all armed, painted and defiant. I moved slowly on until just about to enter a ravine that wound along the bases of several hills which were all crowned by the excited savages. Perceiving that it was their purpose to attack us in this dangerous place, I turned aside and encamped, the whole wild, frenzied mass moving parallel to us, and, by yells, taunts and menaces apparently trying to drive us to some initiatory act of violence.

"Towards night a number of chiefs rode up to talk with me, and inquired what were our motives to this intrusion upon them. I answered that we were passing on

to Colville, and had no hostile intentions towards the Spokanes, who had always been our friends, nor towards any other tribes who were friendly; that my chief aim in coming so far was to see the Indians and the white people at Colville, and by friendly discussion with both, endeavor to strengthen their good feelings for each other. They expressed themselves satisfied, but would not consent to let me have canoes, without which it would be impossible to cross the Spokane river. I concluded, for this reason, to retrace my steps at once, and the next morning (17th) turned back towards this post.

"We had not marched three miles when the Indians, who had gathered on the hills adjoining the line of march, began an attack upon the rear guard, and immediately the fight became general. We labored under the great disadvantage of having to defend the pack train while in motion and in a rolling country peculiarly favorable to the Indian mode of warfare. We had only a small quantity of ammunition, but in their excitement the soldiers could not be restrained from firing it in the wildest manner. They did, however, under the leading of their respective commanders, sustain well the reputation of the army for some hours, charging the enemy repeatedly with gallantry and success.

"The difficult and dangerous duty of flanking the column was assigned to Brevet Captain Taylor and Lieutenant Gaston, to both of whom it proved fatal. The latter fell about 12 o'clock, and the enemy soon after charging formally upon his company, it fell back in confusion and could not be rallied.

"About a half hour after this Captain Taylor was brought in mortally wounded; upon which I immediately took possession of a convenient height and halted. The fight continued here with unabated activity; the Indians occupying neighboring heights and working themselves along to pick off our men. The wounded increased in number continually. Twice the enemy gave unmistakable evidence of a design to carry our position by assault, and their number and desperate courage caused me to fear the most serious consequences to us from such an attempt on their part.

"It was manifest that the loss of their officers and comrades began to tell upon the spirit of the soldiers; that they were becoming discouraged, and not to be relied upon with confidence. Some of them were recruits but recently joined; two of the companies had musketoons, which were utterly worthless to us in our present condition; and, what was most alarming, only two or three rounds of cartridges remained to some of the men, and but few to any of them.

"It was plain that the enemy would give the troops no rest during the night, and they would be still further disqualified for stout resistance on the morrow, while the number of enemies would certainly be increased. I determined for these reasons, to make a forced march to Snake river, about eighty-five miles distant, and secure the canoes in advance of the Indians, who had already threatened to do the same in regard to us. After consulting with the officers, all of whom urged me to the step as the only means, in their opinion, of securing the safety of the command, I concluded to abandon everything that might impede our march. Accordingly we set out about 10 o'clock in perfectly good order, leaving the disabled animals and such as were not in condition to travel so far and so fast, and, with deep pain I have to add, the two howitzers. The necessity for this last measure will give you, as well as many words, a conception of the strait to which we believed ourselves reduced. Not an officer of the command doubted that we would be overwhelmed with the first

rush of the enemy upon our position in the morning; to retreat further by day, with our wounded men and property, was out of the question; to retreat slowly by night equally so, as we could not then be in position to fight all next day; it was therefore necessary to relieve ourselves of all incumbrances and to fly. We had no horses able to carry the guns over eighty miles without resting, and if the enemy should attack us en route, as, from their ferocity, we certainly expected they would, not a soldier could be spared for any other duty than skirmishing. For these reasons, which, I own candidly, seemed to me more cogent at the time than they do now, I resolved to bury the howitzers. What distresses me is that no attempt was made to bring them off; and all I can add is, that if this was an error of judgment it was committed after the calmest discussion of the matter, in which, I believe, every officer agreed with me.

"Enclosed is a list of the killed and wounded. The enemy acknowledged a loss of nine killed and forty or fifty wounded, many of them mortally. It is known to us that this is an underestimate, for one of the officers informs us that on a single spot where Lieutenants Gregg and Gaston met in a joint charge twelve dead Indians were counted. Many others were seen to fall.

"I can not do justice in this communication to the conduct of the officers throughout the affair. The gallant bearing of each and all was accompanied by an admirable coolness and sound judgment. To the skill and promptness of Assistant Surgeon Randolph the wounded are deeply indebted.

"Be pleased to excuse the hasty appearance of this letter; I am anxious to get it off, and have not time to have it transcribed.

"I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"E. J. Steptoe,

"Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel United States Army."

CHAPTER XXV

DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE STEPTOE RETREAT

INDIAN HOSTILITY A SURPRISE—HOSTILES OPEN FIRE—OFFICIAL REPORT OF KILLED AND WOUNDED—FATHER JOSET'S ACCOUNT OF THE TRAGEDY—DEVILISH INTRIGUES OF THE PALOUSES—RECOLLECTIONS OF A SURVIVOR—STEPTOE SAVED FROM ANNIHILATION BY NEZ PERCE ALLIES—FAITHFUL OLD TIMOTHY—MEMORIAL PARK MARKS THE SITE OF STEPTOE'S LAST STAND—PATRIOTIC GIFT OF DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

In all the trade of war, no feat
Is nobler than a brave retreat.

—*Butler's Hudibras.*

LIEUTENANT GREGG, in Steptoe's command, wrote to a friend at Fort Vancouver that when they left Walla Walla no one thought of having an encounter, for the Spokanes had always been considered as friends of the whites. It was therefore a surprise when these Indians halted the soldiers and protested against their further advance into the country. Gregg reported that the Indians were well mounted, armed principally with rifles, and were extended along Steptoe's flank at a distance of 100 yards. After Steptoe had talked with the chiefs he informed his officers that they would have to fight, as the Indians were constantly growing more menacing and insulting. The soldiers dared not dismount, and remained in the saddle for three hours until the Indians dispersed with the setting of the sun.

This was Sunday, the 16th, and the morning following the command started on the retrograde movement towards Walla Walla. The Indians opened fire as the troops were crossing a little stream, and within twenty minutes the firing was general. Gregg reported the losses at two officers, five men and three friendly Indians killed, ten men wounded, and Sergeant Ball, who had greatly distinguished himself in the action, as missing. He added, "It will take a thousand men to go into the Spokane country."

OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE KILLED, WOUNDED AND MISSING IN THE BATTLE AT TE-HOTO-NIM-ME, MAY 17, 1858.

Killed—Brevet Captain O. H. Taylor, Second Lieutenant William Gaston, Privates Alfred Barnes, Charles H. Harnish, James Crozet, Victor Charles DeMoy, First Sergeant William C. Williams.

Wounded—James Lynch, Henry Montreville, Elijah R. Birch, James Kelly, William D. Micon, Hariet Sneckster, James Healy, Maurice Henley, Charles Hughes, John Mitchell, Ormond W. Hammond, John Klay and Gotlieb Berger.

After the command had retreated to Walla Walla intense and bitter interest centered around the source of the Indians' supply of ammunition, and unjust and unfounded rumor asserted that Father Joset, the Jesuit priest at the Coeur d'Alene mission, had supplied it. In an official report Steptoe discredited that rumor, and gave his belief that it had been supplied either by the traders at Fort Colville or the Mormons from the Utah country. Father Joset was deeply grieved by the cruel rumor, and said to Steptoe that it was a charge too monstrous for him to notice in a formal way.

It is not difficult, now, to comprehend the origin of a story so diametrically in conflict with the truth. From the beginning of the unrest, Father Joset had pleaded incessantly with the Indians for peace. As a result of his labors, a large number of the Coeur d'Alenes, probably half of the tribe, had declined to be drawn into the fighting. In his zeal to prevent the impending clash, the priest had followed his wards to the very point of conflict, remonstrating with them till his own life was imperilled. When the soldiers, not understanding his motives, saw this man of God mingling with their savage enemies, they were startled, and sprang to the conclusion that he had been instrumental in inflaming their minds, and out of that belief grew the wild rumor that he had supplied them with ammunition.

We quote now from a letter of Father Joset, to Father Congiato, superior of the missions in the Rocky mountains, in relation to 'the events of the unfortunate 17th of May, and of the causes which have brought such sad results':

"Do not think, my reverend father, that I am beknowing to all the affairs of the savages; there is a great deal wanting; they come to us about the affairs of their conscience, but as to the rest they consult us but little. . . . After the battle Bonaventure, one of the best young men in the nation, who was not in the fight, and who, as I will tell later, has aided us a great deal in saving the lives of the Americans at the mission at the time of the battle, said to me, 'Do you think that if we thought to kill the Americans we would tell you so?' Even among the Coeur d'Alenes there is a certain number that we never see, that I do not know in any manner. The majority distrust me when I come to speak in favor of the Americans. . . .

"Last winter Michelle said to me: 'Father, if the soldiers exhibit themselves in the country (of the mountains) the Indians will become furious.' I had heard rumors that a detachment would come to Colville, and I intended to go to inform Colonel Steptoe of this disposition of the Indians. Toward the beginning of April it was learned that an American had been assassinated by a Nez Perce. Immediately rumor commences to circulate that troops were preparing to cross the Nez Perces (the Snake river) to obtain vengeance for this crime. Toward the end of April at the time of my departure the chief, Pierre Prulin, told me not to go now; to wait some weeks to see what turn affairs are going to take. 'I am too hurried,' I replied to him, 'I can not wait.' Arrived at the Camas prairie, I met the express of the great chief Vincent; this told me to return, his people thought there was too much danger at that moment. I replied that I was going to wait three days to give the chief time to find me himself; that if he did not come I would

continue my route. I said to myself, if Vincent believes really in the greatness of the danger, however bad or however long the road may be, he will not fail to come. In the meantime I saw several Nez Perces. Their conversation was generally against the Americans. One of them said in my presence, 'We will not be able to bring the Coeur d'Alenes to take part with us against the Americans; the priest is the cause; for this we wish to kill the priest.'

"Vincent marched day and night to find me. He said 'We are not on good terms with the Nez Perces and the Palouses; they are after us without cessation to determine us in the war against the Americans. We are so fatigued with their underhand dealings that I do not know if we will not come to break with them entirely. Their spies cover the country. When the young men go for horses, they will kill them secretly and start the report that they have been killed by the Americans. Then there will not be any means to restrain our people. We hear the chief of the soldiers spoken of only by the Nez Perces, and it is all against us and to excite our young people. I have great desire to go to see him (Steptoe).'

"It was agreed that when I should go down I should take him to see the colonel. It is then I learned a part of the rumors which were spreading over the country. A white man had said: 'Poor Indians, you are finished now; the soldiers are preparing to cross the river to destroy you; then another five hundred soldiers will go to establish themselves at Colville; then five hundred others will join them; then others and others till they find themselves the strongest; then they will chase the Indians from the country.'

"Still another white man had seen five hundred soldiers encamped upon the Palouse preparing themselves to cross the river. All the above passed three weeks before the last events. Among other things Vincent said to me: 'If the troops are coming to pass the river, I am sure the Nez Perces are going to direct them upon us. . . '

"On the 15th of May I received another express from Vincent. The troops had passed the Nez Perces (the Snake); they had said to the Coeur d'Alenes that it was for them the soldiers wished. Vincent desired me to go to aid him in preventing a conflict. He told me to be quick—the troops were near. I set out in an instant. . . . The distance from the mission to Vincent's camp was, I think, about 90 miles; as the water was very high, I could only arrive on the evening of the 16th. Vincent told me he had been kept very busy to restrain his young men; that he had been at first to the chief of the soldiers, and had asked him if he had come to fight the Coeur d'Alenes; that upon his negative reply he had said: 'Well, go on,' but to his great displeasure he had camped in his neighborhood; that then he had made his people retire. Still a bloodthirsty Palouse was endeavoring to excite them. Later other Indians confirmed to me the same report; they were Vincent and the Spokane's chief who prevented the fight on the 15th. The chiefs of the different tribes and a quantity of other Indians gathered around me. I spoke to them to persuade them to peace. I told them that they did not know with what intention the chief of the soldiers was coming; that the next day they should bring me a horse, and that they might accompany me till in sight of the soldiers; that I would then go alone to find the officers in command, and would make them to know then what was now doubtful; they appeared well satisfied. I said still to Vincent to see that no person took the advance.

"The same evening they came from the camp of the Palouses to announce that one of the slaves of the soldiers (it is thus that they call the Indians who accompany the troops) had just arrived. The chief of the soldiers had said, according to him, 'You Coeur d'Alenes, you are well-to-do; your lands, your women, are ours.' I told the Coeur d'Alenes not to believe it; that no officer ever spoke in that way; tomorrow, I said, I will ask the chief of the soldiers if he has said that.

"The next morning I saw the Spokane's Tshequyseken (medicine man). Said he to me: 'Yesterday evening I was with the chief of the soldiers when a Palouse came to tell him that the priest had just arrived; he has brought some powder to the Coeur d'Alenes to encourage them to kill the soldiers.' Then, turning around towards the Coeur d'Alenes I said: 'Do you see now the deceit of this people? They go and slander us before the soldiers, and slander the soldiers here.'

"When they had brought me a horse I went to the camp of the soldiers; they were far off. I set out in their direction to join them. I saw Colonel Steptoe, made him acquainted with the dispositions of the Indians, the mistrust the presence of the troops would inspire, and how I had been kept from going to inform him in the spring. . . . I asked him if he did not desire to see the chiefs. Upon his reply that his dragoon horses were too much frightened to stop long, I observed to him that they could talk in marching; he then said he would take pleasure in seeing them. I went to seek them, but could find only Vincent; him I conducted to the Colonel; he was fully satisfied with him. One of the Indians who accompanied the troops gave Vincent a blow over the shoulders with his whip, saying to him, 'Proud man, why do you not fire?' and then accused one of the Coeur d'Alenes who had followed Vincent of having wished to fire upon a soldier. Vincent was replying to the colonel when his uncle came to seek him, saying the Palouses were about commencing to fire. I warned the colonel of it and then went with Vincent to try and restrain the Spokanes and Coeur d'Alenes; when we had made them acquainted with the disposition of the colonel they appeared well satisfied. Victor, one of the braves who has since died of his wounds, said, 'We have nothing more to do here, we will each one go to his home.' Jean Pierre, the chief, supported the proposition of Victor; then Malkapsi became furious. I did not at the time know why. I found out later that he wished all to go to the camp of Vincent to talk over their affairs. Malkapsi slapped Jean Pierre, and struck Victor with the handle of his whip. I seized the infuriated man and a few words sufficed to calm him.

"I set out then with a few chiefs to announce at the camp that all was tranquil; a half hour or an hour later, what was my surprise to learn that they were fighting. I had to ask for a horse, and there was in the camp only old men and women; it was about three o'clock when they brought me a heavy wagon horse. I set out, however, with the hope of getting there by night, when I was met by an Indian who told me it was useless to fatigue myself, 'the Indians are enraged at the death of their people, they will listen to no one,' whereupon I returned to my tent, the dagger in my heart.

"The following is the cause of this unhappy conflict as it has been related to me: The parents of Malkapsi, irritated and ashamed of his passion, said to him, 'What do you do? You maltreat your own people. If you wish to fight, behold your enemies' (pointing to the troops), then saying, 'Oh, well let us go and die,'

they ran towards the troops. I do not think there was more than a dozen of them. The affair did not become serious until Jacques, an excellent Indian, well beloved, and Zachariah, brother-in-law of the great chief Vincent, had been killed; then the fury of the Indians knew no bounds.

"The next day I asked those that I saw, 'What provocation have you received from the troops?' 'None,' said they. 'Then you are only murderers, the authors of the death of your own people.' 'That is true; the fault can in no way be attributed to the soldiers. Malkapsi is the cause of all the evil.'

"But they were not all so well disposed. When I asked others what the soldiers had done to them, they replied to me: 'And what have we done to them that they should come thus to seek us; if they were going to Colville,' said they, 'why do they not take the road; no one of us would then think of molesting them? Why do they go to cross the Nez Perces so high up? Why direct themselves in the interior of our country, removing themselves further from Colville? Is it us who have been to seek the soldiers, or the soldiers who have come to fall on us with their cannon?' Thus, although they avow that they fired first, they pretend that the first act of hostility came from the troops. I asked them if they had taken scalps. They told me no, with the exception of a small piece that had been taken by a half fool. I asked them also if they had interred the dead. They replied that the women had buried them, but that the Palouses had opened the graves which were at the encampment. It is then also that the Indians told me: 'We see now that the father did not deceive us when he told us that the soldiers wished peace. We forced them to fight. We fired a long time upon them before they answered our fire.' . . . . . .

"You will easily believe me, my reverend father, when I tell you I would purchase back with my life this unhappy event; not on my own account; I have been and will be much slandered; but what are the judgments of man to me, when God is my witness that I have done everything in my power to preserve peace? . . .

"I am, with respect, my reverend father, your very humble servant,

P. Joset, S. J."

Father Joset accused Steptoe's Nez Perce guides with intriguing to bring on a clash of arms between the troops and the Spokanes and Coeur d'Alenes, alleging as a motive their desire to settle old feuds against those tribes, and believing that the soldiers would easily defeat and humiliate their enemies. Without question the guides directed the command to the wrong road, as the direct and natural route to Colville would have led the party more to the west and towards a crossing further down the Spokane. That the guide mistook himself so grossly, he declares, would be absurd to suppose. "I see no other way to explain his conduct than to say he laid a snare for the Coeur d'Alenes whom he wished to humiliate, and seeing afterwards the troops fall in the ditch that he had dug for others, he has done everything possible to draw them from it."

Poor, faithful old Timothy, for his fidelity to the whites can not be doubted, even though, as Joset charges, he fell into a design to use them to humiliate a tribal enemy, was doubly unfortunate in falling under a cloud of suspicion; for Beall tells us that when Timothy came in from his perilous work of scouting in search of an opening through which the exhausted command might retreat to Walla Walla, a

number of the soldiers questioned his fidelity, and murmured that he was betraying them into the hands of the savage foe, and would lead them to ambush and destruction.

The Palouses were Machiavellian in their devilish work of embittering the Spokanes and Coeur d'Alenes against the whites. They made it their chief mission to circulate false rumors, always attributing evil designs to the soldiers, and were deplorably successful in their scheme of poisoning the minds of their childlike and credulous dupes. Lieutenant Mullan has expressed his deepest contempt for the mischief-making role of these Indians, whose tribe, he avers, was made up of renegades from every other tribe in the interior. They bore "a most unenviable reputation for lying and thieving—their best of traits," and he adds that with such men for newsmongers and such men for councillors it is not surprising to know that the Indians who had been friendly were misled and misinformed regarding the intentions of the white people. They had been told that the primary and principal object was for the extermination of the Indian and to put the white man in possession of his women, his wives, his lands, his all.

During all of this time, continues Mullan, the Jesuit fathers had been indefatigable in their exertions to preserve peace. They pleaded early and late, till their weak voices were drowned in the stronger voices of the hostiles crying for war, until their very motives were suspected and impugned and they themselves threatened with a fate which the agitators had now planned for all the whites.

Fifty years after, Major J. G. Trimble, a survivor of the battle, residing then at Berkeley, California, wrote a graphic reminiscence of the retreat: "The command arrived at the butte (scene of Steptoe's final stand) about the middle of the afternoon. The uninjured men spread out in skirmish lines along the north and east sides of the butte, seeking refuge behind tufts of bunch-grass. Behind them were placed the supplies, the wounded and the two howitzers. The wounded suffered severely. The men had been without food since daybreak, and without sleep for more than 24 hours.

"The Indians kept attacking persistently. They tied bunch-grass to their heads and then wriggled like snakes through the tall grass. To add to the desperation of the situation, the command was running short of ammunition, it having started with only 30 rounds to the man.

"When evening fell the Indians ceased firing, but their campfires blazed all round and made the attempted sortie dangerous. Flight was the only course left. The howitzers were buried and the dead interred. The wounded were tied to horses, the white horses being covered with dark blankets. A few mules were picketed to one side to suggest some sort of trap to the wary savages, and at 9 o'clock at night the command set forth under the guidance of the Nez Perces.

"Through all the weary night the men rode, reaching the Palouse hills at daybreak. When they had crossed the river a halt was made and some semblance of order restored to the command, but there was no food to be had. Six men were missing, probably becoming lost in the hurried flight through the dark. The rest of the command soon mounted the jaded horses and rode hard towards the Snake river.

"About dusk the troops reached the top of the long rough descent to the river now known as Steptoe canyon, and at midnight they got to the river, and the faith-

ROSALIA, WASHINGTON

Over this ground Steptoe's command retreated in 1858, pursued by one thousand howling, painted warriors. Within a stone's throw of this scene he made his last stand against the hostiles

ful Nez Perces were there. A strong body of them climbed to the top of the canyon and stood guard till daylight, when the troops crossed the river. The squaws succored the wounded and broiled salmon for the nearly famished men. Had the Nez Perces not remained faithful, it is probable that the entire command would have been destroyed."

According to Trimble the equipment was poor. One company had Mississippi Yager rifles, an arm that carried well but could not be loaded on horseback. The others fought with musketoons, which carried one ball and three buckshot, but these guns were of no execution at more than fifty yards. The men also had old-fashioned, single barrel, muzzle-loading pistolets, decidedly inferior to those of the Indians. These arms were inferior to the Hudson's Bay rifles of the Indians, and only the determined bravery of the troops, in repeatedly charging the yelling savages saved the command from destruction in the running fight along Pine creek.

Years afterward, when the smiling arts of peace had conquered these scenes of former warlike aspect, a number of these antiquated arms were turned by the plough again to the sunshine and the winds. In the heat and stress of battle, weary soldiers, their ammunition gone, had cast them away. And years later, wheels of the howitzer carriages were taken from a deep pool in Pine creek, near the base of battle hill.

Lieutenant Lawrence Kip, an officer in Wright's expedition, expressed the consensus of official judgment in holding that the retreat was necessary, and, under the circumstances, admirably conducted. "Night at last settled down on the battlefield and found the little command perfectly exhausted and with the ammunition almost gone," wrote Kip. Two officers—Captain Oliver H. P. Taylor and Lieutenant William Gaston, both of the First dragoons—had fallen with a number of men. The remainder were gathered on rising ground, while every hill around swarmed with their exulting enemies who seemed to have them now completely in their toils.

"A council of the officers was hastily held by Colonel Steptoe at which there was but one opinion. The force against them was overpowering, and by the next morning would undoubtedly be still further increased. Without ammunition they would be almost defenseless, and it was evident that long before the close of the next day not one of the command would be left to tell the story of their fight.

"Nothing remained therefore but to attempt a retreat during the night. The bodies of the fallen which were within their reach were buried, the two howitzers were cached, and the command mounted and struck off in the direction of the Snake river."

In every account of this sad affair the author has discovered an earnest desire to commend the fidelity and fine intelligence of our Nez Perce allies. They saved the command from annihilation. It was the writer's good fortune, in the spring of 1907, to meet a little group of the survivors who were visiting Rosalia as guests of the townspeople. In the work of relocating the various points of interest they lived again in the wild, free past, and many an eye was dim with tears as these grizzled veterans strode still sturdily over the hills and through the pleasant meadows where half a century before they had fought so desperately for life. The prosperous town has preempted a considerable portion of the old battlefield, and straggles out to the base of the low hill where the last stand was made. The little valley of Pine creek

lies at its base, and across this meadow and up the hill was carried the supply of water that saved the lives of wounded soldiers and served to refresh the weary comrades who fought so gallantly to save the command.

Particularly clear and vivid were the recollections of Private Thomas J. Beall, and the lapse of fifty years had not dulled his gratitude to the faithful Nez Perce guides. He recalled their names with fondest recollection—pious names they bore in token of the labors of zealous mission bands. There was Timothy, a chief, and Levi and Simon, and half-breed Charlie Connors, "who was killed on yonder hill the night that we escaped."

In the dusk of the summer night loyal Timothy volunteered to scout under cover of darkness out beyond the skirmish line, in search of some possible opening in that terrible cordon of savage foes. And Steptoe accepted the brave service, and never questioned Timothy's loyalty or judgment when he returned after an hour of perilous adventure and reported that he had found a gap and through it could lead the soldiers, perhaps to safety and home. The way led across the little valley, over a shallow in the stream, and thence up a steep hill on the other side, so steep indeed that the hostile Indians had not thought it worth their while to guard.

Three survivors of the Steptoe and Wright campaigns went over the extended Steptoe battlefield at Rosalia, Whitman county, June 14th, 1907, and explained to nearly sixty visitors from Spokane and many citizens of Rosalia, the scenes and stirring events in that disastrous fight. These survivors were Thomas J. Beall, who now lives near Juliaetta, Idaho. He was Colonel Steptoe's chief-packmaster in the Steptoe battle; Michael J. Kenny who also took part in the battle and who came to the reunion from Walla Walla; J. J. Rohn, also from Walla Walla, who was with Colonel Wright's command the following autumn and was a part of the detachment sent by Colonel Wright to the scene of the Steptoe battle, to recover the remains of the officers and men who fell in that action.

A memorial park marks now the site of Steptoe's last stand. Citizens of Rosalia donated three acres, and Esther Reed chapter of Spokane of the Daughters of the American Revolution has taken up the commendable work of erecting there an enduring monument to the memory of the soldier band who fought with such heroic fortitude in order that we who came after, and our children and children's children might have the blessing of enduring peace. The chapter has pledged the completion of that work, and the historic eminence will bear a fitting granite obelisk.

The site was formally dedicated, June 15, 1908, with an impressive programme before an assemblage of more than 1,000 people. Special trains brought two hundred regulars from Fort Wright and interested citizens from Spokane and Colfax, and the visitors were met in Rosalia by a special reception committee comprising Mayor F. M. Campbell and Mrs. Campbell, Tom Prichard, marshal of the day, assisted by L. W. Anderson; Mr. and Mrs. M. E. Cheat, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Helmer, Mr. and Mrs. F. J. Wilmer, Mr. and Mrs. Ralston McCaig, Mr. and Mrs. M. W. Merritt, Mrs. T. R. Lewis, Miss Kate Woods, S. W. Towne, T. F. Donohoe, E. W. Wagner and others.

Esther Reed chapter was represented by Mrs. M. J. Gordon, regent; Mrs. F. H.

Crombie, vice-regent; Mrs. J. W. MacIntosh, recording secretary; Mrs. J. S. Moore, registrar; Mrs. William H. Smiley, treasurer, and Mrs. J. T. Cooper, director.

A procession was formed and marched to the battle ground, and arrived there, the Colfax band played patriotic airs while the people cheered and waved flags. Prayer was offered by the Rev. F. N. Smith of Rosalia, and H. M. West, on behalf of the citizens of Rosalia presented the deed of gift of the park to J. R. Rupley, chairman of the Whitman county board of commissioners. Mrs. M. A. Phelps, chairman of the Steptoe Monument association, responded to the presentation of the deed on behalf of the Daughters of the American Revolution. General T. R. Tannatt of Spokane, a member of the West Point Graduates association whose long army service in the west had brought him into intimate relationship with many of the officers who fought in the Indian wars of the '50s, reviewed the careers of Taylor, Gaston and Gregg.

In the afternoon formal and eloquent addresses were made by Governor Albert E. Mead, Colonel Lea Febiger, then commanding at Fort Wright, and Judge Stephen J. Chadwick, then of the superior bench of Whitman county and later of the state supreme court.

CHAPTER XXVI

COLONEL WRIGHT'S CAMPAIGN OF REPRISAL

WAR DEPARTMENT ACTS WITH QUICK VIGOR—STRONG COMMAND SENT OUT FROM WALLA WALLA—SAVAGES MASS FOR THE CONFLICT—ARE INSOLENT AND DEFIANT—BOLDLY ATTACK THE TROOPS—ARE ROUTED WITH HEAVY LOSS NEAR MEDICAL LAKE—LT. KIP'S GRAPHIC ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE—WILD FLIGHT OF THE ALLIES—NEZ PERCES CELEBRATE WITH A WAR DANCE—HOSTILES RALLY FOR ANOTHER ATTACK—FIRE THE PRAIRIE GRASS—SCENES OF WILD CONFUSION—BATTLE OF THE SPOKANE PLAINS.

The setting sun
With yellow radiance lightened all the vale:
And, as the warriors moved, each polished helm
Corslet, or spear, glanced back in gilded beams.
The hill they climbed; and halting at its top,
Of more than mortal size, towering they deemed
An host angelic clad in burning arms.

—*John Home.*

THE war department was quick to grasp the unpleasant fact that Steptoe's repulse made necessary a campaign of resolute vigor and stern reprisal. Intoxicated by their victory, the hostile tribes grew more arrogant and confident than before, and boasted that they would drive back any force that the government might dare to send north of Snake river. Clamor rose louder and more angry with each passing week for the massacre or expulsion of every white man in the country, and it became apparent that nothing short of complete chastisement would allay the bitter hostility of the savage mind.

Accordingly it was decided to hurry reinforcements to Fort Walla Walla, and to send a strong column under Colonel George Wright into the Indian country.

These preparations consumed a period of about three months. Before leaving Walla Walla Colonel Wright dispatched couriers to the friendly Nez Perces, asking them to meet him at the fort. When they arrived a council was held under an improvised arbor, and they were told by the commander that so long as they remained faithful they should have the protection of the strong arm of the law. After several chiefs had spoken, about thirty warriors volunteered to accompany the command.

The first detachment, under Captain Keyes, moved out from the fort on the morning of August 7, charged with the duty of selecting a crossing at the Snake and choosing a site for the necessary field work to guard it, and at the same time to keep

open the line of communication with Fort Walla Walla. Captain Keyes selected the crossing at the mouth of the Tucanon, as it offered an abundance of good wood and grass, and designated it "Fort Taylor" in honor of the Captain Taylor who had fallen in Steptoe's battle of May 17. Here a fortification was erected, a road constructed for the use of the troops in descending from the plateau to the stream, and a large flatboat built to ferry the command across the Snake.

A severe storm delayed the crossing two days, but on August 25 and 26 Wright made the passage successfully with his entire command, without loss or accident, and went into camp on the north bank with a force of 570 regulars, thirty friendly Nez Perces, 100 employes and 800 animals of all kinds, with subsistence for thirty-eight days. Brevet Major Wyse, with company D, Third artillery, was left to occupy Fort Taylor to protect the stores and boats and keep open the line of communication.

"Marching from Snake river on the morning of the 27th," runs the official report of Colonel Wright, "our route lay over a very broken country for a distance of fourteen miles, where we struck the Pelouse river and encamped on its right bank. Resuming our march on the 28th, I halted, after a march of six miles and a quarter, at a point where the trail divides—that to the left leading to Colville direct, and that to the right more to the eastward. After consulting our guides and examining our maps and itineraries, I determined to march on the trail to the right; accordingly, on the 29th, we advanced. The country presented a forbidding aspect; extensive burnt districts were traversed, but at the distance of twenty miles I found a very good encampment, with sufficient grass, wood and water. Up to this time we had seen no hostile Indians, although Lieutenant Mullan, my engineer officer, with our eagle-eyed allies, the Nez Perces, had been constantly in advance and on either flank; signs, however, had been discovered, and I knew that our approach was known to the hostiles.

"Advancing on the morning of the 30th, occasionally a few of the enemy were seen on the hilltops on our right flank, increasing during the day and moving parallel with our line of march, but too remote and too few in number to justify pursuit.

"After marching eighteen miles I encamped, and about 5 p. m. the Indians approached our pickets and a sharp firing commenced. I immediately moved out with a portion of my command and the enemy fled. I pursued them for four miles over a very broken country, and then returned to camp at sunset. All was quiet during the night, and at 6 o'clock this morning we were again on the march. Soon the Indians were seen in small parties at the distance of two or three miles on the hills, and moving as yesterday, with their numbers gradually increasing and approaching a little nearer, but I did not deem them worthy of notice, only taking the precaution to halt frequently and close up our baggage and supply trains as compactly as possible. Our march this day was ten miles longer than we anticipated, and for a long distance without water; and, at two miles from this camp, the Indians made a strong demonstration on our supply train, but were handsomely dispersed and driven off by the rear guards, and infantry deployed on either flank.

"My men and animals require rest; I shall remain here tomorrow; I have a good camp, with an abundance of wood, water and grass."

The command was now well advanced into the Spokane country, and was moving over the elevated and broken plateau which forms an indistinct boundary between the Palouse region, the Big Bend country, and the Spokane valley proper. Little

time, however, remained for rest, for the savage foe was massing for the conflict, eager for the impending clash, still flushed with his recent victory over Steptoe's little column, and confident that a few more suns at furthest would witness a repetition of that disaster and perhaps on a more sanguinary scale.

On the morning of September 1st, Indians in greater numbers were seen posted on the surrounding hills. They were defiant and insolent, and seemed eager for an engagement. Wright met the challenge by ordering out a large part of his force to drive the enemy from the hills and engage the main body of the warriors, reported by the scouts to be concentrated just beyond an overlooking eminence. After advancing a mile and a half, this force of 220 men came to the foot of the hill and promptly dislodged the savages. The dragoons first reached the summit, and after exchanging a volley, drove back the Indians' skirmish line, and held the position till the foot soldiers came up.

On the plain below the enemy was massed, and every spot seemed alive with the red warriors which the soldiers had come so far to fight. The scene was in the vicinity of Four Lakes, near the present town of Medical Lake, and about twenty miles from the falls of the Spokane. The Indians, mounted, were in the scattered woods on the shores of the lakes, in ravines and gullies, and dashing madly over the open ground. Kip reported that they seemed to cover the country for a distance of two miles. "Mounted on their fleet, hardy horses, the crowd swayed back and forth, brandishing their weapons, shouting their war cries, and keeping up a song of defiance. Most of them were armed with Hudson's Bay muskets, while others had bows and arrows and long lances."

In his description of the scenes that followed, Lieutenant Kip has left us a graphic portrayal that is suggestive of the best lines of Walter Scott:

"They were in all the bravery of their war array, gaudily painted and decorated with their wild trappings. Their plumes fluttered above them, while below skins and trinkets and all kinds of fantastic embellishments flaunted in the sunshine. Their horses, too, were arrayed in the most glaring finery. Some were even painted, and with colors to form the greatest contrast; the white being smeared with crimson in fantastic figures, and the dark colored streaked with white clay. Beads and fringes of gaudy colors were hanging from their bridles, while the plumes of eagle feathers, interwoven with the mane and tail, fluttered as the breeze swept over them, and completed their wild and fantastic appearance."

But a disheartening surprise was in store for them. Steptoe's troops had been equipped with antiquated arms inferior to those carried by the savages, but the men under Wright were armed with the latest military rifle which propelled a minnie ball with great accuracy and long range. It soon became apparent that consternation had seized the red warriors, for they retreated before the death-dealing fire of the soldiers. At first they came resolutely forward to engage the invaders, advancing rapidly, firing, and then retreating with great quickness and baffling irregularity. But as the line advanced, an increasing number of Indians were seen to fall from their saddles, although their fire was impotent against the troops. As in the Steptoe fight, they made desperate and successful efforts to prevent their dead falling into the hands of the soldiers. One Indian was seen leading off a horse with two of his dead companions bound to it.

As the steadily advancing troops drew nearer and the fire grew more heavy, the

whole array that had been gathered in the woods and ravines around the base of the hill broke and fled towards the plain.

This was the moment eagerly awaited by the dragoons, and when the order was given to charge, the companies that had been with Steptoe and seen Taylor and Gaston fall before the fire of the redmen, went wild with the spirit of vengeance. Up to this moment the mounted men had been held in the rear of the foot soldiers, but galloped forward between the company intervals when they heard the commanding voice of Captain Grier shouting, "Charge the rascals!" In a twinkling the dragoons were upon the madly retreating Indians. Out came the sabers, flashing in the mellow autumn sunlight, and with clatter of hoof and rattle of arms, and fierce yells of the victors and shrieks of the vanquished, the work of cutting down the laggards was accomplished with a resolution and thoroughness that struck terror to the fleeing foes. Lieutenant Davidson shot one warrior from the saddle, with a blow of his saber Lieutenant Gregg split the skull of another. It became a wild race for life, with the fleeing Indians dashing desperately for cover in the rocks and woods. Only the jaded condition of the soldiers' mounts saved the fugitives from complete destruction. The troops had been on the march for twenty-eight days, there had been constant scouting, and at night the horses were picketed with insufficient grazing area, and they were consequently no match for the fresh mounts of the Indian fighters.

So completely were the horses exhausted, that they were passed by the foot troops, who advanced and drove the enemy under a constant fire for about two miles.

As the Indians had scattered under wide cover, Colonel Wright ordered a bugle recall, and the flushed and triumphant soldiers returned to camp. The fighting had lasted four hours, and extended over a field of three miles. Not a man was killed or wounded, while the Indians had suffered a loss of fifteen or twenty killed and forty or fifty wounded. Their dead included a brother and brother-in-law of Chief Garry of the Spokanes.

In their precipitate flight the Indians threw away their impedimenta, and the plain was strewn with muskets, quivers, bows and arrows, blankets and robes. There was much gaiety as the troops came in with trophies of the fight, particularly when an officer appeared with two buffalo robes and a blanket wrapped around himself and horse.

A little later the Nez Perce allies straggled in. They had pursued the fleeing enemy ten miles, and came back even richer in spoils than their white comrades. Deplorably, their collection contained several scalps, and "Cutmouth John," who had received in the Whitman massacre a frightful wound that hideously marred his features, was most jubilant of all as he waved his bloody trophy high above his head. A grand war dance, protracted far into the night, celebrated the day's events to the complete satisfaction of the allies.

Colonel Wright, in his official report, "took great pleasure in commending to the department the coolness and gallantry displayed by every officer and soldier engaged in the battle."

To recruit the weary animals after the battle of the Four Lakes, the command rested there for three days. No hostile Indians appeared to disturb the well-earned rest, and the Nez Perce scouts, after reconnoitering the surrounding country, reported that none were in sight.

At 6 o'clock on the morning of September 5 the column broke camp and started through the broken country for the Spokane river. After a march of five miles, the enemy was seen collecting in large numbers on the right. For some time they rode parallel to the troops, all the while increasing in numbers and insolence. The lesson of the 1st was incomplete, and the hostiles had seemingly renewed their courage, their confidence and insolence indicating some newly conceived plan of battle in which they were placing high confidence. This they quickly put into execution. A high wind was blowing from the south, and the Indians firing the dry grass of the prairies, a roaring sea of flame was soon rolling upon the command, enveloping it in dense clouds of smoke. Under cover of this bank of smoke, the redmen partly encircled the troops and poured in a rifle fire upon them. The pack train promptly closed up and was guarded by Captain Dent's company of rifles, a company of the Third artillery and a company of dragoons, while the remainder of the command made ready to repulse the foe.

A curious and exciting scene attended these preparations. While the Mexican muleteers were driving the 400 heavily loaded pack animals to a center, many of the hostiles, wild with rage and excitement, were indulging in the most daring feats of horsemanship, dashing down steep hills with all the reckless abandon at their command, the while shouting in defiance and taunting the soldiers to meet them in action. Their courage was of short duration, for when the soldiers, flushed with recent victory, charged through the smoke and flames, they quickly broke and fled to the cover of woods and canyons. But they had short respite in the woods, for the howitzers soon shelled them out of that cover. It was then that the great war chief Kamiaken of the Yakimas had a narrow escape from death, a shell bursting in a tree-top above him and sending down a branch that inflicted a severe wound.

Then the infantry renewed the charge and rapidly drove the skulkers on towards the river, until the country for a distance of four miles, which had recently been swarming with them, was cleared of their presence. Among those who fell in this stage of the fighting was a chief upon whose saddle was found the pistol used by Lieutenant Gaston in the Steptoe campaign.

Fighting of this nature, alternate charges by dragoons and infantry, continued all the way to the Spokane river, over the present military reservation of Fort Wright.

In his official report Colonel Wright states that he had continuous fighting for seven hours, over a distance of fourteen miles, and finally camped on the banks of the river, the troops exhausted by a long and fatiguing march, without water and for two-thirds of the distance between the four lakes and the stream having been constantly under fire. "The battle was won," Wright adds, "two chiefs and two brothers of Chief Garry killed, besides many of lesser note, killed or wounded. A kind Providence protected us, although at many times the balls flew thick and fast through our ranks; yet, strange to say, we had but one man slightly wounded."

Wright officially designated this engagement the "battle of the Spokane plains," as the eastern portion of what is now termed the Big Bend country was then known. His official reports and others speak of the Spokane valley as "Coeur d'Alene prairie." This seeming error in terms will be better understood when the fact is recalled that the fur traders who began operating in this region in 1811 called the stream from the lake to the present Little Spokane the Coeur d'Alene river, and considered

the Little Spokane and the stream below its mouth the Spokane. Old maps, reports and narratives frequently refer to the Spokane house at the confluence of the Coeur d'Alene and Spokane, or the "Pointed Heart" and the Spokane, Coeur d'Alene being a French phrase translatable as "arrow-hearted," or more literally, "awl-hearted." Lieutenant John Mullan leaves us the following interesting information bearing on this point:

The version given me (says Mullan), and which would appear to be reliable, is as follows: When the English trading corporation known as the Hudson's Bay company, monopolized that whole region of Oregon, their successes in establishing trading stations among the Indians was of the most marked character. No tribe, however hostile or numerous, had been ever known to oppose any obstacle in their way, until they made the attempt to establish a station or post among this small band of Indians, who, tenacious of their rights, and loving their mountain wilderness, said to this company: "We are willing to barter our furs and peltries for your powder and ball and such things as you bring for traffic, but we can only make the exchange at certain points," named by themselves; "within the limits of our land you can not enter, but on the banks of yonder river, which marks our border, we will meet you at stated times, and there, and there only, we can trade and traffic." Their determination, which even up to this day (1858) they have most steadfastly clung, became the law of the company, and they so persistently maintained it that the Canadian *voyageurs,* employes of the company, immediately called these savages "Coeur d'Alenes," Indians having "hearts of arrows," and hence often called "Pointed Hearted" Indians, and the mission "Pointed Heart" mission.

When the disciples of Loyola entered this region (Mullan continues), with the praiseworthy object of establishing their missions at different points in the mountains, the Coeur d'Alene country, among other sections, was selected. "But," said the members of this same company to the fathers, "you are certainly not going to establish a mission among the Pointed Hearts?" "Why not?" said they. "Because," was the reply, "we have tried for years past to surmount, and as yet without success, the difficulties that array themselves against us and forbid the attempt." But the more anxious now, because difficulties did environ their pathway, the noble DeSmet, Joset and Point, in 1842, went forth and successfully established the cross in the Rocky mountains, and, too, in the very heart of the country of these semi-savages; and the evidences that we now saw around us all bore witness how untiring and successful their efforts had been."

CHAPTER XXVII

WRIGHT DICTATES STERN TERMS TO THE VANQUISHED

COMMAND BREAKS CAMP AND MOVES UP THE SPOKANE—GARRY SUES FOR PEACE—WRIGHT HANGS FIRST VICTIM—CAPTURES AND KILLS VAST HERD OF INDIAN HORSES—RUNNER BRINGS LETTER FROM FATHER JOSET—INDIAN BARNS AND GRANARIES BURNED—CHIEF VINCENT OF THE COEUR D'ALENES BEGS FOR PEACE—COMMAND MARCHES TO COEUR D'ALENE MISSION—PEACE COUNCIL A SCENE OF BARBARIC COLOR—INDIANS TERRIFIED BY APPEARANCE OF DONATI'S COMET.

WE PAUSE in the narrative to take a prospect of this region as it unrolled before the eye of Wright's command. Walla Walla's fair valley was as unsettled as in the days when the fur trader entered the country a century ago, for little effort had been made by home-builders to invade it since the atrocities of the Whitman massacre of 1847. Its great beauty and potential fertility, however, were then apparent, and an officer under Wright predicted that it could be brought to the support of a population of 15,000, an estimate that seemed then a rather wild flight into the fanciful. Walla Walla city alone has now a population in excess of 20,000.

After the command crossed Snake river, its way lay across what is now the heart of the rich Palouse country, then a vast, open bunch-grass region, dotted by bands of Indian horses, and with an occasional village of tepees in the sheltered groves along the streams. The reader will have noted that the author, when quoting from official reports, has regarded the original and correct spelling of the name Pelouse—a French noun translatable into English as a grassy sward, an appellation bestowed by French trappers and *voyageurs* in the early part of the nineteenth century. This beautiful, rolling region, now so rich in material wealth, and all the attendants of refinement and civilization—with its amplitude of schools, colleges and churches, of homes, towns and cities, served as a great pasturage domain for Indian herds. Its rich volcanic soil had nowhere been broken by the ploughshare's steel.

At the falls of the Spokane the river ran as wild and free as it had thundered through the distant ages, and save the nomadic shelters of the red men, no habitation marked its shores. Up the valley, as the command neared lake Coeur d'Alene, evidences of semi-civilized cultivation met the eye. Wheat-growing had been attempted with considerable success by the Spokanes and Coeur d'Alenes, and in their gardens potatoes and other vegetables gave promise of the more bountiful yields that the soil would bear under the white settler's care.

Excepting an occasional small enclosure for these agricultural beginnings, the Spokane valley was also a spreading bunch-grass domain, over which roamed large bands of cayuse ponies and some small herds of cattle.

The fighting over, the officers and their brave men had better opportunity to enjoy the wildly beautiful panorama which nature had spread around their camps. Lieutenant Kip wrote enthusiastically of the entrancing scenes, blending a prospect of rushing waters, of limpid lakes and distant wooded mountains. We quote from his description:

"We broke up our camp this morning at seven, and moved up the river about seven miles, when we again encamped. Most of our way lay through the wood skirting the river (the command is now marching over ground that afterward became the business and residence sections of Spokane), the scenery around being very beautiful. Just before reaching our camping ground, we passed the great Spokan falls (note his omission of the final 'e'). It is a high, narrow, basaltic canyon, where the whole river passes over an inclined ledge of rocks, with a fall of between forty and fifty feet. The view from every point is exceedingly picturesque. As high up as the falls, salmon are found in great abundance, while above them trout are very plenty."

A few days later the same writer wrote glowingly of the scenes surrounding lake Coeur d'Alene:

"All day we have toiled along through beautiful scenery, yet a country difficult for a force to make its way, as our march has been through the forest in its primeval state. For the first few miles along the borders of the lake, the trees were scattered, but after leaving the shore the timber became so thick that the troops had to march in single file. The forest seemed to become more dense as we advanced, until we could see nothing about us but high hills and deep caverns, with thick woods covering all, through which we wound our way in a twilight gloom.

"This is a splendid country as a home for the Indians, and we can not wonder that they are aroused when they think the white men are intruding on them. The Coeur d'Alene lake, one of the most beautiful I have ever seen, with water clear as crystal, is about fifteen miles in length (it is nearer thirty in fact), buried, as it were, in the Coeur d'Alene mountains, which rise around it on every side. The woods are full of berries, while in the Spokan river salmon abound below the falls and trout above. In the winter season deer and elk are found in the mountains. Many parts of the country are good for grazing, while there are a sufficient number of fertile spots where crops can easily be raised. When the Indian thinks of the hunting grounds to which he is looking forward in the Spirit land, we doubt whether he could imagine anything more in accordance with his taste than this reality."

We now resume the thread of the narrative at the point where Colonel Wright went into camp, with his weary but victory flushed troops, on the Spokane river at a point in the immediate vicinity of Greenwood cemetery of the present day. The sixth of September was a day of rest. Indians skulked on the opposite side of the stream, and that afternoon a few plucked up courage and came into the camp, professing friendship and giving information about the fords.

The next morning the command marched up the river, passing over the present site of Spokane. Again Indians were sighted on the opposite shore, and communication was opened with them through the Nez Perce guides. They reported that Chief

Garry was near by and wanted a conference, and Wright directed them to meet him at the ford about two miles above the falls. The command halted at the designated point, and Garry crossed over and came into camp. He said that he had been opposed to the fighting, but that the young men were against him and he could not control his people. Credence was given to his professions, for Dr. Perkins, who had attended the Spokane council at Fort Colville, had made the following mention of Garry: "He says his heart is undecided; he does not know which way to go; his friends are fighting the whites, and he does not like to join them; but if he does not, they will kill him. During the whole time that we were in the council, Garry* never said a word, but merely looked on."

Wright told Garry to go to his people and all the other Indians and say for him: "I have met you in two bloody battles; you have been badly whipped; you have lost several chiefs and many warriors, killed or wounded. I have not lost a man or animal; I have a large force, and you Spokanes, Coeur d'Alenes, Pelouses and Pend d'Oreilles may unite, and I can beat you as badly as before. I did not come into this country to ask you to make peace; I came here to fight. Now when you are tired of the war and ask for peace, I will tell you what you must do: You must come to me with your arms, with your women and children, and everything you have, and lay them at my feet; you must put your faith in me and trust to my mercy. If you do this, I shall then dictate the terms upon which I will grant you peace. If you do not do this, war will be made on you this year and next, and until your nation shall be exterminated." Garry promised to join Wright the following morning on the march.

After the interview with Garry, Polotkin, another Spokane chief, came forward with nine warriors and sought an interview. Wright was suspicious of this Indian, having learned that he had been conspicuous in the attack on Steptoe, and was a leader in the battles of the Four lakes and the Spokane plains. As this party had left their rifles on the opposite bank, Wright directed the chief to sit still while two of his Indians were sent over to bring them in. He then told Polotkin that he would hold him in custody, with one of his men who was strongly suspected of the murder of two miners in the preceding April. After encamping the following evening at a point sixteen miles up the valley, Wright further investigated the case of this Indian, and as his guilt seemed established beyond question, he was hanged for the murder of the miners. This was the first execution as a result of the uprising, but before Wright left the Spokane country he hanged many others. Particulars of this summary justice will be narrated further along in the narrative.

When the two Indians had crossed the river to bring in the rifles, one of them, thinking discretion the better part of valor, made off in a hurry, but the other returned with the arms, which were found to be of British manufacture, marked

* In the judgment of H. T. Cowley, "Garry was of a weak and vacillating character, crafty and unreliable. He reported to Colonel Wright after the defeat, that he had advised against the hostile movement, but I have been told by Thomas Brown, one of the oldest settlers in the Colville valley, that Garry used his utmost endeavors to draw the Colville and Calispel Indians into hostilities, setting forth the allurement of the large amount of plunder which would be divided among them in case of the defeat of the expedition, a result which he thought easy of accomplishment. Prominent members of his own tribe here informed me of the same circumstances."

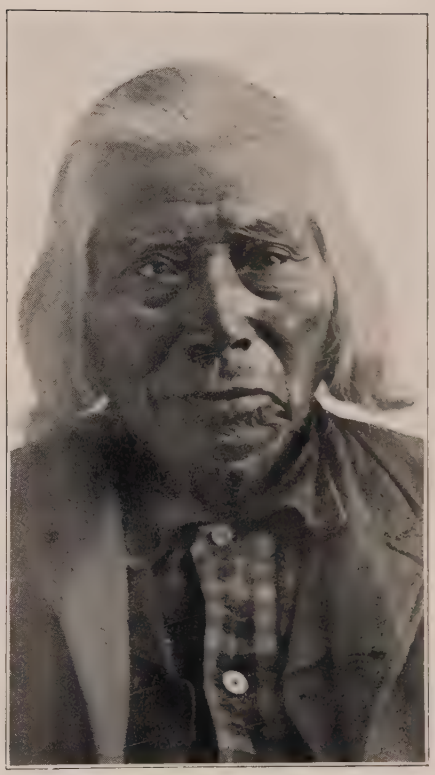
"London, 1847," and had evidently been purchased of the Hudson's Bay company at Fort Colville.

The command marched at sunrise on the morning of September 8, and after advancing up the valley about ten miles, the Nez Perce scouts reported that they had sighted Indians on the right, and at the same time clouds of dust were seen rising between the command and the mountains. Tilkohitz, a Palouse chief, was trying to run his great band of horses out of the country, and was heading for a pass in the hills on the southern side of the valley. The Nez Perce allies and a number of the soldiers were sent in pursuit, and after a short skirmish captured the whole band of 800 or 900 animals. The Indians retreated to the hills, and, as afterwards learned, watched the driving off of the horses from an eminence, observing that it did not matter a great deal, since Wright would have to turn them loose again, and they could be rounded up after he had left the country. The capture was made "near a wide lake to the right of the great Coeur d'Alene trail, a place where large numbers of the four tribes winter" (probably Saltese lake.) Two days later Colonel Wright, as a war measure, to punish the Indians and prevent the possibility of renewed hostilities after he should leave the country, ordered the killing of these horses, with the exception of about 130 saved for the use of his expedition. This distressing work consumed the greater part of two days. The method first adopted was to enclose the animals in a large corral, and then lasso them one by one, drag them out and kill them with a well-placed rifle ball. In this way about 200 were dispatched, but the plan proving slow and painful to the feelings of the soldiers, it was abandoned, and most of the others were killed by firing volleys into the corral. The colts were dispatched with a blow on the head, and an officer who witnessed the painful duty, wrote afterward that it was most distressing, at night after the killing, to hear the brood mares that yet remained, neighing mournfully for their young. A number of the animals, becoming wild with fright, broke away from their captors and escaped to the hills. The site of this tragedy was appropriately called the "Horse Slaughter camp," and was marked till a comparatively recent date by piles of bones on the open prairie.

On the morning of September 10 an Indian runner came in from the Coeur d'Alene mission, bearing from Father Joset a letter stating that the Indians were entirely crushed and had requested him to intercede for them. Colonel Wright thereupon decided to march his command to the mission. Accordingly an advance was ordered, and on the morning of the eleventh the river was crossed at the upper ford, and the trail taken for lake Coeur d'Alene. This led over an easy prairie road for two and a half miles, where the road forked, one leading across the prairie to Clark's fork of the Columbia, and the other through the open timber along the north bank of the Spokane. This route carried the command across the site of the present town of Post Falls. "About twelve miles below the lake," says Mullan, "the river makes another fall, passing through a deep and narrow rocky gorge some thirty yards wide, in a beautiful sheet of white foam."

Lieutenant Mullan, who subsequently laid out and constructed the famous Mullan road for the war department, kept a keen eye during this campaign for possibilities of such a road, and in a subsequent report suggested that it might be found feasible to blast out the rocky obstructions at Post Falls and thereby lower the lake,

CHIEF GARRY AS SKETCHED IN 1855



CHIEF GARRY IN OLD AGE

reclaim overflow lands in the St. Joe valley and prepare a way for easy road-building along the banks of that stream.

At a point four miles from the lake the command came to some Indian fields and gardens and destroyed there two or three barns filled with wheat. Some caches holding dried cake and berries were also destroyed. "This outbreak," wrote Kip, "will bring upon the Indians a winter of great suffering from the destruction of their stores."

Just before reaching a camping spot on the lake shore, an Indian burial place was passed. "Each grave was covered with a low log house, surmounted by a cross, the house answering both as a monument and a protection for the remains against wild animals." "Though our march was one of devastation through the country, we left unharmed and untouched the spot where reposed the lifeless dead," remarks Mullan—an example which, had it been more closely followed by settlers throughout the northwest, must have softened the antipathy of the natives against the invaders, prevented a great deal of bitter indignation, and made unnecessary the recording of many savage acts of revenge. To the ghoulish acts of curio-hunters, who have not hesitated at desecration of Indian graves, may be traced the cause of the killing of many a white man by infuriated Indians.

As the troops were about to resume their march on the morning of the twelfth, Vincent, head chief of the Coeur d'Alenes came in, bearing a pass from Father Joset, and announcing that he was rounding up the hostiles to bring them to the mission to meet Wright and sue for peace. The route this day followed an Indian trail along the lake for three and a half miles, when it ascended a mountain that commanded a fine view of the lake and surrounding forests. A distance of only ten miles was covered, and the army encamped in a beautiful little prairie on Wolf's Lodge creek.

Thence on to the mission the way was much obstructed by fallen trees in a dense forest. Over the narrow trail the command could only proceed in single file, and extended over the trail for six or eight miles. The march was made, though, without danger, as the fighting spirit had been entirely driven from the Indian breast. Wright considered it, however, an act of prudence to maintain a strong front and rear guard until he reached the mission, nineteen miles from the camp on Wolf's Lodge creek. It was 10 at night when the last of the pack train arrived at the mission. The weather had been sultry, and the soldiers suffered considerably on the march. The officers were provided with mounts, but shared them through the day with exhausted privates who had fallen by the wayside, and many of whom required medical attenion.

"We first came in sight of the mission when about five miles off," writes Lieutenant Kip. "It is situated in a beautiful valley surrounded by the Coeur d'Alene mountains. A pretty stream, a branch of the Coeur d'Alene river, with clear, cold water, runs alongside of it, furnishing means of irrigation. In the center of the mission stands the church, and round it cluster the other buildings—a mill, a couple of houses for the priests, the dwellings of the Indian converts, and some barns to store their produce. The priests, in the evening, sent a wagon full of vegetables to the officers."

While awaiting the coming of Vincent and other Coeur d'Alenes for the approaching council, the officers paid frequent visits to the priests, Fathers Joset and

Minitrey, and three lay brothers, by whom they were received with great kindness and politeness. This mission was not established till 1846, when experience had shown that the one on the St. Joseph river was not admirably located, being subject to flood in time of high water. The priests informed Colonel Wright that the Coeur d'Alenes could not muster more than 100 warriors, and the whole tribe did not exceed 400 souls. Most of them, though, participated in the recent fights. The Spokanes numbered about four times as many warriors and people.

On the morning of the seventeenth, practically all the Coeur d'Alenes being assembled, was held the memorable peace council. The scene was one of marked barbaric color. Before Colonel Wright's tent an arbor of trees and boughs had been provided, and in this sylvan chamber the chiefs met the officers who were to determine their fate and future.

"I have committed a great crime," confessed Chief Vincent, in opening the council. "I am fully conscious of it, and am deeply sorry for it. I and all my people are deeply rejoiced that you are willing to forgive us. I have done."

Colonel Wright (to the Indians): "As your chief has said, you have committed a great crime. It has angered your Great Father, and I have been sent to punish you. You attacked Colonel Steptoe when he was passing peaceably through your country, and you have killed some of his men. But you ask for peace, and you shall have it on certain conditions.

"You see that you fight against us hopelessly. I have a great many soldiers. I have a great many men at Walla Walla, and have a large body coming from Salt Lake City. What can you do against us? I can place my soldiers on your plains, by your fishing grounds and in the mountains where you catch game, and your helpless families can not run away.

"You shall have peace on the following conditions: You must deliver to me, to take to the general, the men who struck the first blow in the affair with Colonel Steptoe. You must deliver to me, to take to Walla Walla, one chief and four warriors with their families. You must deliver up to me all property taken in the affair with Colonel Steptoe. You must allow all troops and other white men to pass through your country unmolested. You must not allow any hostile Indians to come into your country, and not engage in any hostilities with any white man. I promise you that if you will comply with all my requirements none of your people shall be harmed, but I will withdraw from your country and you shall have peace forever.

"I also require that the hatchet shall be buried between you and our friends, the Nez Perces."

The part of the speech referring to the Nez Perces was repeated to the Coeur d'Alenes in their presence.

Vincent: "I desire to hear what the Nez Perces' heart is."

Haitzmaliken, chief of the Nez Perces, replied: "You behold me before you, and I will lay my heart open to you. I desire there shall be peace between us. It shall be as the colonel says. I will never wage war against any of the friends of the white man."

Vincent: "It does my heart good and makes also my people glad, to hear you speak so. I have desired peace between us. There shall never be war between our people, nor between us and the white men. The past is forgotten."

The conditions proposed by Colonel Wright were then formally signed, first by

himself and his officers, and then by Vincent and the other chiefs and head men. The pipe of peace was smoked all round and the council was ended.

The aged Spokane chief Polotkin, who had formerly been held as a prisoner, also made a short speech, saying that he was satisfied and would try to bring in his people. He left the camp immediately on the conclusion of the council.

Pacific relations were now completely established, and the soldiers and Indians engaged in brisk trading, shirts and blankets being exchanged for robes and moccasins. But the scene had yet its side of sadness, for a number of the women were weeping bitterly, some for those who had fallen in battle, others for the hostages who were to be taken away to Walla Walla. The Indians found it difficult to understand why the soldiers could be so friendly with them, and Father Joset explained it by saying the soldiers "were like lions in war and lambs in peace."

Some of the Coeur d'Alenes frankly disclosed the tactics by which they had hoped to defeat the command. They had expected to be attacked first by the dragoons or mounted men, and had planned to concentrate their rifle fire and ammunition on that arm of the service. The dragoons disposed of, they had expected to surround the infantry and to keep riding round them, shooting in arrows. As they greatly outnumbered the foot troops, they counted on thus cutting them off from retreat and gradually wiping them out. The long range rifles demolished this well planned scheme.

"In the beginning of September," we are informed by an officer under Colonel Wright, "Donati's comet appeared, and night after night it has been streaming above us in all its glory. Strange as it may seem, it has exerted a powerful influence over the Indians in our behalf. Appearing just as we entered the country, it seemed to them like some huge besom to sweep them from the earth. The effect was probably much increased by the fact that it disappeared about the time our campaign ended and the treaties were formed. They must have imagined that it had been sent home to their Great Father in Washington, to be put away until required the next time."

"I have never," says Wright in an official report, "witnessed such manifestations of joy as were expressed by the whole Coeur d'Alene nation—men, women and children—at the conclusion of the treaty. They know us, they have felt our power, and I have full faith that henceforth the Coeur d'Alenes will be our stanch friends."

CHAPTER XXVIII

HOW HANGMAN CREEK DERIVED ITS NAME

WRIGHT HOLDS A COUNCIL WITH THE SPOKANES—CANNY OLD COLVILLE CHIEF—SPOKANE CHIEFS HUMBLED—KAMIAKEN ELUDES ARREST—QUALCHIEN COMES IN AND IS PROMPTLY HANGED—DIES LIKE A COWARD—OWHI SHOT IN A DASH FOR LIBERTY—SIX MORE INDIANS HANGED ON HANGMAN CREEK—SIXTEEN IN ALL ARE VICTIMS OF THE NOOSE—REMAINS RECOVERED OF SOLDIERS WHO FELL IN STEPTOE'S FIGHT.

WRIGHT'S next move was a great council with the Spokanes, and the place chosen for the rendezvous was on the banks of Hangman creek, near the present town of Spangle, in the southern part of Spokane county. The command, leaving the Mission on the morning of the 18th, and moving by way of the St. Joseph river, arrived at the council grounds on the evening of the 22d, where the Spokane nation awaited him. Kamiaken, the great war chief of the Yakimas had been in camp the evening before, but his courage seems to have failed him for he and another chief cleared out before the troops arrived. Wright sent Chiefs Garry and Big Star out after him, with a message that he should not be harmed if he came in, but if he failed to surrender he would be hunted down and put to death. Kamiaken was regarded as the most powerful chief in the Inland Empire, and the most relentless foe of the white men. His mother was a Yakima and his father a Pelouse, this giving him a great influence over the two tribes, and his talents as an organizer won him considerable authority over most of the tribes of the interior.

"My first acquaintance with Kamiaken," says Kip, "was at the Walla Walla council, three years before. There it was evident that he was the great impediment in the way of any cession of the Indian lands. While the other chiefs, one by one, came into the measure, and even Looking Glass, the war chief of the Nez Perces, at first entirely hostile, at last yielded to the force of some peculiar arguments which are equally potent with savages and white men, nothing could move Kamiaken. With more far-reaching wisdom than the rest, he probably saw that this surrender of their lands and intrusion of the white men would be the final step in destroying the nation. Governor Stevens was unable to induce him to express any opinion, but he sat in gloomy silence. Several times when the governor appealed to him with the inquiry, 'we would like to know what is the heart of Kamiaken,' his only answer was, 'What have I to say?' He was the leader in the outbreak which took place shortly after, when Major Haller's force was defeated, and he has been, we have no doubt, the moving spirit in arraying all these tribes against us this

season, and bringing on this open warfare. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that he is afraid to put himself in the power of the whites."

Hangman creek took its name from the hanging of a number of outlaw Indians by order of Colonel Wright at this encampment. It has been a stream of extensive nomenclature. Wright dated his dispatches from this point, "Camp on the Ned-whauld River, W. T., Lat. 47 degrees, 24 minutes north." Others in his party spelled it "Neduald," and yet others termed it the Ned-whuald or Lahtoo creek. In one report it appears as Camas Prairie creek, and a few years before his death the venerable and beloved Protestant missionary Father Eells informed the writer of this volume that the Indians called it "Sin-too-too-ooley" creek, or the place where little fish were caught. Objecting to the grewsome name of Hangman, the Washington legislature attempted a few years ago to fix the name by statute as Latah creek, a clumsy corruption of the more euphonious Indian word "Lahtoo."

The Spokane council was held on the morning of September 23, in front of Colonel Wright's tent. It was a delegate gathering, attended by 107 representatives and chiefs, who came empowered to speak for the Spokanes, the Colvilles, the Pend d'Oreilles and several smaller bands. The Colville chief was a canny old redskin. Prior to the war he told his people that he had heard a good deal about the soldiers, but never having seen them, he would go down and be a witness of the fighting. He was at the battle of the Four Lakes, and when the engagement was over he hastily mounted his horse and hurried back to his own illihee, the Indian word for home or country. Having called his tribe together, he reported that he had seen the soldiers, but never wanted to see them again. They stood as firm as the pines, he said, when the Indians fired at them; they could march faster and further in a day than horses and their guns carried a mile, more than half way as far again as the Indians' arms; and his concluding words were that they should always remain friends with the whites.

Addressing the council Colonel Wright promised them peace on the same terms he had imposed on the Coeur d'Alenes. He expected them, he said, to come forward like men, as the Coeur d'Alenes had done and were now friends of the government. This was the last treaty that he should make, and he desired that the friendly Nez Perces be included in it, but the hostile Nez Perces who had taken part in the fighting must be driven out of the country. In conclusion he declared that the government intended to make roads through their country, where and whenever it pleased, and the men employed in that work must not be molested.

The Spokane chief replied: "I am sorry for what has been done, and glad of the opportunity now offered to make peace with the Great Father. We promise to obey and fulfill these terms in every point."

Another old Spokane chief said "My heart is the same. I trust everybody is included in the Colonel's mercy."

Colonel Wright: "It embraces everybody, and those who go with me to Walla Walla as hostages for the good behavior of the nation shall not be hurt the least, but well taken care of until their safe return at the expiration of one year."

The treaty was signed by all the chiefs present for the Spokanes. While the council was in session, Garry and Big Star returned and reported that they had hunted all night for Kamiaken without success, but had found him and his brother Schroom at daybreak on the other side of the Spokane river. They could not in-

duce him, however, to come in, as he said he was afraid of being taken to Walla Walla.

After the conditions of peace had been interpreted to Garry and Big Star they also signed the treaty.

Milcapzy, a Coeur d'Alene chief who had not attended the council of his tribe at the mission, was present at the Spokane council, and Colonel Wright singled him out and said:

"Milcapzy, I saw your letter to General Clarke. You said to the General: 'Perhaps you think that we are poor and want peace. We are neither poor nor do we want peace. If you want peace you must come and ask for it, and take care that you do not come beyond the battle ground.'

"Who now asks for peace? I do not. And where stands the battleground? Milcapzy thinks he is rich. He has bands of horses, and houses and farms and lodges full of grain. Let him remember that riches sometimes take wings and fly away. Tilkohitz was rich once, but is poor now. Milcapzy, look upon the banks of the Spokane (a reference to the killing of Tilkohitz's great band of horses). I should like to hear Milcapzy speak."

Milcapzy reflected a moment, conferred with a warrior at his side, and after adjusting his head-dress, replied: "I am aware that I have committed a great crime. I am very sorry for it. My heart is cast down. But I have heard your talk just made in this council. I have confidence in what you say, and I thank you for it. I am ready to abide by the terms you propose."

After Father Joset had explained to him the terms of the treaty under which peace had been granted to the Coeur d'Alenes he signed it and the council was ended.

"Among the chiefs at this council," according to Kip, "were Polotkin, the head chief of the Spokanes, whom we formerly held as a prisoner and released—and one of his sons, the one who visited our camp on the Spokane the day his father was detained. His brother and himself were the Indians who were fired at by the guard across the river when demanding the release of the old chief. He is one of the most splendid looking men I have ever seen. He was shot in the arm below the elbow, and his brother was shot through the body. From what we could learn of him, he will probably not recover."

One of the hostages taken to Walla Walla was Anthony, a Coeur d'Alene chief who was in the fight with Steptoe. When Lieutenant Gaston fell, he covered his body with leaves, intending to go back afterward and bury it, but when he returned the body had been removed.

"I can not close this communication," says Wright in his report of the council, "without expressing my thanks to Father Joset, the superior of the Coeur d'Alene mission, for his zealous and unwearied exertions in bringing all these Indians to a true understanding of their position. For ten days and nights the father has toiled incessantly, and only left us this morning after witnessing the fruition of all his labors."

Conspicuous as ringleaders in the work of inciting the uprising were Owhi and Qualchien, father and son. They were Yakimas, Owhi a brother-in-law of Chief Kamiaken, and were regarded as two of the worst Indians west of the Rocky mountains. The son was even more notorious than the father, and Colonel Wright was

particularly anxious to secure him. That desire was now to be gratified, and a tragedy was to be enacted on the meadow banks of the Ned-whuald that would change its name and associate it forever with as startling an act of military justice as the annals of Indian warfare can anywhere present.

Owhi was a conspicuous figure at the great council at Walla Walla in 1855, where he opposed all cessions of land to the whites, protesting against the treaties with great zeal and ability. Thanks to Lieutenant Kip, who was at the Walla Walla council and took notes of Owhi's speech, his sentiments have been preserved in history:

"We are talking together," said Owhi on that occasion, "and the Great Spirit hears all that we say today. The Great Spirit gave us the land and measured the land to us. This is the reason that I am afraid to say anything about this land. I am afraid of the laws of the Great Spirit. This is the reason of my heart being sad. This is the reason I cannot give you an answer. I am afraid of the Great Spirit. Shall I steal this land and sell it? or what shall I do? This is the reason why my heart is sad. The Great Spirit made our friends, but the Great Spirit made our bodies from the earth, as if they were different from the whites. What shall I do? Shall I give the land, which is a part of my body, and leave myself poor and destitute? Shall I say I will give you my land? I cannot say so. I am afraid of the Great Spirit. I love my life. The reason I do not give my land away is I am afraid of being sent to hell. I love my friends, I love my life. This is the reason why I do not give my land away. I have one word more to say. My people are far away. They do not know your words. This is the reason I can not give you an answer. I show you my heart. This is all I have to say."

After their defeat at the Walla Walla council, Owhi and his son Qualchien cooperated with Kamiaken to organize the uprising and outbreak of the following winter when the Indian agent and several other white men were murdered.

On the evening of the Spokane council, Owhi came in and surrendered to Colonel Wright, who received him in sternness and sent for a priest to act as interpreter. The colonel had a peculiarly nervous way of putting questions.

Wright: "Where did he see me last?"

Priest: "He saw you in his country."

Wright: "Whereabout in his country?"

Priest: "On the Natchess river."

Wright: "What did he promise me at that time?"

Priest: "That he would come in with his people in some days."

Owhi became pale and confused.

Wright: "Why did he not do so?" (Aside: "Tell the officer of the guard to bring a file of his men; and Captain Kirkham, you will have some iron shackles made ready.")

Owhi hung his head and looked still more confused.

Priest: "He says he did do so."

Wright: "Where is he from now?"

Priest: "From the mouth of the Spokane."

Wright: "How long has he been away from there?"

Priest: "Two days."

Wright: "Where is Qualchien?"

Priest: "At the mouth of the Spokane."

Wright: "Tell Owhi that I will send a message to Qualchien. Tell him he, too, shall send a message, and if Qualchien does not join me before I cross the Snake river, in four days I will hang Owhi."

When this communication was made to Owhi, we are informed by Kip, he appeared to lose all power over himself. He sank on the ground and perspiration came out on him in large drops. He took out a book of prayers, and in much confusion turned over the leaves for a moment, looking at the pictures apparently without knowing what he was doing, and handed it to the priest who was standing by him. He was then taken off by the guard and put in irons. When the messenger went off Owhi said he did not think Qualchien would come in.

Captain Keyes has left a graphic description of the surrender of Qualchien and the quick resulting tragedy. About 12 o'clock on the day following the placing of Owhi in irons, two Indians and a fine-looking squaw emerged from a canyon near the camp. The three rode abreast, and a little distance behind them rode an Indian hunchback. The three chief personages were gaily dressed and approached with a dashing air. They wore a great deal of scarlet, and the squaw displayed two ornamental scarfs, passing over the right shoulder and under the left arm. Across the front of her saddle she carried a long lance, the handle completely wound with bright beads, and from the ends of which hung two long tippets of beaver skins. The two braves bore rifles, and one, evidently the leader, carried an ornamented tomahawk. With exceeding boldness they directed their horses to Colonel Wright's tent.

Captain Keyes pulled aside the tent flap and said: "Colonel, we have distinguished visitors here." When the colonel came out he instantly recognized Qualchien, who daringly entered into conversation with him, retaining his rifle by his side. Qualchien's bearing was so defiant that Captain Keyes, fearing that the outlaw meditated violence, placed himself on guard and stood alert to spring on the Indian at the slightest demonstration.

Presently Colonel Wright mentioned Owhi's name and Qualchien started and exclaimed, "Car?" (where). "Owhi mittite yawa" (Owhi is over there), replied the colonel.

At these words Qualchien seemed to be half paralyzed. He acted in the dazed way of a man who had been stunned by a physical blow. He kept repeating, mechanically, "Owhi mittite yawa!" "Owhi mittite yawa!" Then he made a motion as if he would use his rifle, and made towards his horse, but was seized by the guard and disarmed. He carried a fine pistol capped and loaded, and plenty of ammunition.

Colonel Wright commanded him to go with the guard, and he at first assented, but then held back and was pulled along. He was a fine specimen of physical manhood, with a broad chest, muscular limbs and small hands and feet. By the time he had reached the guard tent he was recovered from his semi-stupor and fought desperately for his freedom. It required six men to tie his hands and feet, although he suffered at the time from an unhealed wound in the lower part of his body. The subsequent proceedings were startlingly summary. Wright recorded them in his official report in a single sentence: "Qualchien came to me at 9 this morning, and at 9:15 a. m. he was hung."

But letters and reports by others of his command have preserved for us a more dramatic setting. When Qualchien's fate was made known to him, he fell to cursing Kamiaken. He was dragged to a neighboring tree, but when they attempted to place the rope around his neck, the struggle was renewed, and bound as he was, it became necessary to throw him on his back before the noose could be put over his head, he shrieking all the while: "Copet six! (stop my friends). Wake memaloose nika! (do not kill me); nika potlatch hiyu chickamin, hiyu knitan (I will give much money, a great many horses); spore nika memaloose, nika hiyu siwash silex (if you kill me a great many Indians will be angry); copet six!" In spite of his protests the rope was run over the limb of a tree and he was strung up, shouting curses on Kamiaken with his last breath. Among those who pulled with eagerness on the rope were two miners who had been with the party attacked by Qualchien and his band in the Colville country a few months before.

It developed a little later that Qualchien had been the victim of some act of treachery, for he had not met the messenger sent out in search of him, but had either come of his own accord or been lured in by the Indian hunchback, whose expression when Qualchien was hauled up indicated a devilish satisfaction. And as soon as the deed was over the hunchback galloped to the upper end of the encampment where he related with savage joy to his people the part he had played in guiding the victim into the hands of Wright. The squaw who, a few minutes before, had ridden in so airily, proved to be Qualchien's wife, a daughter of Polotkin. She was suffered to depart, and rode off with Qualchien's companion. It was supposed that Qualchien had been sent in by Kamiaken, as a spy, to learn what Colonel Wright would do with the ringleaders of the outbreak, and the victim looked upon the great war chief of the Yakimas as the author of his death.

"He died like a coward," wrote an officer who had witnessed the tragedy, "and very differently from the manner in which the Indians generally met their fate. So loud indeed were his cries that they were heard by Owhi, who was confined near by." In disgust the old chief disowned him, saying, "He is not my son, but the son of Kamiaken," meaning that he had followed the counsel of the Yakima leader.

It became bruited around the next day that Qualchien had a large sum of money on his person, and his body was exhumed to prevent the treasure falling into the hands of the Indians, but little of value was discovered.

"In all the battles, forays and disturbances in Washington territory," said Kip, "Qualchien has been one of the leading spirits. The influence for evil which he exerted was probably greater even than that of either Owhi or Kamiaken. Of the three, he was the most addicted to fighting and bloodshed. He has been directly charged with the murder of nine white men at different times. In the action of March 1, 1856, on White river, Puget Sound district, Qualchien was present with fifty Yakima warriors, and of these seven were killed."

Three days after the hanging of Qualchien, Owhi, his father, made a dash for freedom. Lieutenant Morgan, riding by his side, fired three shots from his revolver, all taking effect, and a dragoon hastened to the wounded chief and put a bullet through his head.

"Nothing has been done in this campaign," said Lieutenant Kip, "so effectually to secure the peace of the country as the death of these two chiefs."

In explanation of the hanging of Qualchien, Colonel Wright said in his report to his superior at Fort Vancouver: "He has been actively engaged in all the murders, robberies and attacks upon the white people since 1855, both east and west of the Cascade mountains. He was with the party who attacked the miners on the We-nat-che river in June last, and was severely wounded; but recovering rapidly, he has since been committing assaults on our people whenever an opportunity offered."

I have been unable to find in Colonel Wright's reports any account of the hanging of other Indians on Hangman creek. Lieutenant Mullan mentions briefly that "a number of Pelouses at this camp expiated their many crimes upon a gallows erected for the purpose," and Kip is a little more circumstantial. "In the middle of the day," says that authority, "two Pelouse Indians came in, bringing a letter from the priest. They were followed shortly after by seven or eight more. The whole party were at once taken to the guard-house and ironed. At evening they were brought up for examination, and being convicted of having been engaged in various atrocities, six of them were at once hung. One of them was proved to be the Indian who killed Sergeant Williams at Snake river, when, after being wounded in Colonel Steptoe's affair, he was trying to make his way back to Walla Walla." These, in addition to Qualchien, and the Indian hanged in the Spokane valley, made a total of eight who died by the noose in the Spokane country. Four more were hanged on the Palouse, and four at Walla Walla. According to Wright, eleven Indians were hanged in all, but other reports show a total of sixteen and that is probably the correct count.

While the main command rested on Hangman creek, Colonel Wright dispatched three companies of dragoons to the Steptoe battlefield, distant about ten miles, to recover the remains of the officers and men who had fallen in that engagement and the two mountain howitzers which had been buried on the evening of the memorable night retreat to Snake river. Lieutenant Kip, who participated in this sad mission, thus describes the solemn duty:

"On reaching the battlefield proper, we halted and encamped, and picketing our animals in good grass, began to search for the remains of the men there so inhumanly butchered, and the guns lost in that desperate encounter.

"The guns having been well buried, were found as they had been left, undisturbed. Passing along the slope of the hill, we came upon a small ravine in which lay the graves of four men: Captain Taylor, a half-breed, and two dragoons. Silently and mournfully we disinterred their remains, and securely packing them bore them from the field to our camp, in order to transport them to Walla Walla, there to give them proper burial with military honors.

"Silently surveying the ground from the top of this hill, a scene of sadness and desolation met the eye at every turn. Broken and burnt fragments of all that had once constituted the equipage of this command lay scattered to the right and left, and everywhere were to be seen the unmistakable signs of a relentless savage foe who had determined on the utter annihilation of this small command.

"But one thing remained not totally destroyed, a pair of shafts of one of the buried guns. Why this had escaped the general conflagration of such things as the Indians could not usefully appropriate was a wonder to us all.

"This, with our rude means at hand, we framed and fashioned into a cross,

which we erected upon the battlefield as a Christian token to the honored dead, and to point the stranger to the spot where brave men bravely met their fate; and as each officer and soldier lingered near the spot, and heard rehearsed the sad recital of that memorable defeat, the silent tear stole down many a bronzed cheek that had confronted death and braved danger upon many a tented field."

"Poor Gaston," exclaims Kip. "My parting with him was at West Point, when full of life and spirits and bright anticipations of his future career. My last recollection of him is in his gray cadet uniform. I never saw him after, until I thus stood by his remains today. He was every inch a soldier; and when, during the last year, ill health weighed him down, and he feared the approach of that feebleness which would withdraw him from his duties, his military spirit seemed to be the strongest impulse he felt. He often expressed the hope that he might die in battle, and thus it was that his wish was gratified. He had a soldier's death, and will have a soldier's burial and grave,—

" 'The fresh turf, and not the feverish bed.' "

CHAPTER XXIX

WRIGHT'S RETURN MARCH TO WALLA WALLA

TELLS THE PALOUSES THEY ARE RASCALS AND DESERVE TO BE HUNG—TREATS THEM AS OUTLAWS, BUT PUTS THEM ON PROBATION—HANGS FOUR AS A WARNING TO THE OTHERS—"CUTMOUTH JOHN" A CONSPICUOUS FIGURE—MILITARY HONORS FOR THE GALLANT DEAD—LIEUTENANT KIP'S PREDICTION—"THE WAR IS CLOSED"—COLONEL WRIGHT'S FINAL REPORT.

HAVING practically completed his campaign, Colonel Wright now broke camp on Hangman creek and began the retrograde march to Walla Walla on the morning of September 26. On the evening of the twenty-ninth the command encamped at a point well down on the Palouse river, on what appeared to have been an old battleground of the Indians, arrow heads and remains of other weapons being scattered about.

A large number of Palouse Indians came in the next morning, with their families, and the Colonel determined to hold a "council," as he termed these somewhat one-sided conferences with the broken and humiliated tribes. The Palouses having gathered before his tent, and the interpreter being ready, the Colonel delivered this gracious and complimentary address:

"Tell them they are a set of rascals and deserve to be hung; that if I should hang them all, I should not do wrong. Tell them I have made a written treaty with the Coeur d'Alenes and the Spokanes, but I will not make a written treaty with them; and if I catch one of them on the other side of the Snake river, I will hang him. Tell them they shall not go into the Coeur d'Alene country, nor the Spokane country, nor shall they allow the Walla Walla Indians to come into their country. If they behave themselves, and do all that I direct them, I will make a written treaty with them next spring. If I do, there will be no more war between us. If they do not submit to these terms, I will make war on them; and if I come here again to war, I will hang them all, men, women and children.

"Tell them that five moons ago two of their tribe killed some miners. The murderers must immediately be delivered up."

After the Palouses had weighed these words, they conferred among themselves, and presently one of them came forward. The other had slipped away, apparently to the great annoyance of his tribe, who, to save themselves were eager to comply with the victor's conditions.

Colonel Wright: "Tell them they must deliver up the six men who stole our beef cattle at Walla Walla."

This demand met with quick compliance, and the offenders were brought forward and handed over to the guard.

Colonel Wright continued: "Tell them they must allow all white men to pass unmolested through their country, and must deliver up to me one chief and four warriors, with their families, to go with me to Walla Walla as hostages."

All these terms were accepted by the unhappy and terror-stricken Palouses, and then, to make the lesson more impressive, four of them—the murderer and three others who had been selected as notorious marauders—were marched to a tree several hundred yards distant and hanged.

The return to Walla Walla was made without notable incident, the command arriving there October 5, after an absence of just sixty marching days. As it marched into the fort, "Cutmouth John" was by far its most conspicuous figure, clad in a red blanket, a large skin cap upon his head, and in his hand a long lance from the end of which dangled the scalp he had taken in the battle of the Four Lakes.

When the troops reached the parade ground the column halted, the ranks opened, and Colonel Mansfield, the inspector general of the department, who had arrived a few days before, made a thorough inspection. There was nothing about the command, says Kip, of the "pomp and circumstance of glorious war." During two months no one had slept under roof, and all were begrimed with mud, rain and dust. The artillery and infantry wore blue flannel shirts, drawn over their uniforms and belted at the waist. The dragoons had a similar dress of gray flannel. The officers had adopted the same, with slouched hats. The only marks of their rank were the shoulder-strap sewed on to the flannel. Yet all this was showing the reality of service. If there was little display of uniforms, the arms were in perfect order, and we believe the troops had never been in a higher state of discipline or a more perfect condition for action.

Quoting from the same officer's journal:

October 7th.—Today we turned to more solemn duties. At ten o'clock took place the burial of Captain Taylor, Lieutenant Gaston and the remains of the men which had been found on Colonel Steptoe's battleground. It was from this post they had marched forth, and here they were to be laid to their rest. They were, of course, buried with military honors, the ceremony being invested with all the pageantry which was possible, to show respect to the memory of our gallant comrades. All the officers, thirty-nine in number, and the troops at the post, amounting to 800 (reinforcements having arrived since our departure), took part in the ceremonies. The horses of the dead, draped in black, having on them the officers' swords and boots, were led behind the coffins. The remains were taken about half a mile from the post and there interred. Three volleys were fired over them, and we left them where day after day the notes of the bugle will be borne over their graves, while we cherish their memories as those who laid down their young lives in the battlefield for their country.

With prophetic foresight this gifted young officer added: "This immense tract of splendid country over which we marched, is now opened to the white man, and the time is not far distant when settlers will begin to occupy it, and the farmer will discover that he can reap his harvest, and the miner explore its ores without danger from the former savage foes."

But buoyant as were these predictions, the progress of fifty years has brought

a realization immeasurably beyond their expectations. Opulent cities, prosperous towns, productive fields and pleasant orchards cover the land which then lay wild and savage. Railroads have everywhere supplanted the Indian trails, and the redman's campfire has given way to the firesides of more than 100,000 homes.

I can not close this chapter without a few words of feeble tribute to our gallant and ever efficient regular army. We who now possess this pleasant land in peace and prosperity owe an unextinguishable debt of gratitude to the courage, devotion and self-sacrifice of its officers and men. Their work is ended, and save a mere handfull of survivors still spared to us by the relentless hand of Time, they have passed to their long reward. Some fell in later Indian wars of the west; others were called to a greater theater of conflict and served their country with valor in the civil war. Yet others passed into peaceful pursuits and contributed notably to the development of the country and its resources. Soldiers of Steptoe and Wright, if living still, we render our salute. If resting beneath the turf, we bow in homage to your honored memory.

Under date of September 30, 1858, I find Colonel Wright's last word on the campaign. It was written from his camp on the Palouse river, en route to Walla Walla, and addressed to the assistant adjutant-general, headquarters of the department of the Pacific, Fort Vancouver, W. T.:

"Sir: The war is closed. Peace is restored with the Coeur d'Alenes, Spokanes and Palouses. After a vigorous campaign the Indians have been entirely subdued, and were most happy to accept such terms of peace as I might dictate.

"Results

"1. Two battles were fought by the troops under my command, against the combined forces of the Spokanes, Coeur d'Alenes and Palouses, in both of which the Indians were signally defeated, with a severe loss of chiefs and warriors, either killed or wounded.

"2. The capture of 1,000 horses and a large number of cattle from the hostile Indians, all of which were either killed or appropriated to the service of the United States.

"3. Many barns filled with wheat or oats, also several fields of grain, with numerous caches of vegetables, dried berries and kamas, all destroyed or used by the troops.

"4. The Yakima chief, Owhi in irons, and the notorious war-chief Qualchien hung. The murderers of the miners, the cattle-stealers, etc (in all eleven Indians), all hung.

"The Spokanes, Coeur d'Alenes and Palouses entirely subdued, and sue most abjectly for peace on any terms.

"6. Treaties made with the above-named nations; they have restored all property which was in their possession, belonging either to the United States or individuals; they have promised that all white people shall travel through their country unmolested, and that no hostile Indians shall be allowed to pass through or remain among them.

"7. The delivery to the officer in command of the United States troops of one chief and four men, with their families, from each of the above-named tribes to be

taken to Fort Walla Walla, and held as hostages for the future good conduct of their respective nations.

"9. The recovery of two mountain howitzers abandoned by the troops under Lieutenant-Colonel Steptoe.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"G. WRIGHT,
"Colonel Ninth Infantry, Commanding."

CHAPTER XXX

REMARKABLE EARLY HISTORY OF SPOKANE COUNTY

FIRST CREATED IN 1858—AREA OF 75,000 SQUARE MILES—PUBLIC OFFICES GO BEGGING—OLD PINKNEY CITY THE COUNTY SEAT—FIRST LEGISLATOR MURDERED BY INDIANS—FIRST POLITICAL CONVENTION—UNION SENTIMENT STRONG—COURT HOUSE OF LOGS; HAD BEEN A SALOON—HIGH PRICES IN THE 60s—GOLD DISCOVERED ON THE PEND D'OREILLE—MILITARY POST ESTABLISHED AT FORT COLVILLE—CALIFORNIA VOLUNTEERS A BAD LOT—GRAND MILITARY BALL AT THE FORT—PIONEER DISTILLERY RAIDED—EARLY DAY EXECUTIONS, LEGAL AND OTHERWISE.

THE early history of Spokane county has connected with it events of an extraordinary character. Four times was it created by legislative act. Twice it was not organized by the agents appointed for that purpose. Once it had, after organization, a short and precarious existence, and was merged into Stevens county; and the fourth creation was followed by the political community of recent years."—From a manuscript by W. P. Winans, who served two terms, beginning in 1862, as auditor of the original county of Spokane, when the county seat was Pinkney City.

With free-handed disregard of actual needs and conditions, the early legislatures of Washington territory parceled out the interior into county forms long before towns or even crossroads settlements had come into existence. A number of these counties never had other than mere legal or fictional being, and in that class for several years, belonged the first county of Spokane, attempted to be set up at the session of 1857-8, when a bill was enacted January 29, "to create and organize Spokane county," as follows:

"Be it enacted, That all that portion of the county of Walla Walla embraced within the following boundaries, to wit: Commencing at the mouth of the Snake river, following up said river mid channel to the forty-sixth parallel of north latitude; thence east along said parallel *to the summit of the Rocky mountains;* thence north along said summit to the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude; thence west along said parallel to the Columbia river; thence down mid channel of said river to the place of beginning; the same is hereby constituted and organized into a separate county, to be known and called Spokane county.

"That the county seat of the said county is hereby temporarily located on the land claim of Angus McLeod.

"That Robert Douglass, John Owen and William McCreary are hereby appointed a board of county commissioners; and that Patrick McKenzie is hereby

appointed sheriff; and that Lafayette Alexander is hereby appointed county auditor."

Vast, wild and untenanted by civilization was the region embraced within the designated boundaries—a stretch of plain and mountain, of prairie and forest, of placid lakes and foaming torrents, 200 miles wide and nearly 400 miles long, comprising an area of more than 75,000 square miles, and with scarcely one white person to each thousand square miles of territory. Such feeble and scattered settlements as then had existence were found in the Colville valley. Settlers along the Spokane, there were none of the white race. The Indians were warlike, insolent and aggressive, and the county in fact was conjured into fictional being on the eve of the allied outbreak of the Indian tribes north of Snake river.

Public office went a begging then in eastern Washington, and found no takers in the remote, unsettled and moneyless county of Spokane; for the officials named in the first legislative act failed to qualify or to organize county government; and a year later the legislative assembly, which then met annually, made a second effort. An act of January 18, 1859, named Robert Douglass, John McDougald and Angus McCloud as commissioners of the proposed new county. Thomas Brown was designated to serve as sheriff, Patrick McKenzie as auditor, Thomas Stensgar as probate judge, and Solomon Pelkie justice of the peace—all to hold office until the next regular election, or until their successors should be elected and qualify. No location for a county seat was specified.

This attempt was as futile as the first, but undaunted, the legislature tried again. After the brilliant campaign of 1858, and thorough pacification of the country by the troops under Colonel George Wright, it passed another act, in January, 1860, to reestablish the county of Spokane. The boundaries were defined as before, but this time the county seat was temporarily located "on the land claim of Dr. Bates," in the Colville valley. "Few of the vast population of Spokane county today know that while its official organization dates back to a time but little more than thirty years ago, having been carved—a small and then insignificant portion—out of Stevens county, yet there was a county of Spokane established by an act of the territorial legislature of 1860," says Attorney John B. Slater in an article written after a search of the old county records at Colville. "It was organized in April of that year, and flourished for four years." In honor then of the gallant memory of Isaac I. Stevens, first territorial governor, who had fallen in one of the early battles of the civil war, the legislature changed the county's name to Stevens.

The initial entry in the first book of records of this original county of Spokane follows:

"No. 1. Received of William H. Watson, $25, in full for house and lot and all things belonging thereto.

"Pinkney City, W. T., July 11, 1860.

(Signed) "C. L. Thomas.

"Recorded July 12, 1860, 6 o'clock p. m.

"R. H. Rogers,

"County Auditor."

And on page 2 of book 1, of the records of Spokane county, appear, as follows, the first minutes of the proceedings of the board of county commissioners:

"In pursuance of an act of the legislative assembly of the territory of Washington, passed January 17, 1860 (a certified copy of which is attached to page 1 of this record), the county of Spokane was organized, and the following named persons were respectively sworn into office and executed bond according to law, viz:

"J. W. Seaman, James Hays and Jacques Dumas, as county commissioners; John Wynn, as sheriff; R. H. Rogers, as auditor; R. H. Douglas, as treasurer; J. R. Bates, as justice of the peace, and F. Wolff, as coroner.

"In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and private seal (there being no official seal provided), this 7th day of May, 1860.

"R. H. Rogers (L. S.)
"Auditor in and for Spokane county, W. T."

"It seems," says Mr. Slater, "that Rogers and Douglas became mixed in the process of qualification, and, according to the fact as stated by a witness to the ceremony, Douglas, by accident, signed and qualified by oath upon the blank form provided for Rogers, the latter, at the same time, making the same mistake with reference to the blank form provided for Douglas, as treasurer. The spectators laughed heartily over the mistake, and the two gentlemen accepted the change as a sort of joke, although afterward, it is said, they became bitter enemies.

"On the 8th of May, 1860, the board met and designated Pinkney City the county seat, which was the town or trading post adjoining the site of Fort Colville, three miles north of the present site of Colville. Two election precincts were established and election notices directed to be posted. John L. Houck was appointed the first road supervisor, and given charge of all the public highways in the county, which then extended from Wenatchee on the west to Helena, Montana, on the east, and from Lewiston, Idaho, on the south to the British line on the north.

"At the election held in June, 1860, George Taylor was elected to succeed Jacques Dumas as county commissioner, who had drawn a short term and was elected chairman of the board. As nearly as can be ascertained from the records, the officers elected for the first term were: Treasurer, R. H. Douglas; assessor, John Gunn, who failed to qualify, and J. T. Demarce was appointed to succeed him; auditor, J. R. Bates; and sheriff, F. Wolff.

"On April 11, 1861, James Hays resigned the office of county commissioner, and Robert Bruce was appointed his successor.

"The first money received by the county was $200 paid by Chamberlain & Walker for a license to vend ardent spirits in Pinkney City. This was immediately followed by licenses to five others for the same place, a living evidence that Pinkney City was a lively town.

"The population of the place is said to have been nearly a thousand people.* All the business was along one street, and extended along each side of the thoroughfare for nearly a mile. The commissioners, in order to provide ample fire

*Ben Burgunder's recollection is that it never exceeded 200 or 300.

protection and pure water for domestic purposes for the town, appropriated $100 to be expended in digging a well in the center of the street, and as nearly the center of the town as possible. The well was dug, but it is said the water was never used except for slaking the thirst of the cavalry horses from the post nearby. Today there is not a sign of the well remaining, and all that would indicate that once there might have been human inhabitants upon this historic spot is an occasional depression in the earth, the remains of old cellars and basements, under buildings that handled the trade of the country.

"The commissioners' journal was kept by hands not trained to clerical work, but the good old pioneers did the best they could for Spokane county, as is evidenced by some of the proceedings which commemorate the stirring times. The most influential men were elected to office, and, whether or not they obeyed the laws themselves, they made it appear by the records that they were especially solicitous that all others make good under existing statutes. Once they made a record applauding the auditor because he had been diligent in enforcing payment of license money for the privilege of keeping saloon.

"The proceedings of the Spokane county commissioners cover only about thirty-five pages, the last being the record of the meeting held on November 20, 1863, when Thomas Stensgar, John U. Hofstetter and Robert Bruce were commissioners. At this meeting the following record was made: 'The auditor was instructed to write to Dr. Tobey, representative, requesting him to get a bill passed immediately to tax Chinamen, the tax to be $1.50 a month, or $4.50 a quarter, to be collected by the sheriff, and he be allowed 20 per cent on what he collects, and the treasurer and auditor their usual fees, as in other public moneys; also have Stevens county attached to this (Spokane) county, the citizens having failed to organize.'" Explanatory of this last instruction to Representative Toby, it may be explained that the legislature, at the previous session, had cut off a section of Walla Walla county and called it Stevens.

Mr. Slater found that the first grand jury of Spokane county was convened in June, 1860, by Judge William Strong. When it came to paying the jury the commissioners objected upon the ground that it was the duty of the general government to pay its court officials, and the court was obliged to exercise his judicial prerogative in a court order to compel payment. The commissioners paid the bill, but made a minute of the fact that their act of obedience was exercised under protest.

Notwithstanding no provision had been made in the legislative act for representation from the new county in the assembly at Olympia, the voters elected W. H. Watson at the first election. He appeared at the capital, ready to take the oath and enter upon legislative duties, but the assembly declined to seat him. As a sort of consolation salve, however, he was elected doorkeeper of the house. While returning on horseback, from the capital to Pinkney City, in the spring of 1861, Watson was murdered by a Spokane Indian, Ci-sit-shee, between Walker's prairie and Camas prairie. Walker wore a fine gold watch, coveting which the Indian followed him from his night encampment, and found on the Spokane's person after the discovery of the crime, led to his arrest on the Spokane. He was taken to the county seat by Sheriff Wolff, and bound over for trial by Justice of the Peace Cyrus Hall. The crime and the examination aroused intense public feeling, and

the little court room of the justice was filled with citizens and soldiers from Fort Colville. Immediately after the examination a mob formed, took the prisoner from the sheriff, and hanged him from the cross beam of the double gate before the brewery. Justice in those days seems to have been expeditious and cheap, for the total cost to the county of the arrest, trial, conviction and execution, all transpiring within two days, was only thirty dollars.

J. R. Bates, the first representative from Spokane county, was elected in July, 1861. Taking warning from the tragic fate of Mr. Watson, he went properly "heeled" with a Colt's dragoon revolver with gun stock attachment.

W. P. Winans, who lived for thirteen years in the Colville valley, and held various offices of public trust when Pinkney City was the county seat, kept a journal in which were recorded events and incidents on the day of their occurrence. From that journal, and aid given by such pioneers as S. F. Sherwood, Francis Wolff, John U. Hofstetter, C. H. Montgomery, L. W. Meyers, Benjamin Burgunder, James Monaghan, George McCrea and Mrs. Christina McDonald Williams, Mr. Winans has written an invaluable manuscript history of early days in the Colville valley and the Spokane country. By courtesy of Ross R. Brattain of Spokane, the writer has had access to a copy of the Winans manuscript, and from it gleans many interesting and important facts about men and events, full fifty years ago.

Construction of the first brewery, at Pinkney City, was commenced in 1860 by John Shaw and a man named Berry, and finished by John U. Hofstetter in 1861.

Pinkney City, which was built just across the creek from Fort Colville reserve, was named in honor of the commanding officer of the fort, Major Pinkney Lougenbeel.

In the winter of 1861, Mr. Carpenter, a clerk employed in the store of Olmstead & Co., was killed by Perote. The murderer was arrested and taken to the nearest jail, at Vancouver, and the records of the commissioners show that on April 10, 1861, Sheriff Francis Wolff was allowed $438.25 for expenses and mileage of the trip. Another county official, R. H. Rogers, presented a claim of $316.50 for carrying the poll books to Vancouver, containing the vote on joint councilman; but the commissioners, regarding the claim as excessive, allowed a mileage rate of 30 cents on the 470 miles to Vancouver, and awarded Rogers $141.

The winter of 1861-62 was unusually severe. Mr. Winans recorded the following temperatures in his journal: January 15, 30 below zero; January 17, 33 below; January 18, 30 below. And snow from two to four feet deep. There was not a day in that month that the mercury did not fall below zero.

"March 22, 1862, mail carrier for Walla Walla came back, unable to get through; reported snow three to five feet deep on Spokane plains, about Willow springs. Joe Mason started on snowshoes, became snow blind, was found by Indians and brought back to Spokane river.

"April 1, 1862, J. W. Seaman got through from Walla Walla; left there two weeks ago; reported snow then 12 to 15 inches deep, wood $25 per cord. Brought news from the States up to November 27th (more than four months old)."

It is believed that the following is the first record of a political convention held in the Spokane country:

Spokane County Convention

The Union county convention met at the courthouse, Pinkney City, W. T., June 14, 1864, for the purpose of nominating candidates for the coming election. J. R. Bates was called to the chair, and W. P. Winans elected secretary.

Nominations:—For representative, B. F. Yantis; for sheriff, L. T. Marshall; for treasurer, J. R. Bates; for auditor, W. P. Winans; for probate judge, John Wynne; for coroner, N. R. Scranton; for county commissioners, Robert Bruce and John U. Hofstetter; for justice of the peace, D. H. Ferguson.

After the nominations the following resolutions were read and adopted:

"Resolved, That our Representative be instructed to use his best efforts to have a treaty made with the Indians in our county, and to have the public surveys extended over our county as soon as possible.

"Resolved, That he use his best endeavors to promote the welfare of the county, the mining interests in particular; and to use his influence to have the mail route reestablished from Fort Colville and Walla Walla. Also to use his influence toward having the capital removed from Olympia to Walla Walla.

"Resolved, That we regret the present deplorable condition of our country in its struggle to maintain its existence, and we heartily endorse the policy of the government in its execution of the laws, and we rejoice in the success of the Federal Arms.

"Resolved, That we will use our best efforts to sustain the government in its present struggle to establish its supremacy over all the land."

These proceedings were in mass convention. The resolutions, as Mr. Winans recalls, were written by Henry Wellington, "a man of education and refinement who could command attention in any assembly. He moved to the Okanogan valley about thirty years ago, dying in June, 1903, loved, honored and respected by all who knew him, for his lofty character and sterling worth."

At the election, July 14, 121 votes were polled in the county, and all those nominated at the June convention, with the exception by B. F. Yantis, for representative, were elected. Yantis had only thirty-eight votes, his opponent, Charles H. Campfield, forty-eight; but Yantis went to Olympia, where his family resided, contested the seat before the legislative assembly, and won.

Of necessity a county so poor and unsettled as the early day Spokane had to make shift with a primitive courthouse. At their April session, 1861, the commissioners bought from Charles R. Allen, for $500, a log building 20x40, that had been used as a saloon. This cabin housed the government for five years, and was then sold to C. H. Montgomery for $1,200 in county warrants, worth then about 25 cents on the dollar; and on February 23, 1867, a larger log building was bought from R. H. Douglass for $500 in coin, or $666.66 in paper. This second building continued to be the courthouse until the town was moved to its present location, the site of the modern Colville.

By legislative act of January 3, 1862, a judicial district was created to cover Spokane and Missoula counties, and court met for the first time at Pinkney City, July 28, 1862, with Judge E. P. Oliphant presiding; W. P. Winans, clerk; J. J. McGillvra, United States attorney; S. B. Fargo, prosecuting attorney; L. T. Marshall, sheriff; and Salucius Garfielde attorney.

KETTLE FALLS OF THE COLUMBIA

As sketched by the Stevens' Expedition in 1853

OLD HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY POST AT KETTLE FALLS, ERECTED IN 1833

OLD HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY AT FORT COLVILLE, AS IT APPEARED IN 1887

INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND BRITISH COLUMBIA.

The little brunette stands on the United States Side

Only annual sessions were held, and when court convened in June, 1863, for a two-day session, it was presided over by Judge J. E. Wyche, with not a lawyer in sight. Mrs. Mary J. Walters was granted the first divorce in the county. Of a verity hath it been said that "great oaks from little acorns grow." The divorce crop has kept well apace with the general step of growth and progress.

Then, as now, expectation rose and fell with the prospect of immigration and fuller development of the potential resources of the land; and the intelligence was welcomed when Captain John Mullan, surveyor and builder of the Mullan road from Walla Walla to Fort Benton, wrote in June, 1862, that four Missouri river steamboats had arrived at Benton, with 350 passengers from St. Louis, en route to Bitter Root, Deer Lodge and Walla Walla valleys. "They came provided with their carriages and wagons, purchased animals at Fort Benton, and have already started for their new homes on the Pacific. The boats made the trip from St. Louis in thirty-two days, and the teams will make the trip over the new military wagon road in forty days to Walla Walla."

At Fort Colville, in July, 1862, the military paid $2.50 a bushel for wheat, $14 a barrel for flour, and $1 a bushel for oats.

Charles Frush and Fred. Sherwood arranged in the spring of 1863 to run an express from Fort Benton to Walla Walla, by way of Spokane prairie, to connect with the Wells Fargo express at Walla Walla.

In the spring of 1865, Mr. Winans paid 12½ cents per pound for carrying freight from Wallula, on the Columbia, to Colville, and sold bacon at 62½ cents, coffee 75 cents, sugar 50 cents, beans 35 cents, salt 25 cents, nails 40 cents, butter $1, and shot 50 cents. Calico brought 37½ cents per yard, a spool of thread 25 cents, and a paper of needles the same.

The first steamboat to run the Columbia above the international boundary was built by Captain Lew White where the town of Marcus now stands. It was christened the "Forty-Nine," and Miss Christina McDonald and Miss Mary L. Brown drove the first nails. It was launched November 18, 1865, and made its first run about April, 1866, with Lew White as captain, Wesley Briggs purser, A. C. Pingstone mate, and Wash. Eldridge engineer.

The first annual statement of the treasurer of Spokane county, as shown by the records, is as follows:

PINKNEY CITY, W. T., January 1, 1863.

To amount received		$2,587.58
Paid out:		
By county orders redeemed	$1,881.98	
By cash, school fund, 1861	277.02	
By cash, school fund, 1862	122.26	
By cash, territorial fund, 1861	106.01	
By cash, territorial fund, 1862	56.22	
By cash, war fund	50.00	
Fees, R. H. Douglass	8.12	
Fees, for disbursing	85.18	
By Cash	.79	$2,587.58

Under date of December 28, 1862, Mr. Winans' journal contains this entry: "E. F. Smith, my employer, started below, with $22,000 in gold dust, accompanied by James Monaghan, Pucket and Lieut. Hoadley." And January 2, 1863: "Conner's mule train got in with goods from Wallula, 13,000 pounds of bacon, sugar, etc., thirty-six days since he started for the goods. Paid freight bill on same, $1,950."

"On May 26, 1863, at the upper Palouse camp," writes Mr. Winans, "there were stolen from Ferguson & Co., nine mules. The teams to which these animals belonged were en route to Colville with goods. The mules were driven towards British Columbia, crossed the Columbia at Dancing Bill ferry, and thence up the Okanogan to British Columbia. Francis Wolff accepted an offer of $500 for the return of the mules. At the boundary line he struck their trail, and changing horses several times with the Indians, he overtook the thieves, and watching his opportunity at night, about ten miles this side of Nicholas lake, B. C., he recovered the mules, leaving the thieves afoot. He drove the mules to Colville, arriving June 15, 1863, about twenty days after they were stolen, he living most of that time on suckers bought from the Indians. The thieves were W. Page, an Englishman with pock marks, Louis Williams, or 'Nigger Louie,' and John Wagoner, or 'Dutch John.' Afterwards, in 1864, Page was concerned in the Magruder murder, and killed at Lewiston. Wagoner, with a partner, held up a wagon train near Boise; the partner was killed, he was caught and hung. I have no record of what became of 'Nigger Louie,' but Ben Burgunder says he was living at one time with the Indians at Kamloops, B. C."

By act of January 30, 1863, the legislature cut off from Walla Walla county the territory lying between the international boundary on the north and the Wenatchee river on the south, and the Columbia river on the east and the Cascade mountains on the west, and named it Stevens county. W. B. Yantis was named as sheriff and Charles H. Campfield auditor. The county seat was "temporarily" located at "H. E. Young's store." "No attempt was made to organize the county of Stevens at H. E. Young's store," says Mr. Winans, "for it was so temporary that it remained within its proposed boundaries but a few months. The officials named, being miners, were on the move hunting new diggings, the claims they abandoned being occupied by hundreds of Chinamen, who were apparently making good wages and paying no taxes."

It is Mr. Winans' recollection of the discussion of this question that the principal reason advanced for the annexation of Stevens to Spokane was the need of control of both sides of the Columbia, to prevent evasion of head tax by Chinese shifting from one side of the river to the other. "Our representative evidently tried to follow out his instructions, but in his endeavors to have Stevens county attached to Spokane, the legislature reversed him, for the act of January 19, 1864, attached Spokane to Stevens, but the officers of Spokane were made the officials of Stevens."

Dr. Tobey secured the passage of an "Act to protect free white labor from competition of Chinamen," levying a quarterly tax of $6, the sheriff to have 25 per cent, the remainder to be divided equally between the county and the territory. Under this act there was paid the treasurer of Stevens county $2,940 in 1864, $1,542 in 1865, and $3,076 in 1866. Explanatory of the small collections of 1865, it is recalled that bogus collectors, impersonating the sheriff and his deputies, went

among the confiding Chinese and collected several hundred dollars of the tax. The law was repealed in 1869.

At the election, July 13, 1863, for delegate to congress, the vote of Stevens county was: Cole 56, Turney 22, Raynor 11, Richardson 2.

The following entries are taken from the Winans diary:

"July 26, 1863. Received news today of the battles and victories of Gettysburg and Vicksburg, of July 4, only twenty-two days. Very quick time."

"August 17, 1863. Very hard frost last night; killed the potato and squash vines; also the wheat and oats were rendered valueless."

"September 8, 1863. Marcus Oppenheimer and W. V. Brown took possession of some of the buildings of the British Boundary Commission, abandoned last year by Col. Hawkins and the sappers and miners."

Brown died some years before Oppenheimer. The latter filed a homestead on the place, and the town of Marcus, now on the site, was named for him.

As some confusion arose from the fact that the county seat was called Pinkney City, but the postoffice Fort Colville, the name of the county seat was changed to Fort Colville by an act passed January 4, 1868. Seven years later, the little village of Spokane Falls, ambitious to become the seat of government, made an audacious effort to take the county seat from Colville. An act was actually passed, November 5, 1875, locating the county seat at Spokane, and directing "that on or before May 1, 1876, the county commissioners shall remove all records to that place." "The county commissioners did not permit an act of the legislature to override their personal preferences," observes Mr. Winans, for the county records show that on April 26, 1876, all three commissioners, L. W. Meyers, D. F. Percival and J. Lamona, being present, the question of changing the county seat was discussed, and the majority decided that 'the act was null and void, because it was an amendment to the act of 1863, which was repealed by act of 1864, which located the county seat at Colville.' Percival dissented, but no further action was taken. We think this is the first instance of a board of county commissioners passing on the legality of an act of the legislature and winning out, for the county seat remained at Colville, and is there to this day."

Dismemberment of Stevens county began November 27, 1871, with the cutting away of Whitman county. Then, in chronological order, came the cutting off of Spokane, October 30, 1879; Kittitas and Lincoln, November 24, 1883; Adams, Franklin and Douglas, November 28, 1883; Okanogan, February 2, 1888; Ferry, February 21, 1899; and Chelan, March 13, 1899.

The act creating Whitman county took from Stevens all territory south of a line drawn from White Bluffs northeasterly to Lougenbeel creek; thence by Fifth standard parallel to the Idaho line, and appointed as its first officers: Charles D. Porter, sheriff; James Ewart, auditor, and W. A. Belcher, treasurer.

"The county officials named," says Mr. Winans, "assembled January 1, 1872, and took oath of office in the hewn log house built by J. A. Perkins, being the first house in Colfax, and it still stands in the rear of the present residence of the builder, who not only erected the first house, but also assisted in building the first sawmill, and has, during his long residence in the county, been one of its most efficient, unselfish and leading factors in building up that thriving city and prosperous community."

Speaking of the organization of Whitman county, Captain James Ewart has said:

"At this first meeting the question arose, who would administer the oath of office. No one present was authorized to do so. It happened that Anderson Cox, an officer of the land office at Walla Walla, was in Colfax, and they, making virtue of necessity, had him swear in James Ewart as county auditor, and he administered the oath of office to the other officials. A statement of the organization was afterwards made to Judge Kennedy, and he declared it legal."

We return now to the early history of Spokane and Stevens county. "It was not until after the war that parties divided politically," continues Mr. Winans. "Then for a few years it was Union and Democratic parties, but in 1869 five of the seven avowed republicans met in the office of the writer and agreed on a plan of organization, which was carried into effect by placing a republican ticket in the field and electing the greater part of it. The seven were Henry Wellington, W. V. Brown, H. E. Young, F. W. Perkins, George McCrae, S. F. Sherwood and W. P. Winans. For political literature the democrats circulated Brick Pomeroy's Democrat, and the republicans the New York Tribune and Harpers' Weekly."

According to the same authority, the legislative representatives elected during the first few years of Spokane-Stevens county are: J. A. Bates, 1861; Charles H. Campfield, 1862, B. F. Yantis, contested, Campfield made no appearance, and Yantis got the seat; Dr. Isaac L. Tobey, for 1863, reelected for 1864, but resigned, as the pay, $3 a day and mileage in "greenbacks" at 40 cents on the dollar would not cover his expenses and he did not go to Olympia a second time. Wm. V. Brown, for 1865, would not leave his business to go to the capital. J. J. H. Bokkelem for 1866. W. P. Winans for 1867, member of the first biennial session; Charles H. Montgomery, 1869; W. P. Winans, 1871; T. O. Favorite, 1873; R. H. Wimpy, 1875; D. F. Percival, 1877 and 1879.

The joint councilmen representing Walla Walla, Spokane, Stevens and other counties for the first few years of organization were: John A. Simms, 1861-2; Daniel Stewart, 1863-4; Anderson Cox, 1865-6; B. L. Sharpstein, 1866-7; J. M. Vansycke, from 1867 to 1870; H. O. D. Bryant, 1871-2; Charles H. Montgomery, 1873-4.

Under the caption of "Incidents," Mr. Winans records the following:

Before the organization of the county government, gold was dicovered on the Pend d'Oreille river by Joe Morrell in 1854, and in 1855, the news being scattered abroad, quite a number of miners, packers and traders came into the Colville valley among them Francis Wolff, who in 1856 brought the first merchandise on wagons into the valley, starting from The Dalles, going by Walla Walla valley, and crossing Snake river at the mouth of the Palouse by lashing canoes together. After driving across country, he ferried the Spokane in the same way, and passed thence into the valley by way of Walker's prairie, making the wagon tracks that Major Lougenbeel followed in 1859 when he came to establish the military post.

The discovery of gold, the influx of miners, and the location of the United States military post called the attention of the territorial legislature to the valley, and on January 11, 1859, an act was passed "Authorizing Edward L. Massey to establish a ferry across Snake river, where the road crosses between Walla Walla and Fort Colville." On December 14, 1859, the general government was petitioned to build a wagon road from Seattle, via Snoqualmie pass, to Fort Colville.

In 1859 and 1860 J. R. Bates operated the ferry at the Government crossing on the Spokane river. He sold out to W. J. Terry and William Nixon, and on Septem-

ber 20, 1860, James Monaghan was employed by them to take charge of it, he at that time being 20 years old. The legislature, on January 11, 1861, granted them a charter to build a bridge. This ferry afterwards became the property of James Monaghan, who built the first bridge in 1865, at this crossing. This bridge afterwards was called Lapray's bridge, Joseph Lapray purchasing it about 1875.

The first bridge built on the Spokane river was above the Mullan road crossing, in 1864, by Tim Lee, Joe Herrin and Ned Jordan. High water in the spring of 1865 took it out, and it was rebuilt by the same persons that year.

The Kootenai mines were discovered in the fall of 1863, and to ascertain if a practical route could be had by water, D. H. Ferguson & Co., in the spring of 1864, bought a canoe, employed Dick Fry, Adam Boyd and Old Piene as guide, provisioned them for six months, and sent them to find a route to the mines. They went up the Columbia river to its headwaters, portaged the canoe three-fourths of a mile to the Kootenai river, and floated down that stream to the mouth of Wild Horse creek, where the Walla Walla trail crossed the river. They used the canoe as a ferry boat to cross the miners from the south, en route to the mines.

About 100 miners wintered (1864-65) at Marcus, and in the spring of 1865 started up the Columbia river and prospected the streams emptying into it, and discovered the French Creek, or Big Bend mines, in the fall of 1865.

To enable the people of Colville to reach the Kootenai trail with the products of the valley, it was necessary to make a road from Cottonwood creek, a few miles south of Chewelah, to Peone prairie, a distance of about sixty miles through the timber. The people volunteered the labor, and the merchants, C. H. Montgomery, D. H. Ferguson & Co., and W. P. Winans donated the provisions. The road was laid out by a company, consisting of D. H. Ferguson as commissary, John U. Hofstetter as overseer, and an Indian as guide. The people by the dozens worked there during the summer and fall of 1867, and completed the road so that it has been used ever since. In 1871 Chief Engineer Moberly, in charge of the surveying parties of the Canadian Pacific railroad, bought provisions in Colville, and they were packed over this road to Kootenai, British Columbia.

In July, 1881, Captain Hunter, with a detachment of the First cavalry, repaired the road, John U. Hofstetter again overseeing the work. He camped at the beautiful lake on the divide, and on account of the numerous loons, named it Loon lake, by which it is now known.

Immediately following the Wright campaign of 1858, the war department decided to establish a permanent military post in the Spokane country, and in the spring of 1859 four companies of the Ninth U. S. infantry, under Major Pinkney Lougenbeel, were ordered to the Colville valley. The command crossed the Snake river at the mouth of the Palouse, the Spokane at the point now known as the Lapray bridge, and located, June 21, 1859, the military post on the flat near Mill creek, about three miles from the present town of Colville. A four company post was built of hewn logs. R. H. Douglass and John Nelson had built a sawmill in 1858, at the falls on the creek about three miles below the site of the fort, and Major Lougenbeel tried to rent it on a basis of $20 per thousand for lumber sawed, he to supply logs and labor. The owners demanded $40, whereupon the Major built a dam half a mile above the post site, put in a sawmill and cut out enough lumber for his own needs,

then leasing the mill to others, and in this way the settlers were enabled to buy lumber at $10 a thousand.

The same year, says Mr. Winans, the British boundary commission, under Colonel Hawkins, located their quarters on the south side of the Columbia river, two miles above Kettle Falls, and about fifteen miles from the American post, and built comfortable log houses to shelter his command. The place is now occupied by the town of Marcus. On August 6, 1861, Captain John G. Parke sold such supplies as he had belonging to the American Boundary Commission (the American and British engineers had worked together locating the boundary) and left for the States; and on April 4, 1862, Colonel Hawkins abandoned his building and started for England by way of Walla Walla.

For the historic dates in this chapter, relating to the military occupation of the Colville valley, I am indebted to the valuable journal of Mr. Winans.

On November 17, 1861, Major Lougenbeel was relieved of the command of Fort Colville by Major James F. Curtis, with two companies of the Second Infantry, California Volunteers. One of the first orders issued by Major Curtis dismissed the post sutler, Charles R. Allen. It was terse, emphatic and patriotic: "Sir: You are dismissed as sutler from this post for your unqualified secession principles."

Some of the California Volunteers were a rough and disorderly lot, reputed jailbirds of San Francisco, a city then swarming with the offscourings of civilization.

"Besides getting drunk, they would fight, steal and kill. Within four days of their arrival they broke into the only washhouse in town, ran off the Chinamen and stole the clothes, leaving most of the citizens with only what underclothing was on their persons. February 8, 1862, Lieutenant John M. Henry came to the town, and in cold blood killed John Burk with a butcher knife. The coroner's inquest found Henry guilty of murder. Major Curtis confined him to his quarters for about twenty days, and then, on account of criticism by citizens, turned him over to Sheriff Francis Wolff. The nearest jail being 470 miles distant, at Vancouver, the sheriff took him to his farm, about five miles distant, and kept him until spring, when Henry demanded a hearing before a justice of the peace. At the examination, and on account of the intimidation of these soldiers, no one appeared to prosecute, and he was discharged and left the place. It was reported some months later that he was killed in a row in California. Sheriff Wolff was allowed $352 by the county commissioners for guarding and feeding Lieutenant Henry."

February 22, 1863, passes into history as memorable for the largest and most brilliant social event that had ever been given in the Spokane country, the great ball of the California Volunteers. Invitations were sent out to practically everybody in the Colville valley, including the officers and men of the British Boundary Commission. The times were democratic, social distinctions were obliterated between officers and men, and there was a joyous commingling of the native and Caucasian races. More than 400 guests attended, including about 150 women of the valley, chiefly natives and mixed bloods, and half a dozen white women, all that could be mustered in the fort and the country. Major Curtis and his officers attended in full dress uniform, and were hospitable to a degree, exerting themselves to see that none lacked attention, and capping their hospitality with a bountiful supper. Evidently the California Volunteers were on their good behavior, and there was only a "sound of revelry by night" where too frequently had been a sound of deviltry by day.

One of the company barracks, a log building 25x100, had been patriotically and beautifully decorated as a ballroom. At each end, over the great fireplaces, were rosettes of guns and sabers, flanked by the flags of the United States and the British Empire. Flags and bunting were on the sides of the building in profusion, and for illumination artistic hands had formed great chandeliers of bayonets attached to hoops, in cone and pyramidal effect. The dancing and the feasting lasted until daylight.

We quote now from Mr. Winan's diary:

March 26, 1862. Lieutenant Wing of the California Volunteers committed suicide by shooting himself, placing the muzzle of the pistol in his mouth. The first use made of the beautiful marble of which the valley has such a great variety and abundance was a slab marking his grave.

April 21, 1862. Major Curtis came with his command to the town, went to John Shaw's distillery, took the worm of the still out and up to the fort, knocked all the barrels of whisky in the head, and ordered every one in town not to sell liquor to any one, which order was obeyed. The character of some of the men in his command was such that life and property were not safe when they were drinking. The order was obeyed, not only because it was an order, but for self-protection.

July 11, 1862. Major C. H. Rumrill, with two companies of the Washington Territory Volunteers, relieved Major Curtis, who, with his command, went to Fort Vancouver.

November 3, 1862. The order of Major Curtis of April 21, stopping the sale of liquors, was suspended by order of Major Rumrill, and whisky selling was again permitted. It might be proper to say that during the prohibition the settlers expended about the same amount of money, but it was noticeable that their families were more comfortably housed and better clothed.

During the fall and winter of 1862-63, some desperadoes, driven out of Lewiston, came to Colville. One of them, Charles Harper, shot and killed Mrs. McRice at a dance, at the British Boundary Commission barracks. He fled, but on the twenty-seventh of January, 1863, was caught by a party of miners and hanged at Leo's bar on the Columbia river, about fifteen miles below the old fort.

Another called Williams (who was thought by his associates to be Wells, a man who killed a sheriff and his deputy and driver near Sacramento four years before) with three others, were stopping on the Little Pend d'Oreille, on the place afterwards owned by Mrs. A. Reeves Ayers. His companions became afraid of him and killed him. The younger one, a boy of 18, told Major Rumrill about it, alleging self-defense, hoping to get the supposed reward offered for Wells. The body, when unearthed and examined, showed that Williams had been shot, knocked in the head with an ax, and choked with a scarf. This investigation implicated the others, and they tried to get out of the country, but the sheriff and posse, with the guidance of James Monaghan and his prompt action, overtook them on the Spokane, near Antoine Plant's ferry, and took them back to Colville. There being no jail, they, with two others, were kept in the guard house all winter, and the following April broke away from the guard, and were afterwards seen in Walla Walla.

November 5, 1863, Lieutenant Charles P. Egan was married to Miss Emma Johnson, at the commanding officer's quarters, by D. H. Ferguson, justice of the peace. A splendid dinner followed the ceremony. This officer, as commissary gen-

eral, attained considerable notoriety in canned beef contracts during the Spanish-American war.

December 24, 1863, military ball at the Fort. All the people of the Valley were there, the Washington Volunteers trying to excel the California Volunteers in the entertainment of the year before.

May 26, 1865, Captain F. O. McCown, with one company of Oregon Volunteers, relieved Major Rumrill and his command of two companies of Washington Territory Volunteers, they going to Walla Walla. Captain McCown, on taking command, authorized W. P. Winans to act as post trader.

November 9, 1865, Captain John S. Wharton, with one company, sixty-two men, Fourteenth U. S. infantry regulars, arrived and relieved Captain McCown and his command, who went to Vancouver to be mustered out of service. From this date until abandonment, September, 1882, the fort was garrisoned by regular troops from different regiments with different officers.

On January 19, 1866, John S. Davis, living at the British Boundary Commission barracks, was punishing his squaw; her mother, seeing it, ran a knife through his body, killing him. A few hours afterward the mother was found hanging by her neck in one of the vacant buildings. The people did not take the law into their own hands in every case, for in 1865 an Indian killed a white man on Kettle river, at night while the victim was sleeping. He was given a jury trial, was found guilty of murder, and hanged from a gallows erected by the sheriff.

On February 18, 1867, a party of five soldiers came to town, and shot and killed H. P. Stewart, the probate judge. On June 8, 1867, the court met, presided over by Judge J. E. Wyche, and soldier Reilly was found guilty and sentenced to twenty years in the penitentiary at Steilacoom. Judge Stewart was buried with Masonic ceremonies. Seven Masons were present. This was the first Masonic funeral in the county.

Lieutenant-Colonel Merriam, with his command of three companies, camped during the winter of 1879-80 on Foster creek, and in the spring of 1880 went to Chelan and commenced to build a post, but the difficulties of access, and the lack of transportation were such that a new location was sought for, and the fort was finally located near the mouth of the Spokane river, and built there in 1881.

Lieutenant Webster and his command were then withdrawn from Colville, leaving a quartermaster's man, Christ Gilson, in charge, who, after a few months, was discharged, and in 1882 the fort was left to the tender mercies of the people. In a few years not a house was left on the original site. Parts of them, though, can yet be found, twenty-five miles away from where they formerly stood. The land of the military reserve was appraised and sold, and is now owned by citizens and cultivated as farms.

The troops were withdrawn from Fort Spokane in 1898, to take part in the Spanish war, and later the fort was turned over to the Indian department and used as an Indian school.

For the record of changes since 1873 Mr. Winans acknowledges information given by James Monaghan and Edward O'Shea.

CHAPTER XXXI

INLAND EMPIRE HISTORY IN OLD LEGISLATIVE ACTS

DISCOVERY OF GOLD—EARLY FERRIES AND BRIDGES—STEAMBOATS ON COLUMBIA AND SNAKE—MEMORIALS FOR TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILROAD—SCHEME TO TURN PEND D'OREILLE RIVER INTO THE SPOKANE—ARMS SENT TO MINERS—GOLD HUNTERS OVERRUN NEZ PERCE RESERVATION—TOWN OF LEWISTON LAID OUT—CANADIAN "RECIPROCITY"—MINERS CLAMOR FOR BETTER MAIL SERVICE—FIRST BOOM IN THE INLAND EMPIRE—SPOKANE COUNTY ANNEXED TO STEVENS—DEALING WITH THE CHINESE—WALLA WALLA'S FIRST LITERARY SOCIETY—JAMES MONAGHAN GRANTED BRIDGE FRANCHISE ON THE SPOKANE—COAST MERCHANTS COMPETE WITH ST. LOUIS—OREGON TRIES TO ANNEX WALLA WALLA—FAMOUS OLD MULLAN ROAD—PRICES OF WALLA WALLA PRODUCTS.

Trust me, each state must have its policies;
Kingdoms have edicts, cities have their charters;
Even the wild outlaw, in his forest walk,
Keeps yet some touch of civil discipline;
For not since Adam wore his verdant apron,
Hath man with man in social union dwelt,
But laws were made to draw that union closer.

—Old Play.

AT THE sessions of 1860-1 and 1861-2, the legislature carved, out of the original boundaries of Spokane, the counties of Missoula, Idaho, Nez Perce and Shoshone, that territory having received a large influx of gold miners; and at the latter session enacted a law constituting these counties, and with them Spokane and Walla Walla, the first judicial district. At the same session acts were passed establishing courts at the county seats of Idaho, Spokane and Shoshone, that of Spokane to have jurisdiction in Spokane and Missoula counties.

At this time discoveries of gold at various points in the Clearwater and Salmon river region and along the bars of the Columbia river were luring thousands of adventurous men into the interior, and ferries were needed at many points where roads and trails crossed deep or turbulent rivers. At its winter sessions of 1860-1 and 1861-2 the legislature at Olympia was besieged by eager applicants for ferry franchises. An act passed in January, 1861, authorized "Antoine Plant, his heirs and assigns to establish and keep a ferry across the Spokane river, at or near the point where the military road from Fort Walla Walla to Fort Benton crosses said river;" and allowing him to charge the following tolls:

For each wagon, carriage or vehicle, with two animals attached	$4.00
For each pleasure wagon, with two horses	3.00
For each additional animal	.50
For each cart, wagon or carriage with one horse	2.00
For man and horse	1.50
For each animal packed	1.50
For each footman	.50
For loose animals, other than sheep or hogs	.25
For sheep, goats or hogs, each head	.15

The grantee was required, "within six months from and after the passage of this act, to procure and keep on said ferry a sufficient ferry boat, with the requisite number of hands to work the same, for the transportation of all persons and their property without unnecessary delay;" and further, to pay "into the county treasury of the county in which said ferry may be located, as an annual tax, a sum not to exceed $25 for the use of said county."

At the same session the legislature incorporated the Spokane Bridge company, with W. J. Terry, William Nix "and such others as may become associated with them," as incorporators, with a capital stock of $20,000; "for the purpose of constructing a bridge across the Spokane river, Spokane county, at or near the government crossing." Maximum tolls were established:

For each foot passenger	$ .25
For each man and horse	1.00
For each pack animal and pack	.75
For each cart, chaise, gig with two wheels, or other two-wheeled carriage drawn by one horse	1.25
The same drawn by two horses or oxen	1.50
For each four-wheeled wagon, buggy or carriage, with one horse	1.50
The same with two horses or oxen	1.75
For additional horse or ox	.25
For each pleasure carriage, coach or vehicle for conveyance of persons, with four horses	2.00
For each horse, mule or ass, or neat cattle	.25
For each sheep or hog	.10

The president of the company was required, as soon as the bridge was completed and tolls collected thereon, to list under oath the capital stock and other property of the company, "for taxation as personal property is then listed for taxation by law." And "at any time after ten years from the time the tolls may be first collected on said bridge, the county commissioners or proper authorities of Spokane county shall have a right to purchase and manage said bridge in such a manner as may be provided by law."

Mention of Antoine Plant's place on the Spokane river is made in preceding chapters. Ben Burgunder, a resident of Colfax since 1879, who came into the Inland Empire in 1862, and a year later went to Marcus, Stevens county, where he engaged in business for many years, has given the writer valuable information

respecting Antoine's place and other historic crossings of the Spokane. Plant's ferry was at a point a short distance above Trent, but his home, where Governor Stevens repeatedly was sheltered in the '50s, was at the large spring which gushes from the hillside about a mile and a half north of the stream.

The Mullan road crossed the river at Plant's ferry, and ran up the valley to Lake Coeur d'Alene. At Antoine Camille's place, some three miles above Plant's dwelling, it connected with the old Colville road coming down over Peone prairie. Mr. Burgunder recalls that the Mullan road followed the old Colville road from Walla Walla to the crossing of Cow creek, and there took an independent course, and crossed Snake river at the mouth of the Palouse. McWirck Bros. had the first ferry at that point. They operated under a charter granted in the early '60s. The place is now known as Lyon's Ferry.

Tim Lee and Joe Herrin built the first bridge across the Spokane, in 1864, and sold it to Charley Kendall, who had a store on the east bank. The store of M. M. Cowley and Tom Ford was on the west side. Kendall was killed about 1875 by Joe Leonard, who fired through Kendall's bedroom window. Leonard was killed in Montana, while serving as a U. S. scout in the Nez Perce war of 1877. At the time Kendall operated his toll bridge across the Spokane, Isaac Kellogg came up from Waitsburg in 1865 and built a free bridge across the stream at Antoine Plant's old ferry. While sitting in his cabin one night, he was killed by a shot fired through the window.

Lieutenant Mullan found Plant "a very worthy halfbreed Flathead Indian, who speaks both French and English; has a small field under cultivation, from which he obtains corn, wheat and vegetables; these, with the salmon found in the river, form an abundant supply for his Indian family."

Mullan, with a party of 100 men, completed his historic old highway in 1859-60. His main command started from Walla Walla July 1, bridging rivers, creeks and sloughs on their march, and noting the character of the country. Of the Palouse region Mullan ventured the prediction that "the black loam would doubtless produce vegetables and cereals, and it is not at all improbable that the grazier and agriculturist will find, at no distant day, tracts of land that will amply repay their reclamation."

Under date of July 14 Mullan made this entry in his journal: "We camped this day on the banks of the Nedwhuald, and at the same point where General Wright hung Qualchien, the noted Yakima chief, and several other Indians, from which fact the creek is known to many as Hangman's creek."

Of the Coeur d'Alene Indians Mullan wrote: "They are wily fellows, and great caution is necessary in all intercourse with them."

His great task ended, Mullan's command was disbanded at Walla Walla in August, 1860, and the outfit sold. "Thus ended my work in the field," he reported, "costing seven years of close and arduous attention, exploring and opening up a road of 624 miles, from the Columbia to the Missouri river, at a cost of $230,000."

At this period all eyes were dazzled by the glitter and glamour of gold, for the rich placers of the Spokane country were yielding princely tribute; fortune smiled on many a poor miner, and the spirit of promotion and exploitation was in the land. Steamboats were needed on the swift waters of the Columbia, the Snake and the Clearwater, to transport passengers and merchandise to the interior, and to meet

that need we find J. C. Ainsworth, Daniel F. Bradford, R. R. Thompson and J. S. Ruggle appearing at Olympia for legislative articles to incorporate the historic old Oregon Steam Navigation company, predecessor of the Oregon Railroad & Navigation company, or as now known, the Harriman system in Washington and Oregon. At least two of these, were to become steamboat princes, for their boats earned fabulous profits, as wealth came easily when miners were rocking out from $10 to $100 a day to the man at Pierce City, Orofino, Florence and other famous placer camps of fifty years ago.

Even then, and for years before, the people had keen anticipations of the coming of the Northern Pacific railorad and the transformation to be wrought by it in pioneer conditions of travel, transportation and development. A memorial adopted by the Washington legislature, February 4, 1858, told congress that "the time has arrived for the construction of a great national railway across the continent, connecting the populous states of the Atlantic with the Pacific shores of the Union, already colonized with our young and vigorous men. . . . It will bind together this vast republic, and be a chain of union between the Atlantic and Pacific states. It will insure the defense of the country. Armies, seamen, military and naval stores may be transported from ocean to ocean in less time and with less expense than were required between New York and the lakes during the war of 1812. It will give a direct, quick transit to mails. Military reasons call for its construction. Political reasons require that it should be made; and more than all, commercial reasons demand it. The trade of the Pacific ocean and eastern Asia will take its track. The trade of India, whose channels have been shifting for hundreds of years, is destined to shift once more, and that is across our continent. The American road to India will become the European track to that region, and the rich commerce of India will flow through our center."

For these and other reasons, it was—

"Resolved, As the opinion of the legislative assembly, that the cheapest and shortest route from the great commercial emporiums of the Atlantic to the Pacific, is the route explored and surveyed by Governor Stevens near the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, connecting Puget Sound, the largest and most commodious harbor in the world, with its inexhaustible beds of coal, with the head of Lake Superior and the three great lakes which connect directly with the Atlantic, thus greatly reducing the cost of transit on heavy merchandise.

"Resolved, That the northern line is the most accessible by navigation, passes through the lumber regions of Minnesota and Washington, and has easy access to the vast pine forests of the Red river, and passing through the rich and boundless prairies of the northwest.

"Resolved, That the construction of this great northern national system can not only be the work of the present century, but it can be made the great work of the present administration, giving it undying fame, binding together this vast empire in bands of iron, and bearing the light of the gospel, of science and civilization across the continent, and making it the great highway between Europe and Asia."

But lamentably the civil war was coming on, and Buchanan's administration, soon to be swept from power, was not to have the "undying fame" held out to it by the legislative assembly of the young territory of Washington. Russian peasants have a saying that "God and the czar are far away," and congress and a trans-

continental railroad were far distant from the voice of the legislative assembly that was trying to make itself heard from the backwoods capital of Olympia.

We have in the Spokane river a pretty fine water power, even as nature bestowed it upon us; but we should have possessed a far greater power if only the brilliant project of the promoters of the Pend d'Oreille mining company had materialized some fifty years ago. Their object, however, was the quest of gold, not to amplify the water power in the Spokane, of which it then seemed there was an abundance and more for all future time.

By an act passed in January, 1861, this corporation, having as its incorporators W. H. Watson, H. Way, W. Terry, R. Ricord, G. C. Blankenship, William Cardwell and B. F. Yantis, was granted power "to construct and maintain a canal for the purpose of turning the channel of the Pend d'Oreille river into the Spokane river from any point on said Pend d'Oreille river that the said company shall deem most advisable, and shall have the exclusive right for mining purposes to the bed of said river below low water mark." It further was provided that "any person not a member of said corporation who shall attempt to mine in said river below low water mark, shall be deemed guilty of a trespass, and upon conviction thereof, shall forfeit and pay to the said corporation not less than $500 nor more than $1,000, recoverable before any court having jurisdiction, in the name of the corporation."

On the theory that the bed of the Pend d'Oreille was rich in placer gold, it was the intention of the company to divert, through a canal, the entire flow of that river into the headwaters of the Little Spokane, and thence into the main Spokane. But the stock proved unsalable, and it appears that the project never advanced beyond the "paper" stage.

At the session of 1859-60, John W. Park was granted a franchise for a ferry across the St. Joseph river, "in what is commonly known as Spokane county," at the point "where the territorial or military road leading from post or Fort Walla Walla to Fort Benton, Montana," crossed that stream. The authorized tolls were somewhat higher than the legislature had permitted on other ferries in the interior, ranging from 50 cents for a footman to $5 for each wagon with two animals attached.

William Forman was authorized to establish a ferry across the Coeur d'Alene river, "in what is commonly called Spokane county," at the point where the Walla Walla-Fort Benton road crossed that stream, with permission to charge the same schedule of tolls as had been granted the ferry across the St. Joseph.

Notwithstanding the pacification of the country by the crushing defeats administered by Colonel Wright in 1858 upon the turbulent Indian tribes, the settlers were apprehensive of renewed hostilities north of Snake river; and the legislature, by a resolution passed February 1st, 1860, directed the quartermaster general "to forward one-fourth of all the territorial arms now in his possession, to some convenient point or points in the counties of Spokane and Walla Walla, or both of them."

Among the important acts passed at this session was one "to establish an institution of learning in Walla Walla county,"—the beginning of the Whitman college of the present day. The act, passed December 20, 1859, provided for "the instruction of persons of both sexes, in science and literature," in an institution "to be called the Whitman seminary;" and named Elkanah Walker, George H. Atkinson, Elisha S. Tanner, Erastus S. Joslyn, W. A. Tenney, H. H. Spalding, John C. Smith, James Craigie and Cushing Eells as trustees. The capital stock was never to exceed

$150,000, "nor the income or proceeds of the same be appropriated to any other use than for the benefit of said institution as contemplated by this act."

For the accommodation of gold-hunters passing into the upper Columbia river country and on the way to the Similkameen placers, P. C. Dunlevey was authorized at this session to establish and keep a ferry "across Shalam river in Spokane county, commencing at lake Shalam and extending five miles down Shalam river." Thus they attempted to spell "Chelan" half a century and more ago.

The country east of the Cascade mountains engrossed a large part of the thought and attention of the legislative session of the winter of 1860-61. Travel was setting in briskly towards the placer mining camps of northern Idaho, and the upper Columbia, and to facilitate it the legislature granted the Walla Walla & Clearwater road company a franchise to construct and maintain a toll road by way of the old Indian trail. Elias D. Pierce, Joseph L. Davis, James Buckley and Lycurgus Jackson were named as incorporators, and empowered to charge tolls at each bridge or ferry ranging from fifty cents for a footman to $5 for each wagon with six mules, horses or oxen. Daniel Ladoux was authorized to keep a ferry across the Columbia at the mouth of Kettle river.

Congress was memorialized for the appointment of a commissioner to treat with the Nez Perce Indians for a change in their reservation, the memorial pointing out that "during the past year discoveries have indicated the existence of rich gold fields within the limits of the Nez Perce reservation in this territory;" that "this has caused great excitement among those Indians, as also among our white population, and it is feared that unless some action is taken by the general government, it may lead to serious difficulty between the whites and the Nez Perces, who have been uniformly friendly to our citizens." It was believed "that the lands upon which the gold is indicated may be peaceably procured of the Indians should a commissioner be appointed to treat with them for a change in the boundaries of the reservation."

The first treaty was made with the Nez Perces in 1855, but was not ratified until 1859, explains Myron Eells, in "History of Indian Missions on the Pacific Coast." The next year the gold mines of Orofino were discovered on their reservation, and the following year those of Florence and other places in western Idaho, to the east of the reservation; but to reach the latter the miners were obliged to travel across the reservation; and men did rush on to it and across it very much as if it had not been set apart for the Indians. In order to avoid a conflict, a new treaty was made in April, 1861 (which, however, was never ratified), by which that part of the reservation lying north of Snake and Clearwater rivers, the south fork of the Clearwater, and the trail from the south fork by the Wieppe root ground, across the Bitter Root mountains, was opened to the whites in common with the Indians for mining purposes. As long as the United States did not ratify it, it did not become binding on the Indians, and even if it had been, only a part of the reservation was opened, and that only for mining purposes. Yet, in defiance of law, and against the protestations of the Indian agent, the town of Lewiston was laid out in 1861 on the reservation, and on that part of it which had not been thus opened. The town soon grew to be a place of 1,200 people, and the first capital of Idaho; and the anomaly was seen of the legislature of a territory sitting

on an Indian reservation, and even making laws, some of which were contrary to the laws of the United States, in regard to intercourse with Indians.

"By the spring of 1863," adds Eells, "it was evident that a new treaty was needed, whereby the reservation should be curtailed, if possible; and this was made in June of that year; but it was not ratified by the United States until 1867. Lawyer, the head chief, and fifty other sub-chiefs and head men agreed to it, but others did not, among whom were Joseph, White Bird and Looking Glass, who lived on the part surrendered to the United States; and this was the main cause of the war with Joseph in 1877.

"The tribe was thus, in 1863, divided into treaty and non-treaty Indians, and as government failed either to ratify this treaty, or even to pay all the money due under the first treaty, the division between the two parties grew wider and wider, and the non-treaty party grew constantly stronger, while the other side grew weaker. To add to the difficulty, the miners and others, of whom 3,000 or 4,000 were on the reservation, carried a large amount of whiskey with them, a considerable part of which was furnished to the Indians, enough at times to occasion serious trouble, had there been no other cause.

"Lawyer, notwithstanding, stood firm for the whites until June, 1867, more than six years after the miners had entered his reservation, and four years after the last treaty had been made. But by that time he seemed to tire of waiting, and at a council held that month he boldly demanded that justice be done; and such was the feeling of the tribe that if he had not done so, wrote the agent, J. O'Neill, "he would not have lived forty-eight hours. I know this to be true," he added; "I know that some of his people would have killed him."

News of the ratification of the treaty, however, reached them soon after this: the promises made soon began to be fulfilled, and trouble was avoided.

In another memorial the legislature directed congressional attention to the need of Canadian "reciprocity." It recited that—

"A valuable mineral region lies in the Columbia river basin east of the Cascade mountains which is divided by our northern boundary line, the forty-ninth parallel; that a valuable and quite extensive mining region, in which are now wintering upwards of 400 American miners, lies south of said forty-ninth parallel; that from the topography of the country it is absolutely essential that Americans, who are obliged to travel from point to point, in obtaining ingress or egress from said mines, must traverse a portion of British Columbia; that it is equally essential that British miners and merchants, who desire to locate in the mines of British Columbia are compelled to pass through an extensive portion of the territory included in Territory of Washington; that large quantities of British goods are thus necessarily passed through our territory, and a large quantity is supplied to our miners, without paying any duties whatever; that a British custom-house is established on the route which Americans are compelled, at present, to travel, and a number of revenue officers are stationed along said route, compelling the payment, not only of duties (although the goods and supplies are not sold or disposed of until they again reach our own territory), but also, in the shape of tonnage dues and road taxes, according to the following schedule:

Tonnage dues, per ton	$ 3.00
Road tax, per ton	10.00
Wagons, each	10.00
Single teams	4.00
Horsemen	1.50

"That, in consequence of British merchants securing importation to American miners free of duty, and our American fellow citizens having to pay the British dues and the tribute money or toll above referred to, the latter are powerless to compete with the British Columbians."

The memorial closed with the significant statement that while "no difficulty has yet occurred calculated to mar the peaceful relations existing between the two nations, this state of things cannot long continue."

Still another memorial urged that "a military road is much needed from the headwaters of Puget Sound to Fort Colville, as the postmaster general has advertised for bids for carrying the United States mails from Bellingham Bay to that point." It was set forth that "the distance in a straight line between the two points is about 185 miles," and that the citizens of Bellingham Bay had spent large sums of money and labor in opening a trail between the two said points, and thoroughly tested the practicability of a wagon road on or near the line of said trail which was accessible at all seasons of the year. It was added that—

"The pass through the Cascade mountains known as Park's pass, is the best heretofore discovered, and the Northwestern Boundary commission passed over the same last summer with all their animals and baggage. This is the nearest route to the open country east of the Cascades by at least 150 miles, from the waters of Puget Sound. This road, if established, will open large and fertile tracts of country to settlement, and also give us a post road to Fort Colville and the gold mines.

After fifty years the dream of the pioneers is yet a dream; and the Bellingham Bay & Eastern railroad, on which high hopes were subsequently founded to put the towns of Bellingham Bay in competition with Seattle and Tacoma for the commerce of the Indian Empire, languishes for want of funds and enterprise.

Roads, ferries and bridges, better mail facilities—these were the crying needs of the Spokane country half a century ago. The old order has passed away, and the brave, hardy men who were engaged then in the inspiring work of empire building, have, most of them, gone on the long, long journey which needs no bridge or ferry; but the spirit of their times we find expressed in the time-worn and age-stained volumes of legislative lore.

Passing on to the session of '61-2 we discover the appointment, by an act passed January 4, of J. L. Henck, John Wynn and John Drumheller, "to locate and establish a territorial road from Fort Walla Walla to Fort Colville, on the Columbia river in Spokane county. For this service they were to receive "a compensation of three dollars per day while actually employed in the viewing and locating of said road, to be paid out of the county treasuries of their respective counties."

And at the same session J. R. Bates was authorized to build a toll bridge "across the Spokane river at a point where the territorial road leading from Walla Walla to Colville on the Columbia river crosses or may cross said river;" and

pending the building of the bridge, "the said J. R. Bates, his heirs or assigns, shall secure a good and sufficient flatboat with sufficient hands to work the same, for the transportation of all persons and their property, across said river without delay." The tolls ranged from fifty cents for a footman to $3 for "each pleasure, carriage, coach or vehicle for conveyance of persons." Automobiling in the vicinity of Spokane would have been expensive recreation in those times.

Gold dust was the prevailing medium of exchange. Hence the adoption of the following law by the territorial solons that winter at Olympia:

"That if any person shall counterfeit any kind or species of gold dust, gold bullion or bars, lumps, pieces or nuggets of gold, or any description whatsoever of uncoined gold, currently passing in this territory, or shall alter or put off any kind of uncoined gold mentioned in this section, for the purpose of defrauding any person or persons, body politic or corporate; . . . every such person so offending, or any person or persons aiding and abetting in said offense or offenses, shall be deemed guilty of counterfeiting, and upon conviction thereof, shall be punished by imprisonment in the penitentiary for a term not less than one year nor more than fourteen years."

Men were now invading the Inland Empire by the thousand, lured by the search for the "golden fleece." The fame of the new "diggings" had spread afar, and experienced gold miners hastened here from California, from British Columbia, from southern Oregon, from the Willamette valley and the Puget Sound country. In large part they were home-owning citizens; many of them left families down below; others were young men with sweethearts and mothers in the places of their bringing-up, and in every mining camp the hastily assembled population was eager for news from home, and grew clamorous for better mail service. This agitation found expression in a memorial, passed, January 6, 1862, the legislature at Olympia "respectfully representing" to the postmaster-general "that the people now living in the eastern portion of this territory are laboring under great inconvenience and expense from the fact of there being no mail facilities to the northward and eastward of the town of Walla Walla.

"The great extent and richness of our gold fields," so runs the memorial, "together with the unequaled grazing and farming lands east of the Cascade range of mountains, justifies the belief that there will be soon many thousand permanent settlers engaged in farming and mining in that portion of our territory. In view of these facts, your memorialists would pray that a weekly mail route be established between the town of Walla Walla and Fort Colville, and also a weekly mail route be established between Walla Walla and Pierce City, via Lewiston. A weekly mail should also be established between Lewiston and Florence City, situated in the far-famed Salmon river mines.

"We would also respectfully request that a daily mail route be established between Vancouver City and Walla Walla, thus connecting with the overland daily mail between Sacramento City, Cal., and Olympia, W. T."

A week later a still more pressing memorial was addressed to "the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled," "respectfully representing that in view of the fact of the rich deposits of gold in the country lying east of the Cascade mountains in this territory, which country has now within its limits more than five thousand men engaged in gold mining, which number will

be increased to more than 50,000 men during the ensuing summer, which population have no facilities whatever for the delivery of the United States mail amongst them;

"We, your memorialists, would respectfully request your honorable body to establish the following mail routes;

"A mail route from Walla Walla, via Lewiston and Pierce City, to Elk City, distance about 200 miles, weekly service.

"A branch route from Lewiston to Florence City, about 85 miles, weekly service.

"A route from Walla Walla, via Antoine Plant's and the Coeur d'Alene mission, to Hell Gate Ronde, distance 350 miles, semi-weekly service."

In yet another memorial, the legislature protested to the postmaster-general against the discontinuance of mail service between Walla Walla and Colville, and presented the following facts for his consideration:

Walla Walla county has now about 1,000 inhabitants. There are 5,000 men in the country north of Colville, whose only American office is that of Colville.

That there will be 50,000 people in the country east of the Cascade mountains before the close of the ensuing summer.

There has been a semi-weekly line of steamers running with through connections between Portland and Walla Walla, which semi-weekly line is to be increased to a daily line on the reopening of navigation on the Columbia in February.

In view of these facts, a daily mail service was asked between Portland and Walla Walla, and the legislature repeated its request for the new lines proposed in the foregoing memorials.

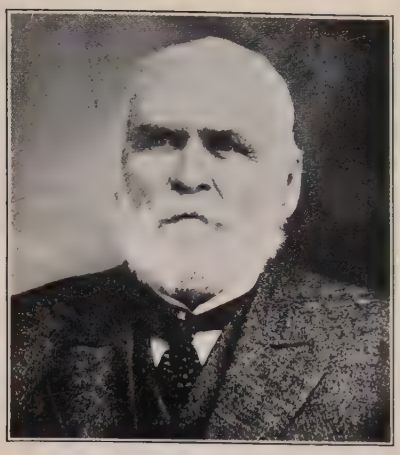
Another memorial to congress represented that "there are vast tracts of agricultural lands within the county boundaries of Spokane and Missoula, over which the public surveys of the government have not been extended. Upon these lands a large number of our citizens are located, who have erected houses and opened farms. We therefore ask congress to make an appropriation which will be sufficiently large to extend this much needed survey over the counties to which we refer."

The legislature was certainly busy writing and passing memorials that winter. Another represented that "great inconvenience exists to the settlers on the public lands in the counties of Walla Walla, Spokane, Shoshone, Missoula, Nez Perce and Idaho, by consequence of their remote situation from any land office of the United States; and you are hereby respectfully petitioned to establish a land office at the city of Walla Walla, in Walla Walla county."

In these various acts and memorials we find lack of uniformity in spelling the name "Spokane," and it appears frequently without the final "e."

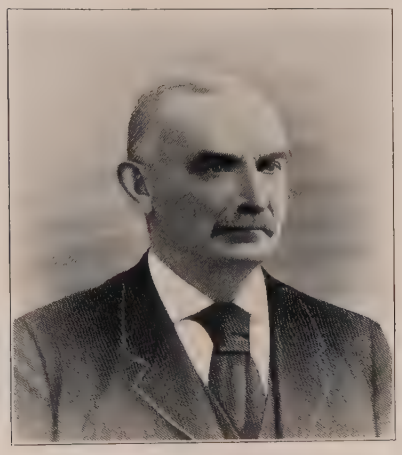
Lewiston had now become the largest town, excepting Portland, in the Pacific northwest. Almost literally it may be said that it sprang up in a night, experience having shown that its site was the practical head of navigation on the Snake and the Clearwater, and therefore the natural outfitting and distributing point for miners and others going into the placer camps of the Clearwater and Salmon river districts. A controversy arose a few years ago, respecting the date of its founding and the origin of its name, and the question having been referred to George E. Cole, former governor of Washington territory, Mr. Cole replied:

"Colonel Lyle, Captain Ainsworth, Lawrence Coe, Vic. Trevett and myself



CHARLES H. MONTGOMERY

A noted Stevens County Pioneer



JAMES MONAGHAN

Who came to the Spokane river in 1860

M. M. COWLEY

Who located at Cowley's Bridge in 1872

RESIDENCE OF JAMES MONAGHAN, SHOWING JAMES MONAGHAN AND FAMILY WHEN A POST TRADER

Also Robert Monaghan afterward Ensign, on pony, and the stage which ran from

selected the location and named the place Lewiston, in the latter part of May or the first part of June, 1861, in honor of Captain Lewis, of the Lewis and Clark expedition."

An act passed at the session of 1862-3 authorized David Williamson to establish and keep a ferry "across the Spokane river, at a point two and a quarter miles above Colonel Wright's crossing of the same, with the privilege of two miles each way up and down from said point." For each footman, a toll of 50 cents could be collected; for each man and horse, and for each animal packed, $1.50; for each wagon with two animals attached, $3, and for each wagon with four animals attached, $4; but the county commissioners were empowered to regulate and change these tolls at any regular term of their court. An annual tax of $25 was charged for the franchise.

At the same session A. W. Compton and Henry Carnes were "authorized to establish and keep a ferry across the Pend d'Oreille river at Singuackwateen, with a 50-cent toll for footmen, but somewhat lower rates for conveyances than in the case of the Spokane ferry.

Another franchise was granted to George Melville "and his associates to establish and keep a ferry across the Kootenay river, at a point where the boundary commissioners' trail crosses said river, known as Chelemta." All of these franchises were in Spokane county.

At that period many Chinese were entering the country to mine placers that were not considered sufficiently profitable by white miners, and the legislature fixed a poll tax on Chinese of $16 a head, the proceeds to go to the school funds of the various counties, excepting in Stevens, where the money went into the road fund. By special act, it was provided that "in the collection of the Chinese police tax the sheriff of Stevens county or his deputy shall have power to pursue any person who shall attempt to evade the payment of this tax into any county in the territory, and enforce the collection in the same manner as though he were in the county of Stevens." Obviously the pioneers of fifty years ago believed, with "Truthful James," that "for ways that are dark and tricks that are vain, the heathen Chinee is peculiar."

At the session of 1864-5, Irwin R. Morris was voted a franchise to build a toll bridge across the Spokane river, "commencing at a point two miles above the house of Antoine Plant, and extending up said river a distance of five miles above said point." County organizations were still faint and irregular, for while the grant lay within Spokane county the grantee was required to pay into the treasury of Walla Walla county an annual tax of $25.

And on the following day, S. D. Smith was granted a franchise for a toll bridge "across the Spokane river at or near the place known as Colonel Wright's crossing, with the same requirement as to payment of annual tax to Walla Walla county." The schedule of charges ranged from 50 cents for a footman to $4 for a wagon and two-horse team.

Culture was not altogether ignored in the interior, and Walla Walla was the place to light and hold aloft the lamp of learning. The legisature, at this session, passed an act "to incorporate a library and literary association in the town of Walla Walla," with W. W. Johnson, B. N. Sexton, L. B. Monson, L. J. Rector, J. H.

Kendrick and Angus McKay, and "the officers and members of the Calliopian society of Walla Walla" as incorporators.

"Said corporation may receive and hold all moneys or property coming into their hands by voluntary subscriptions, contributions or otherwise, or apply the same to the establishing and maintaining of a library, and may also receive and hold all donations of books, papers and periodicals that may be donated for that purpose."

Travel over the Walla Walla-Colville valley road had been heavy and continuous for several years, and James Monaghan and William Nix, who had been conducting a ferry at the Spokane crossing of that highway, about twenty miles below the present city, sought and were granted, by the legislature of 1865-6, a franchise to build a bridge. The act required that "the said bridge shall not be less than eight feet wide, and shall be substantially built, and sufficiently strong to bear up with safety a wagon carrying three tons with the team attached." The franchise ran for ten years, and the grantees were to pay an annual tax of $25 to Stevens county. The tolls ran from 25 cents for a foot passenger to $4 for each wagon with two horses attached.

Mr. Monaghan was one of the first white men to engage definitely and permanently in business on the Spokane. He had come to America from Ireland in 1856, and two years later came to the Pacific coast by way of the Isthmus, arriving at Vancouver, this state, in May, 1858. For a year or so he worked on a ferry across the DesChutes river in eastern Oregon; was next employed until 1860 on the little steamer Colonel Wright, the first steamboat to run on the upper Columbia. His next occupation was on the ferry across the Spokane, which he bought from its former owner and later converted into a bridge, under the foregoing franchise. In 1869 he went to Walla Walla for a short time, and the following year bought an interest in a store at Chewelah, Washington, also buying from the Indians a farm on which a part of the town site is now located. In 1873 he removed to Colville, where he engaged in merchandising until 1879, and then went with the United States troops to the mouth of Foster creek, in the Big Bend country, and the following spring to Chelan. In 1880 he took supplies by boat from Colville to the mouth of Foster creek.

Mr. Monaghan next came to Fort Spokane, at the mouth of the Spokane river, where he was engaged in contracting for government supplies, and also served as postmaster and post-trader of that post from 1882 to 1885. He and C. B. King erected the first private boat on Lake Coeur d'Alene, running from Coeur d'Alene City to Old Mission during the gold excitement on the North fork of the Coeur d'Alene, and a year later they laid out the townsite of Coeur d'Alene. Mr. Monaghan came to Spokane in 1887, and this city has since been his home. His son, John Robert Monaghan, born at Chewelah, entered the United States naval academy at Annapolis, was graduated with honors, assigned to service as an ensign, and fell in action, under particularly heroic circumstances, in a hot skirmish with rebellious natives, near Apia in the Samoan islands. An impressive monument at the intersection of Riverside avenue and Monroe streets, was erected by admiring friends and citizens of Spokane as a tribute to his gallant memory.

Clamor still rose for better mail service, and the legislature, in January, 1865, memorialized congress to establish a distributing postoffice at Walla Walla. In support of this request it argued that—

"There is, in the territories of Washington and Oregon, a combined population of over 80,000 inhabitants; that in these territories rich deposits of gold and silver are being constantly discovered and developed; that the permanent population is being steadily and rapidly augmented; that mining towns are in consequence springing into existence in every part of the mining districts; that the present postal arrangements are entirely inadequate to meet the growing demand for postal conveniences; that the city of Walla Walla is on the natural and recognized transit route of the great northern overland mail, and is the geographic and eligible center of distribution for the great mining districts of Idaho and Washington territories; that at this time such settlements are almost entirely dependent upon the said overland mail, which arrives at Walla Walla three times a week, which city is already connected by roads with Lewiston, Fort Lapwai, Fort Colville, Florence, Pierce City, Elk City, Orofino, Deer Lodge Valley and other mining camps; that mail matter for such towns and settlements must and necessarily does pass through Walla Walla; and that the western portion of Washington territory, embracing the lower Columbia and Puget Sound country, as well as all the portion of Oregon north of the Calapooia mountains, can, with slight addition to existing postal arrangements of overland service, secure the reception of mail matter from the Atlantic States in from five to ten days less time than by way of Sacramento, California."

A memorial adopted in January, 1866, represented "that in view of the rapid filling up of the country east of the Cascade range of mountains with a hardy and industrious class of immigrants, who are making homes for themselves and posterity," there was urgent necessity at the earliest practicable date, of effecting a treaty with such tribes of Indians as had not already been treated with for their lands. The memorial added that the Indians not treated with had manifested a hostile attitude at various times and places for the last seven years: "that murder and theft are of very frequent occurrence, and the security of life and property are in constant jeopardy from the small roving tribes that have not been placed on reservations."

"Your memorialists would further represent that all of the Indian tribes not treated with east of the Cascade mountains reside within the boundaries of Stevens county, and that they number between 1,500 and 2,000."

A memorial adopted in December, 1865, urged the establishment of a post route from Helena, Montana territory, to Wallula, on the Columbia river, in eastern Washington, via Hell Gate, Pend d'Oreille lake and Antoine Plant's place on the Spokane. In argument it was represented that "the portion of Montana territory lying westward of the Rocky mountains is fast filling with population attracted thither by the rich mining fields recently discovered and already being successfully developed; that there is now in such portion of said territory an estimated population of some 25,000, distributed in numerous mining camps and towns; that your memorialists believe that these pioneers of settlement who are laboring to develop the resources of the country have strong claims on your consideration, and that the encouragement by the government of mining interests will materially tend to increase the supply of the precious metals and their distribution, the result of which must secure a national benefit, because of the fact that an abundance of gold and silver would defeat a speculation in gold, and as the premium on that was reduced, it would measurably enhance the value of currency, thereby alleviating the government in its discharge of our great national debt."

Men come and go, and the years roll by, but animating motives remain the same. Portland and San Francisco merchants wanted the trade of the vast interior as against the merchants of St. Louis and Missouri river cities, who were actively reaching out for it by steamboat transportation to old Fort Benton, on the upper Missouri. Portland merchants, forty or fifty years ago, sold goods all the way to Benton, and enjoyed a thriving trade, particularly at seasons when low water prevented the Missouri river boats from ascending to the head of highwater navigation. The late Edward Failing, long engaged in the wholesale hardware line in Portland. informed the writer years ago that his house had placed many a rich order in the country around Fort Benton.

This motive of trade expansion was candidly paraded in the memorial, which added: "The natural outlet of said region, whereby its vast mineral wealth is to become beneficial to the world, is through the Columbia river to Portland, Oregon, and San Francisco; that upon these points and by such channel the population of this region are to depend, principally for their supplies, and a reference to the map will demonstrate that through this channel they can be easily, cheaply and expeditiously supplied at all seasons of the year. And your memorialists may add in this connection, that if these settlements are made to depend upon St. Louis, they will be restricted to the occasional trips of steamboats at the high stages of water of the Missouri river."

By whom could then be foreseen the swift, transforming changes of forty years? the passing forevermore, with the dawning of the twentieth century, of steamboat navigation on the Missouri; and the construction, not of a single transcontinental railroad, but half a dozen; and the building, at their crossroads by the falls of the Spokane, of a city twenty times as large as the Portland of old? And whose then the vision to discern the rise by the shores of lonely Puget Sound of a city that should cover by 1912 a population greater than St. Louis boasted when the ink was yet not dry on this old memorial of six and forty years agone?

Oregon coveted then the fair vale of Walla Walla, and the Washington legislature, in a resolution passed January 9, 1866, directed its delegate in congress "to resist any and all attempt to diminish the area of the territory of Washington by annexing Walla Walla county to the state of Oregon." The firm belief was further expressed "that such proposed scheme of annexation meets with the earnest disapprobation of a large majority of the citizens of said county, and finds no favor with the people of the territory."

"Coming events cast their shadows before," and the coming of the Northern Pacific was foreshadowed in a resolution passed January 15, 1866:

"Whereas there has been a project organized to connect the great lakes of the North with Puget Sound and the Pacific ocean by a railroad to be designated as the Northern Pacific railroad; and

"Whereas, We believe such an enterprise would be greatly beneficial to Washington territory in developing its various agricultural, mineral and commercial interests; therefore,

"Resolved, By the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Washington, That we hail with joy an enterprise of this kind as tending to develop not only the interests of Washington territory, but all the great Northwest."

An act adopted in January, 1867, defined the boundaries of Stevens county as

commencing at the point of intersection of the forty-ninth parallel of latitude and the boundary line between Washington and Idaho territories; thence west with said parallel to the summit of the Cascade mountains; thence southerly with said summit to the headwaters of the Wenatchee river; thence down the channel of said river to the Columbia river; thence down mid-channel of said river to the mouth of Snake river; thence up mid-channel of said river to the boundary line between Washington and Idaho territories; thence north on said line to the forty-ninth parallel of latitude and place of beginning.

Out of this expansive domain have since been cut the counties of Ferry, Okanogan, Chelan, Douglas, Grant, Franklin, Lincoln, Adams, Whitman and Spokane—material ample enough in territory and wealth and variety of natural resources for an imperial state.

For the building and improvement of roads within this domain, the legislature, at the same session, authorized the county commissioners to assess a road tax of $6 on every person liable to perform labor on the public roads, and also to assess not less than 5 nor more than 10 mills on the dollar of the valuation as determined by the county assessor.

W. A. Ball and associates were authorized to construct a wagon road from Goose Island on Snake river, to the Mullan road, "near the old Indian ferry on the north side of the Spokane river, and to establish bridges on the Palouse and Spokane rivers." A rather stiff schedule of tolls was authorized: For each wagon with two animals attached, $12; for each additional span or yoke of animals, $2; for each buggy and horse, $10; for each horseman, $4; for each loaded pack animal, $2; for each loose or unloaded animal, $1; for each head of horned cattle, $1 and for each footman, and head of sheep or swine, 50 cents. But these charges were to cover the crossing at both bridges.

J. D. Schnebley was given a grant to build and operate a bridge across the Spokane "at a place distant from two to three miles above the ferry of Antoine Plant, at such particular point as may be most eligible for building such bridge."

At the same session, Patrick Farrell was authorized to build and keep a toll bridge across Hangman creek, on the direct road leading from Walla Walla to Fort Benton.

This famous old highway, located and built by the Lieutenant John Mullan, who attended Colonel Wright in his campaign against the hostile Indians in 1858, had fallen into such a state of neglect that the legislature was moved to address a strong memorial to congress, urging its repair. As that document set forth with admirable clearness the history of the road and the conditions existing in 1866 throughout the entire "upper country," it deserves, at least in part, a place in this history. After reciting that the highway, for much of the distance through the Coeur d'Alene and Bitter Root mountains was in an almost impassable condition for wagons, on account of fallen timber and destruction of bridges, it went on to represent that—

"The necessity for a great national highway connecting the Missouri and Columbia rivers by a good and substantial wagon road, was by its own importance first brought to the notice of your honorable bodies as early as the year 1849. In the spring of 1852, the necessity felt by the government for a more thorough and satisfactory knowledge in detail of the geographical and topographical character of the country lying between the Columbia and the Missouri rivers, induced congress

to make an appropriation for the purpose, and in the spring of 1853, by authority of congress, several corps of engineers and explorers were organized and sent forth under the direction of Honorable I. I. Stevens. The voluminous and truthful reports of these several parties induced congress to act and act promptly, and in 1857 Captain John Mullan was ordered into the field, being fully supplied with all the necessary men and means, and was on the ground in the spring of 1858. Commencing at Wallula (then old Fort Walla Walla) on the Columbia river, he had completed the Walla Walla and Fort Benton military wagon road in September, 1862.

"The opening of this road is of the greatest, most vital importance to the people of Washington, Idaho, and that portion of Montana lying west of the Rocky mountains; and in the opinion of your memorialists, in a military point of view its importance cannot be over-estimated.

"Your memorialists are of the opinion that $100,000 judiciously expended in repairing said road between Walla Walla and Helena cities, a distance of 445 miles, under the direction of a competent engineer from the United States topographical bureau, will put the road in good condition and enable teams loaded with freight and machinery to pass over from the Columbia river into the heart of a rich mining country.

"Rich quartz veins are being discovered in the hearts of the Coeur d'Alene and Bitter Root mountains, which will ere long demand machinery for their development, and the working of which, in connection with the placer mines, would contribute largely to the development of Washington, Idaho and the western portion of Montana territories.

"The opening of this road will enable a large portion of the population now on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada Cascades and Rocky mountains to use this great thoroughfare in reaching the rich gold and silver mines lying along its route from Helena west to the Columbia river. Again, it is through this national highway that the immigrant from the eastern side of the mountains, and those who ascend the Missouri river to Fort Benton must pass to reach western Montana, Washington and a large portion of Idaho territory.

"There is a constant stream of population flowing into the region of country lying along and adjacent to this so-called Mullan road. The immigrant who is seeking farming land comes on down to the Walla Walla and other rich valleys lying along the western terminus of the road, and thence on to Puget sound.

"There is at the present time a population of over 100,000 inhabitants in the territories of Washington, Idaho and western Montana. Rich deposits of gold, silver, copper, lead and iron are constantly being discovered and rapidly developed. Mining towns are springing into existence in all parts of the newly settled region. Branch roads leading from this main trunk (Mullan road) to the different mining camps are being made by individual enterprise, and everything gives indication that at no distant day these hardy and successful pioneers will be knocking at the door of congress asking to be admitted into the sisterhood of states. But the population of this vast region of country is too new and too poor to be able to take hold of and rapidly complete such a great enterprise as the opening of this military road.

"The inhabitants, coming as they have from all parts of the United States, are

unacquainted with each other, and admitting that they have all the necessary means within themselves for the opening of this road, a few months' acquaintance with each other is not sufficient to establish the necessary confidence to organize a company and put forward to completion so great an undertaking. Nor is this all: the great length of this road and the large number of people it would benefit when opened demands that it should be a free road.

"Your memorialists wish to further show the vital importance of an early opening of a free road through this rich and fertile region of public domain, whereby the producers of the valleys may be enabled to reach the mining regions with their produce, and supply the miners with the necessaries of life at prices which will enable them to remain in and develop the mines. We will give some statistics carefully compiled and drawn from reliable sources relative to the productions and ruling prices for the same, of Walla Walla valley alone, together with the number of tons of freight landed by steamers at Wallula, and the amount passing over the Mullan road by pack trains to western Montana.

"The Walla Walla valley, including that portion which lies in the state of Oregon, has produced this season (1866) 500,000 bushels of wheat, 250,000 bushels of oats, 200,000 bushels of barley, 150,000 bushels of corn, 170,000 pounds of beans, 4,500 head of hogs, 1,800 head of horses, 2,500 head of cattle.

"From January 1 to November 15, 1866, 1,500 head of horses have been purchased by individual miners at Walla Walla horse markets, 2,000 miners have outfitted at Walla Walla, 5,000 head of cattle were driven from Walla Walla to Montana, 6,000 mules have left Walla Walla and the Columbia river, loaded with freight for Montana; fifty-two light wagons with families have left Walla Walla for Montana, thirty-one wagons with immigrants have come through from the States via the Mullan road, a portion of whom settled in Walla Walla valley and the remainder crossed the Columbia river at Wallula and settled on the Yakima river, or passed on to Puget Sound; not less than 20,000 persons have passed over the Mullan road to and from Montana during the past season; $1,000,000 in treasure has passed through Walla Walla and Wallula during the same period.

"The Walla Walla valley contains six flouring mills, six saw mills, two planing mills, two distilleries, one foundry and fifty-two threshing, heading and reaping machines.

"The Oregon Steam Navigation company have run a daily line of boats to Wallula (Sundays excepted) during the past season up to the fourth day of November; since that time the boats have made four trips per week. These boats are of the capacity from 75 to 200 tons burden, and giving the very lowest estimates, have landed not less than 5,000 tons of freight at Wallula during the season.

"As early as 1862, about the time the Fort Benton wagon road was completed, the Oregon Steam Navigation company landed at Wallula, from the fifth day of July to the eleventh day of October inclusive, 1,705 tons of freight, making three trips per week, which is an average of over forty tons per trip.

"The government has a large warehouse at Wallula, a quartermaster's agent in charge, and all the government supplies for Fort Walla Walla, Fort Boise and a large proportion of those for Forts Colville and Lapwai are landed there. Freight is landed at Wallula for Lewiston, Florence, Pierce City, Elk City and Orofino, during the spring and fall, and for Helena, Blackfoot City, Deer Lodge, Hell

Gate, Bitter Root valley, Cariboo, Kootenai and Pend d'Oreille lake, at all seasons of the year, ice not preventing.

"Your memorialists will further state that owing to the condition of the Mullan road, the producers of the Walla Walla and other valleys adjacent thereto are deprived of a valuable market for their products, and the inhabitants living along the line of the road and in western Montana, are compelled to pay exorbitant, not to say extortionate, prices for the necessaries of life, while the best standard mills family flour is selling at Walla Walla for five dollars per barrel, and the best of wheat is selling at sixty cents per bushel; the freight on either of these articles to Montana, via the Mullan road in its present condition, costing from thirteen to twenty-two cents per pound by pack animals.

"Your memorialists are of the opinion that wheat can not be purchased anywhere in the United States at what it is now being sold for daily at Walla Walla, sixty cents per bushel. Oats command from one to one and one-half cents per pound; barley from one to one and one-quarter cents per pound. Last year the merchants of Walla Walla shipped over 600,000 pounds of oats to Oregon, and 113,000 pounds of wool and a large quantity of potatoes and onions."

The postoffice department had established a mail route from Wallula to Helena, making Wallula a distributing office, and the memorial concluded with the opinion "that by opening the road we are assured that we shall soon have what the requirements of the country and the number of inhabitants demand, a mail coach on the route instead of a train of packhorses."

In this memorial is presented a vivid portrayal of conditions in the Inland Empire, five and forty years ago, and a faithful picture of traffic as it moved over the historic old Mullan road. In fancy we may conjure back the scenes of other days, and contrast with the changed conditions of the present hour the stream of traffic as then it flowed along this old highway down the wild valley of the Spokane. Let us, in imagination, take a position beside the pioneer thoroughfare and await the passing of the traffic of a busy day in autumn. Comes yonder a long cavalcade of pack animals, with lading of merchandise from Portland or Walla Walla, cinched high above the rough pack saddles of frontier pattern. It is headed for the Montana mines and three hundred miles away to the east an enterprising merchant frets in impatience as he scans his empty shelves and calculates his daily loss in the gold dust that would be his if only he had the goods so wanted by the red-shirted, big-booted miners up the gulch.

Scarcely has the dust raised by this shuffling caravan been wafted away by the vagrant breeze than we may detect a moving picture of a different sort. An immigrant train is coming round a near-by bend and stirring up a stupendous dust as it moves along. Galloping a little in advance, a horseman sights an attractive camping place, with the three-fold advantages of wood, grass and water, scans, under a sheltering hand, the meridian sun, and sends back a long halloo whose cheery meaning even the jaded teams are quick to understand and answer with a quickened pace. Within a few minutes the little train has lumbered up, wagons come to rest at various vantage points around the wayside brook; women and children climb out from the covered wagon beds; traces are unhooked, lines looped up on the hames, neckyokes quickly taken from wagon-tongues, and instantly we hear a medley of jingling harness, rattling tinware and childish voices made sharp by

hunger's call. For they have come far since they left their camping-spot of the night before and the days are long and tedious when one travels in an immigrant wagon across the plains or through the mountains and the deep forests of the west. They are on their way, perhaps from old Missouri or more distant Illinois or Indiana, to a promised land in the Walla Walla or the Willamette valley; and have been steadily on the move since early spring gave promise of sufficient pasturage to sustain their teams and cattle. Grim resolution, with sunshine and the winds, has fixed upon their features lines of determination, but hope gleams in every eye, and quiet courage, and patient endurance. The long journey is nearing the end, and the land of pleasant abundance can not be far away.

It is only a conjured picture, but we lift our hats to these immigrants of fifty years ago. For they were strong, and they had confidence, and they were unafraid. Builders of empire, founders of states, creators of towns and cities—they have become an almost vanished type, and with their passing, state and nation have lost something of the picturesque and somewhat of rugged courage and virtue.

The Mullan road crossed the Spokane at Schnebley's bridge, two and a half miles above the present town of Trent, or about 12 miles east of the city of Spokane. It ran, thence, along the north bank of the river, past the old Kendall (later Cowley's) bridge, eighteen miles above Spokane; and thence, by way of Post Falls to Lake Coeur d'Alene, through Fourth of July canyon, and up the Coeur d'Alene river, by way of the Old Mission, crossing the Coeur d'Alene river frequently, and passing into Montana over the pass of St. Regis Borgias.

From the crossing of the Spokane river, it ran (towards Walla Walla) down the Spokane valley a few miles, and turned south and left the valley at a point about six miles east of the city, passing over Moran prairie near the present country residence of J. J. Browne. It crossed Hangman creek about nine miles from Spokane. From the Hangman creek crossing it headed southwest for the ferry across Snake river near the mouth of the Palouse, passing enroute about three miles north of Spangle, and thence to the Hines place on lower Rock creek, where a settler named Hines ran an eating place. From the Hines place it ran by way of lake Colville, near the present town of Sprague to Cow creek, the next stopping place, and then on to the crossing of the Snake. Beyond Snake river it ran by way of the Touchet river to Waitsburg, and thence on to Walla Walla.

CHAPTER XXXII

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY CONTINUED

MAIL BETWEEN WALLA WALLA AND PINKNEY CITY—LEGISLATURE PLEADS POVERTY—PRAIRIE FIRES—AGITATION TO ANNEX IDAHO PANHANDLE—CLAMOR FOR LAND OFFICE AT WALLA WALLA—SETTLERS COME INTO PALOUSE COUNTRY—WHITMAN COUNTY CREATED—CONDITIONS IN COLVILLE VALLEY—BEGINNING OF FAMOUS LIEU LAND STRUGGLE—AGITATION FOR AN OPEN RIVER—EARLY DAY ROAD BUILDING—LAWFUL FENCES DEFINED—LAND OFFICE AT COLVILLE—MILITARY POST AT SPOKANE—CREATION OF SPOKANE COUNTY—FIRST APPLICATION OF THE REFERENDUM—PROHIBITION STRIP ALONG THE NORTHERN PACIFIC—GROWTH OF THE TERRITORY—MEMORIAL FOR MILITARY TELEGRAPH LINE.

A MEMORIAL to the postmaster-general, December 15, 1866, represented that "under an order issued by the postal department, the postmaster was instructed not to pay over $4,000 for carrying the mail between Walla Walla and Pinkney City," but this sum was deemed inadequate for the distance of 229 miles and the character of the country traversed. On solicitation of citizens of Walla Walla and Stevens county, J. R. Bates and a man named Brennick had been induced to cover the route at that rate for three months only, on an understanding that the matter would be taken up with the department and an increase asked to $7,000. This consideration the legislature thought reasonable, and the increase was therefore asked, adding that the mail on this route was important, as there then existed at the Pinkney City end of the route the following government offices: Custom house at Little Dalles, Indian agent and collector and assessor of internal revenue at Pinkney City, and a military post. By a legislative act passed a year later, the name of Pinkney City was changed to Colville.

In furtherance of the building of a transcontinental railroad, the legislature memorialized congress, under date of January 5, 1867, as follows: "That in accordance with the rapid progress of commercial enterprise, and the increasing demand for rapid intercourse across the domain of the United States, from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans, the congress of the United States has provided by legislative enactments for the construction of two lines of railroads, known as the Union or Central, and the Northern Pacific railroads, but the northern road has not received the same assistance from the fostering hand of the general government which has been extended to the central road, although from the natural condition of affairs it is more necessary that such assistance should be extended to the Northern than to the Central road, for the reasons: First, that in Washington territory, the terminus

of the road, there is not sufficient capital throughout the whole territory even to commence such an enterprise, while in California, the terminus of the Central road, sufficient capital could be obtained, were the holders thereof willing, to build the whole road without any assistance from the general government. Second, that from the geographical position of the different routes, the northern road when completed will build up a national and international commerce of far greater extent and value than the central, and that the nature of the soil along the northern route guarantees the more rapid growth of a rich and powerful agricultural community along the whole extent of country through which it will pass."

In view of these considerations, the legislature prayed congress to pass an act granting the same privileges to the Northern Pacific railroad company as had been already granted to the Union Pacific railroad company.

The legislatures of 45 and 50 years ago were not ashamed to plead poverty whenever a probability arose of obtaining something from congress by making that plea, for we find frequent assertion, in old memorials and resolutions, of the financial weakness of the territory and its people. They were rich only in anticipation, and eager to dip a hand in the opulent commerce of the Orient. And a territory may beg insistently without sacrificing state pride.

At that time little had been attempted in a farming way in eastern Washington outside of the Walla Walla valley. The expansive Palouse and Big Bend sections were open grazing country, with hardly a furrow turned anywhere; and when the luxuriant bunch-grass had cured in the summer sun, danger arose constantly of wide-sweeping prairie fires. To check that peril, the legislature passed a law in January, 1868, to prohibit the setting of grass fires "on any of the unoccupied land or lands, being known as prairie or pasturage land in the counties of Walla Walla, Stevens, Yakima and Klickitat," and providing penalties of imprisonment in the county jail for not more than one year, or a fine not exceeding $500, or both imprisonment and fine.

Although Washington territory had allowed, almost without a protest, Idaho to be cut away from its eastern area a few years before, agitation now arose for restoration of the Panhandle, and the legislature, in January, 1868, adopted a memorial which represented that:

"By the boundaries of Idaho territory, there is a long narrow strip lying in the northern portion of said territory, bounded on the north by British Columbia, on the east by Montana territory, and on the west by Washington territory; and that the said strip of territory, at its northern extremity, is only about fifty miles wide," divided into the three counties of Nez Perce, Shoshone and Idaho.

"Your memorialists are assured, by the voice of the residents and the press of said portion of Idaho territory, that they are desirous of being annexed to the territory of Washington; that the commercial, social and political interests of the people of the said northern portion of Idaho are identical with those of the people of Washington territory.

"The great distance of these three northern countries from Boise City—the capital of Idaho—a distance of over 500 miles—incurs great expense to said territory, and also to their legislators.

"And your memorialists would further show that the representatives from the

said counties, in order to reach their capital, are compelled to travel through a large portion of Washington territory and the state of Oregon."

Believing that the people of northern Idaho desired annexation to Washington, the legislature asked congress to make the requisite change in boundary lines. The striking fact can not escape the reader that, after a lapse of more than 40 years, the conditions set out in the foregoing memorial survive today, substantially as they existed in 1868. By social and commercial ties, northern Idaho is still bound to eastern Washington; and, just as forty-three years ago, the people of the Panhandle are required to pass through Washington and Oregon to transact business at the capital at Boise.

The agitation, begun in 1868, has had frequent revival, and even now is not wholly extinguished. It developed such strength when Cleveland was president that a bill restoring the Panhandle to Washington passed both houses of Congress, but failed to win executive approval.

A memorial relative to the carrying of mail between Colville and Spokane Bridge, adopted in December, 1867, reveals the unsettled state of the country. The postmaster at Colville had been instructed by the department not to pay more than $1,500 a year for that service, and if a contract could not be let, to discontinue the route and the postoffice at Spokane Bridge. Ira Matthews was induced to take the contract, but on the understanding that the matter would be taken up with the department and increased pay recommended. The memorial set forth that in view of the length of the route, ninety miles, "weight of mail matter; difficult roads, attributable to the character of the country through which the route must necessarily pass; the absence of settlement in a distance of sixty miles, rendering it essential for the carrier to provide and transport necessary forage," the allowance of $1,500 for a weekly mail was entirely inadequate, "in fact, not sufficient to meet the necessary expense of keeping open the route." An allowance of $3,000 a year was therefore urged upon the postal department.

A memorial adopted in October, 1869, urged the establishment of a United States land office at Walla Walla, as "a matter of vital importance and pressing necessity to all the people of Washington territory who reside east of the Cascade mountains." It represented that "the only land office at which these people can enter their homestead and preemption land claims is at Vancouver, west of the Cascade mountains and about 250 miles distant from Walla Walla. The most of the homestead claimants have yet to make their final homestead proof; and the same is true of the preemption land claimants."

At that time there were in the counties of Klickitat, Yakima, Walla Walla and Stevens about 2,000 land claimants, and the memorial estimated that it would cost them, on an average, $150 in traveling expenses alone if they were required to make final proof at Vancouver, "while the government receives of the homestead settler, in all, $22 legal tender for 160 acres, and from the preemptionists $200 currency."

According to this memorial, not a fifteenth part of the fertile and arable land had been surveyed or settled.

Again the legislature urged upon congress the importance of aiding the building of the Northern Pacific railroad. This highway, it said, would connect with the great lakes and through them with the St. Lawrence river, while the route, from the headwaters of Lake Superior to Puget Sound, was comparatively short, well

watered and timbered, with abundance of coal, "and capable of sustaining an almost uninterrupted belt of population across the continent on either side of the road."

"This road," the memorial continued, "presents a direct, feasible and eligible route across the continent which will open the territories of Dacotah, Montana, Idaho, Washington and Oregon to civilization, settlement and commerce, and stimulate the development of their great agricultural and mineral resources; and which will invite the commerce of Japan and China to our Pacific coast and across the continent, thereby increasing the national wealth and revenue, and promoting our foreign and domestic trade and the general industry of our people."

Prophetic words! And vision sweeping down the century! Uttered by the deep-forested shores of Puget Sound, in the unpretentious capital of the territory, and with the backwoods for environment, but vibrant with an inspiration of approaching events of worldwide magnitude. These pioneer legislators of fifty years ago brought to their tasks some of the elements of genuine greatness. Their "native hue of resolution" had not become "sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought;" and while their old laws, resolutions and memorials reveal here and there an imperfect knowledge of the spelling book, they were generally framed with clearness of diction and a directness that might well be copied in these days of too frequent indirection and evasion.

A hundred years ago, when the first fur traders entered this region, they found and used an Indian highway crossing the country from the Columbia river, near old Fort Walla Walla, to the Colville valley and the Kettle or Chaudiere falls. When, in 1860, government established the first mail route in the section north of Snake river, it adopted this prehistoric route, leaving Walla Walla and passing thence by way of the Palouse ferry on the Snake, Cow creek, Big lake, and lower Spokane bridge (operated by James Monaghan) to old Fort Colville, a distance of 210 miles. This route was pursued until 1867, when the service was shifted by way of Waitsburg and Tucanon, in Walla Walla county, and thence via the upper Spokane bridge, twelve miles above the falls, to Fort Colville.

A memorial adopted in October, 1869, asked that the service be restored to the old route, representing that Waitsburg, Tucanon and other offices were directly on the mail route from Walla Walla to Lewiston, and could be supplied with all necessary mail facilities by that route without any additional expense to the government.

The memorial further represented "that as at present arranged, the mails are carried on said route, in order to reach Fort Colville, a distance of 285 miles, making the schedule time, on the trip, of twelve days; but that mail matter is frequently delayed for four weeks, to the great detriment and inconvenience of many citizens." It was argued that the route could be materially shortened and afford better facilities and accommodations by having the mails carried as formerly when the route was first established.

From time to time a few settlers had found their way into the Palouse country, and by the summer of 1871 the possibilities there in way of soil and climate had been sufficiently demonstrated to call for the organization of a new county. The legislature recognized these new conditions, and an act approved by Governor Edward S. Salomon, November 29, 1871, set up the county of Whitman and defined the following boundaries:

Commencing at a point on Snake river where the line dividing Idaho and Wash-

ington territories strikes said river, thence down mid channel of said river to its mouth; thence up mid channel of the Columbia river to White bluffs; thence in a northeasterly course to where the fifth standard parallel crosses Lougenbeal creek; thence east along said parrallel to the dividing line between Washington and Idaho territories; thence south along said line to the place of beginning: Provided, That until the fifth standard parallel is established, the line from White bluffs shall be in a northeasterly course to the south end of Big lake; thence in an easterly course to Stone house near Rock lake; thence east to the dividing line between Washington and Idaho territories; thence south along said line to the place of beginning.

As first board of county commissioners the act named G. D. Wilber, William R. Rexford and Henry S. Burlingame. Charles D. Porter was appointed sheriff and assessor; James Ewart auditor, W. A. Belcher treasurer, John Denny probate judge, C. E. White superintendent of schools, and John Fincher coroner, "to hold their offices until the next general election, or until their successors are elected and qualified." William Lucas, Jesse Logsdon and J. A. Perkins were appointed commissioners to locate a county seat until the next general election, when the determination of the permanent county seat was to be referred to the voters.

The new county was added to Walla Walla for judicial purposes; to the counties of Walla Walla and Stevens in the election of joint councilman, and to Stevens county in the election of joint representatives. Stevens and Whitman were to divide the debt of old Stevens county in proportion to the taxable property returned by the respective assessors of the two counties, Whitman to issue county orders to Stevens for its proportion.

Road-making, as always the case in a new country, was one of the most pressing tasks, and to meet this need in part, the legislature at the same session directed the county commissioners of Walla Walla, Whitman and Stevens, at their February session in 1872, to appoint one citizen of their respective counties, "who shall be and are hereby constituted a board of commissioners to view and locate a territorial road from Walla Walla city via Waitsburg, in Walla Walla county, on the most direct practical route to Bellville, in Whitman county, crossing Snake river at the mouth of the Pinawawa, thence by the most direct practical route to Fort Colville, in Stevens county." For this service the locators were to be paid a per diem of four dollars each.

Even with the loss of territory suffered by the erection of Whitman county, Stevens remained a county of "magnificent distances," embracing within its confines nearly one half of the area of Washington territory, being 200 miles in length and 150 in breadth, and containing 30,000 square miles. Interesting glimpses of this region as it then existed are found in a memorial adopted in November, 1871. It represented that Stevens county "is inhabited by the Spokane, Coeur d'Alene, Isle de Pierre, San Poel, Okanogan, Lake, Colville and Calispell tribes of Indians, in all numbering about 4,500; that Colville valley contains 127 white settlers, with thirty women and 117 children, and that there are scattered in various settlements here and there, in other parts of the county, 137 white settlers, with forty women and 114 children; that no treaty has ever been made by the United States with the Indians of Stevens county, nor have they ever been placed on reservations; that Fort Colville is a military post of the United States, garrisoned by a single company of infantry, and situated at a distance of 200 miles from the settled portions of Wash-

ington territory east of the Cascade mountains; that the Indians inhabiting Stevens county have heretofore been kept in check, owing to the presence of this small body of troops (since their defeat by the late General George Wright) but that when lately it was rumored that the troops would be removed, they became emboldened and openly announced their intention of driving out the white settlers and taking possession of their property as soon as the removal of the troops was accomplished; that the settlers of Colville valley would be unable to protect themselves, and would be compelled to abandon their farms on which they have expended many years of toil, were the troops removed; that the settlers in other parts of the county, except possibly those living near the county of Walla Walla, would likewise be driven from their homes by the Indians, and that hostilities between the whites and Indians would almost necessarily follow the removal of the troops; that in anticipation of the Northern Pacific railroad passing across Stevens county, settlers are immigrating to it very rapidly, and that in the opinion of your memorialists, the military post already established by the government, with its garrison, should be continued until the settlers are numerous enough to protect themselves and to convince the Indian tribes living in that county that any resistance to immigration or hostilities to the white population would be futile."

A marked change in legislative temper and policy towards the Northern Pacific railroad company was manifested at the session of 1873. Prior to that time, the legislature had been most supplicating in its pleas for generous national aid and encouragement for the company; but circumstances alter cases, and with the contemporaneous arrival of construction forces and settlers in eastern Washington came conflicts of interest, and the legislature felt in duty bound to champion the cause of the settler.

A serious clash of title rose now between the company and a large number of settlers. By act of congress of July 2, 1864, a grant of land was given the company of "every alternate section of public land, not mineral, designated by odd numbers, to the amount of twenty alternate sections per mile, on each side of said railroad line, as said company may adopt through the territories of the United States, and ten alternate sections of land per mile on each side of said railroad, whenever it passes through any state; and whenever, on the line thereof the United States have full title, not reserved, sold, granted or otherwise appropriated, and free from preemption or other claims or rights, at the time the line of said road is definitely fixed, and a plat thereof filed in the office of the commissioner of the general land office; and whenever prior to said time, any of said sections or parts of said sections shall have been granted, sold, reserved, occupied by homestead settlers, or preemption or otherwise disposed of, other land shall be selected by said company in lieu thereof."

Under this grant the company filed its map of definite route in the office of the commissioner of the general land office, August 13, 1870, and the secretary of the interior, J. D. Cox, held in a letter to the president of the Northern Pacific, that such withdrawal should take effect from and after the receipt of the map of the same at the local United States land offices. These maps, though filed at Washington in August, were not filed in the local land offices in eastern Washington till the following October, and in this interim many settlers filed on odd numbered sections within the grant. By the decision of Secretary Cox, these settlers were within their

HOW THE PIONEERS GOT HERE

"But the pictures of memory linger,
  Like the shadows that turn to the east,
And will point with a tremulous finger
  To the things that are perished and ceased;
For the trail and the foot-log have vanished,
  The canoe is a song and a tale,
And flickering church spire has banished,
  The uncanny red man from the vale;
And the wavering flare of the pitch light,
  That illumines your banquets no more,
Will return like a wandering witch light,
  And uncrimson the fancies of yore—

When you dance the "Old Arkansaw" gaily,
  In brogans that followed the bear,
And quaffed the delight of Castaly,
  From the fiddle that wailed like despair;
And so lightly you wrought with the hammer,
  And so truly with axe and with plow,
And you blazed your own trails through grammar,
  As the record must fairly allow;
But you builded a state in whose arches,
  Shall be carven the deed and the name,
And posterity lengthens its marches,
  In the golden starlight of your fame."

—Sam Simpson.

rights; but his successor subsequently reversed that decision and held that the railroad's title attached from the time of filing at Washington, and consequently settlers who went upon these lands after August 13, were trespassers on railroad lands.

Out of these conflicting decisions developed the famous "lieu land controversy" which entered vigorously into the territorial politics of the day, and which was instrumental several years later in electing as delegate to congress the late Charles S. Voorhees, of Colfax and Spokane, who championed the cause of the settlers against the railroad company.

A memorial adopted in November, 1875, declared that the settlers "went upon the lands in good faith for the purpose of making homes for themselves and families; . . . that the decision of Secretary Delano gives over to the railroad company the homes and improvements of settlers with the labor of years expended thereon; that at the time of making their settlements and filing, the tracts were unoccupied and unappropriated public lands, and considered by all the land officers of the government, from the highest to the lowest, as property subject to homestead and preemption; and that said railroad demands of such settlers that they shall purchase of it, and asks such an exorbitant price for each tract that the settlers are both unwilling and unable to purchase."

The memorial charged President Cass of the Northern Pacific with broken faith and open repudiation of written promises to relinquish these lands to the settlers and take other lands in lieu under a special act of congress which had been passed to cure the injustice, and generally assumed a hostile attitude against the company. Similar conflicts of interest had developed in western Washington, along the line between Tacoma and Kalama on the Columbia river, and altogether the Northern Pacific had made itself intensely unpopular in a territory whose people had previously bowed down before it almost to the point of worship.

After pointing out that the grant had been made by congress on condition that the company complete not less than 100 miles of track yearly, and alleging that it had built no road at all within the two preceding years, the legislature further protested against the contention of the railroad that it was exempt from taxation within the territories, and concluded:

"Wherefore, in consideration of the facts herein stated, your memorialists, as a matter of justice to the people of the territory, would most respectfully and earnestly ask that the lands in this territory unearned by the completed road of said company be restored to homestead and preemption settlement; that such legislation as will require said company to bear its proper burden of taxation may be adopted, and that the act of congress approved June 22, 1874, entitled 'an act for the relief of settlers on railroad lands,' be so amended as to permit bona fide settlers, who settled or filed in the local land office prior to the date of the company filing its map of definite location, to prove up and take title from government without let or hindrance from said Northern Pacific railroad company."

For nearly thirty years the Northern Pacific resisted this plea for justice, opposing the settlers in the courts, before the departments and in congress, and interfering continuously with territorial and state politics. In this way it wore out most of the claimants until they were glad, in order to clear title to their homes, to yield to the railroad's terms of settlement. Many years later the old controversy was ended by act of congress, but on terms that were considered immensely advantageous

to the company, and which brought upon United States Senator John L. Wilson some criticism for his part in introducing and advocating the curative legislation.

An act to encourage forestation in eastern Washington found legislative favor in November, 1873. It authorized the commissioners of Stevens and Whitman counties "to exempt from taxation, except for territorial purposes, the real or personal property of each taxpayer who shall, within the county within such year, plant and suitably cultivate one or more acres of forest trees for timber, to an amount not exceeding $300 for each acre."

A memorial adopted in November, 1873, and signed by N. T. Caton as speaker of the house of representatives, and Wm. McLane as president of the council, prayed congress for an appropriation to overcome obstacles in the Columbia river. It represented that—

"The Cascade mountains divide the territory into western and eastern Washington; that eastern Washington territory is almost exclusively a grazing and agricultural country, that the soil is capable of producing all the grasses and cereals known to the middle and western states; that the product of Walla Walla county alone, with a population of about 8,000 souls, in its grain yield for the year 1873, as shown by the most carefully prepared statistics, will reach the enormous sum of 1,000,000 bushels. That large bodies of land in the counties of Walla Walla, Stevens, Yakima and Whitman are equally as susceptible of cultivation as those already occupied, improved and cultivated; that the counties above enumerated are fast filling up with an intelligent and industrious population."

The people residing in eastern Washington, it was pointed out, were almost wholly dependent on the Columbia river for an outlet to the Pacific ocean and to markets for the products of their soil and the fruits of their labor, and the memorial added:

"That from the points of shipment on the Columbia river to the junction of the Willamette river therewith, nature has opposed great obstacles to the free and successful navigation of the stream—one at The Dalles and one at the Cascades, making a portage of fourteen miles at the former place, and of five or six at the latter, an imperative necessity. The costs and expenses attending the transportation of freight over the portages aforesaid are so burdensome on the people of eastern Washington as to amount to an almost entire prohibition; that the people may have an opportunity to develop the region of country in which they live, and at the same time provide the means of subsistence for themselves and families whilst thus laboring without meeting with the great hindrances to the free navigation of the Columbia river, your memorialists earnestly pray your honorable bodies to make such an appropriation as shall in your judgments overcome the obstacles aforesaid."

Another memorial at this session advanced "serious and weighty reasons" why northern Idaho should be annexed to Washington territory. Among these were the "impassable barrier in the shape of towering rugged mountains, where perennial snows ever abound, making it absolutely necessary, in order to have any communications with other portions of the territory, during eight months of the year, to take circuitous routes through Washington territory and the state of Oregon before any portion of the balance of the territory can be reached, either on foot, horseback, or by vehicle.

"We would further represent," continues the memorial, "that that portion of

Idaho which it is proposed to annex to Washington is a narrow strip of country, about in proportion to the balance of the territory as the handle of a frying pan is to the pan, and it lies contiguous to our territory, lying immediately east, and with no barriers intervening. Its commercial, political and social interests are identical with ours; its products, climate and people are in every respect similar. It helps to form one grand basin where there is no dissimilarity in the soil, the pursuits of the people, the general appearance of the country or the character of its resources.

"Annex the same to Washington, and it must grow and prosper; but keep it tied to Idaho territory, and it must ever remain in a comparatively primitive state. As where there is no affinity of interest, no affinity of feeling, and where there is so little hope of ever overcoming to any great extent the rankling sectional feeling, that sectional antagonism which too often is prevalent among the greater towards the smaller population, there is little ground for hoping that these conditions will ever be materially unchanged."

A little overdrawn, but having substantial basis of truth and reason. Happily the pessimistic predictions of the memorial have not been verified. Northern Idaho has not "ever remained in a comparatively primitive state," for its commercial and social relations, as indicated in this old plea for annexation, have been inseparably bound up with those of eastern Washington, and these are ever more potent in industrial and social progress than political ties. Some rankling sectional feeling there has been against the capital end of the commonwealth; but have we of eastern Washington not felt at times that our greater half, lying west of the Cascade mountains, has been lacking in the breadth and understanding that would have contributed more freely to our happiness and progress without impairing in the least the welfare of our neighbors to the west?

We come now to the year 1875, and still the paramount need was better means of communication—more highways and improvement of the existing ways. Constant need was felt and expressed for more adequate communication between the east side and the west, for in many respects the bond then existing between the two sections was closer than that of today. The interior had then no other outlet than to the west; was drawing almost its entire immigration from that source; and was dependent on coast capital and enterprise for development of its resources. For news interest the people east of the Cascade mountains turned to the coast; their mail came from that quarter; they read coast newspapers, and most of them had family ties on Puget Sound or down in the Willamette valley.

So keen was this desire for closer relations that the legislature of 1875 overpowered its moral scruples, if such it had, and authorized private lotteries in the cause of a highway across the Cascades. By statute "any person residing in this territory who is desirous of aiding in the construction of a wagon road across the Cascade mountains shall have the right to dispose of any of his property, real and personal, by lottery distribution, under such restrictions and conditions as are provided in this act."

The chief condition was the payment of ten per cent. of the proceeds of the lottery to a trustee, who in turn was to pay it to a board composed of three citizens of Yakima county and two of King who were "to superintend the expenditure of all moneys realized for the benefit of said road, under the provisions of this act."

The road thus favored was to be constructed from Snoqualmie prairie in King

county, to the south end of Lake Kichelas in Yakima county; was to be opened at least thirty feet wide, all grades to be at least fifteen feet wide, and be a part of a territorial road from Seattle to Walla Walla.

Another act defined lawful fences in Whitman and Yakima counties: Plank fence, four feet, eight inches high; posts, five inches or more in diameter, substantially set in the ground, not more than eight feet apart; the lower plank placed twenty inches from the ground, second plank eight inches above the lower, and third plank ten inches from second, the plank to be six inches wide, one inch thick and firmly fastened to the posts by nails, wire or otherwise.

Post and rail fence, five feet high, made of sound posts, five or more inches in diameter, firmly set in the ground, not more than twelve feet apart, with four rails not less than four inches in diameter, securely fastened; the lower rail twenty inches from the ground, and the remaining three rails not more than eight inches apart.

Provision was also made for post and pole fences, "worm" fences, and ditches of two designs, one design being a ditch three feet deep with embankment and sod thrown up on inside of ditch two feet six inches high, with substantial posts set in embankment, not more than twelve feet apart, and pole or rail securely fastened thereto not more than fifteen inches from the embankment. To such makeshifts were the pioneer settlers of a prairie region driven in the early homesteading era of our country.

An act approved November 12, 1875, declared the Spokane river navigable and a public highway from its mouth to the dividing line between Washington and Idaho, "for the purpose of rafting, driving and floating logs, timber and other material."

Fines were provided for the punishment of persons who might obstruct the channel, but it was provided, "that the placing of any mill dam or boom across said stream shall not be construed to be an obstruction to the navigation aforesaid, if the same be so constructed as to allow the passage of logs, timber and other material without unreasonable delay;" and persons running logs were made liable for damages sustained by bridges.

Another memorial, urging the overcoming of obstructions in the Columbia river and passed at this session, is remarkable for the accuracy of its prediction regarding the wheat-growing possibilities of eastern Washington. That season's exportable surplus from this district was given as 1,000,000 bushels, but it was estimated that with lower freight rates the country could produce 20,000,000 bushels for export. Although wheat was then selling for $1 a bushel at Portland, the market price at Walla Walla, the principal purchasing point in eastern Washington, was only 45 cents per bushel; the difference was absorbed in excessive transportation charges and high profits for middlemen. Attention was directed to a report of Brevet Brigadier-General Michler, of the United States engineer corps, estimating the cost of short canals and locks at $1,500,000. The combined population of eastern Washington, eastern Oregon and northern Idaho, "which would be directly and immediately benefited by the removal of these obstructions and by the free navigation of this river," was estimated at "about 30,000, a very large proportion of whom are engaged in agricultural pursuits."

The establishment of a land office at Colfax was urged in a memorial to congress as "a matter of great importance to all the settlers north of Snake river and east of the Cascade mountains." Congress, it added, "in justice ought to act in this

matter for the following reasons: The only land office east of the Cascade mountains is at Walla Walla City, near the southern boundary of the territory, and distant about 200 miles from a majority of the settlers in said portion of the territory." In the establishment of these local land offices we may trace unerringly the settlement and development of the country. For several years a single land office at Oregon City served the needs of the country. Later an office was located at Vancouver, near Portland. Then, with the settlement of the country east of the mountains congress in turn established land offices at Walla Walla, Yakima, Colfax, Spokane and Waterville in the Big Bend country.

Meanwhile settlement and progress drifted around Spokane, but prior to 1872 there were few happenings of moment at the falls. The site of the present city lay off the two important highways of the interior. The Mullan road cut across Moran prairie and struck the valley six miles above the falls, while the old Walla Walla-Colville route crossed the Spokane at Monaghan's bridge some twenty miles below. From ancient times the valley of the Spokane had been considered lacking in agricultural possibilities, and was used chiefly as pasturage ground for herds of Indian horses and as an Indian race course where the neighboring tribes assembled to match their crack running horses and gamble furiously on speed contests. Homeseekers passed its gravel soil contemptuously by; and as for water power, was not the country full of it, going everywhere to waste? No one could capitalize water power in those days.

But with the arrival here in 1871 of Scranton and Downing, the building of their little "muley" saw mill, and the homesteading of farming lands in the Four Lakes country and down around Spangle, the southern end of Stevens county began to command some attention, and an act approved November 9, 1877, authorized the commissioners to levy a special tax on the assessable property of the county "for the purpose of building a bridge across the Spokane river at or near Spokane Falls."

Some of the newcomers into eastern Washington, moved by memories of their boyhood days in eastern states, had attempted to stock the country with "Bob White" quail, and an act approved November 9, 1877, provided that "any person or persons who shall buy, sell, shoot, kill, snare or trap any quail in the counties of Walla Walla, Columbia and Whitman before the first day of September, 1881, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction . . . shall be fined not more than $50 nor less than $10, one-half to be paid to the informer and the other to go into the county school fund." Either the law proved ineffective, or the imported birds failed to thrive and multiply in their new environment, for the quail was comparatively an unknown bird in this region until later efforts by sportsmen of Spokane proved measurably successful in introducing it here in numbers.

Alarmed by the apparent policy of the Northern Pacific to seek another terminus on Puget Sound or the Columbia river, enterprising citizens of Seattle projected a railroad from their town to Walla Walla, and obtained, at the legislative session of 1877, the passage of an act authorizing various counties to subscribe to the capital stock: King and Walla Walla, $100,000 each; Yakima, $50,000; Columbia, $75,000; Whitman, $60,000; Stevens, $20,000; Klickitat, $10,000; and various other counties $5,000 each.

Some progress was made in construction out of Seattle, but the line never got very far into the Cascade mountains.

Congress was memorialized at this session to convert the Colville valley into an Indian reservation. It was represented—

"That the unsettled condition of the Indians east of the Cascade mountains in Washington territory, is alike injurious to the Indians and the white people. The permanent location of these Indians upon one reservation would result in the prosperity and peace of both the white people and the Indians.

"We would further represent that the Colville valley is admirably adapted for an Indian territory for all the Indians east of the Cascade mountains, not only on account of its arable lands, the roots, camas and salmon fisheries, but also on account of its situation, which, owing to the surrounding country, can never to intrenched upon by any white settlements. The remnants of different tribes to whom reservations have been assigned under different treaties, to the exclusion of white settlers, derive no benefit from these reservations which they could not fully enjoy in Colville valley. Yet their occupancy of the different reservations keeps a body of fine, arable land from cultivation and settlement by white people. These different reservations together contain more arable land than the Colville valley, and their situation in close proximity to the settlements of white people, makes a change not only desirable, but also of ultimate benefit to all concerned, and thereby the peace of the country will be more fully secured."

This petition, it need scarcely be added, passed unheeded by congress.

Another memorial adopted at this session prayed for the establishment of a military post at Spokane Falls. It represented that—

"There is a large number of Indians in Stevens, Columbia and Whitman counties; that many of them are untreated with, and that large numbers roam over the country at will. That since the late war with Joseph and his tribe, these Indians have manifested more or less hostile feeling toward the white people. That the white settlers in these counties and in the county of Yakima are widely scattered over this vast area of country, and in case of Indian outbreak are totally unprotected. That experience has demonstrated the impossibility of the attempt to confine the majority of these Indians to reservations. That in view of the above-mentioned facts, there is an urgent necessity for a military post somewhere in the section of country above referred to;" and the legislature earnestly asked that it be established at "Spokane Falls, Stevens county, Washington."

At the date of the adoption of this memorial two companies of United States troops were stationed temporarily at Spokane, and the settlers there and in the surrounding country wanted to retain them. That was the year of the Nez Perce Indian war, and when Chief Joseph took the warpath, these two companies had been hurried to Spokane to overawe the Spokanes, the Coeur d'Alenes and other neighboring tribes and thus restrain them from taking up arms in alliance with the hostiles. The frightful atrocities of savage warfare had been enacted almost within view of the alarmed settlers of the Spokane country. Women and children here were still trembling in fear and horror as they thought upon the shocking cruelties perpetrated by Joseph's retreating army as it swept across Camas prairie, near the present flourishing town of Grangeville, Idaho, where women were slain, scalps taken, children butchered, and the tongues of some victims torn out by the roots. It was a time of unrest among the Indians and uncertainty and alarm in the minds

of the scattered home-builders, and an intense desire existed to keep these soldiers in the country for their moral and restraining influence on the agitated Indians.

General W. T. Sherman had traversed this region a few months prior to the adoption of this memorial. With an armed escort he had traveled from old Fort Benton, at the head of navigation on the Missouri river, coming over the Mullan road. He had camped one night on the shore of Lake Coeur d'Alene, and the following day he and his party were guests of James N. Glover at the Falls. Mr. Glover made good use of the opportunity thus presented to urge upon the General's mind the need of a permanent garrison in this vicinity, and on his representation General Sherman ordered two companies, then in this vicinity, to go into winter quarters at Spokane. He had been deeply impressed with the beauty and advantages of Lake Coeur d'Alene, and on his recommendation a site adjoining the present city of Coeur d'Alene was selected by the war department for a permanent post. The soldiers wintered by the falls, but were moved to Fort Sherman by the lake the following May.

The presence of this strong garrison allayed fear and restored confidence; the Indians assumed a friendly demeanor, and the work of peopling the wilderness went forward with renewed vigor. Enticed by glowing reports of the salubrity of the climate, the beauty of the landscape and the fertility of the soil, homeseekers entered the Inland Empire in constantly increasing numbers and took up fat homesteads on the fertile lands of the Palouse. The little settlement by the Falls felt the vivifying influence of this immigration and developed aspirations for county seat honors. Colville was a long distance from the settlements in the southern end of Stevens county, and need was felt of a nearer seat of local government. The summer of 1878 had brought J. J. Browne and A. M. Cannon, and Mr. Browne went to Olympia the following year to work for the creation of a new county to be called Spokane. His mission was successful, and an act approved October 30, 1879, established the county and defined the following boundaries:

"Commencing at a point where the section line between sections 21 and 28, in township 14 north, range 27 east, Willamette meridian, Washington territory, strikes the main body of the Columbia river on the west side of the island; thence west to the mid channel of the Columbia river; thence up the mid channel of the Columbia river to the Spokane river; thence up the mid channel of the Spokane river to the Little Spokane river; thence north to the township line between townships 29 and 30; thence east to the boundary line between Washington and Idaho territories; thence south on said boundary line to the fifth standard parallel; thence west on said parallel to the Columbia guide meridian; thence south on said meridian to the fourth standard parallel; thence west on the fourth standard parallel to the range line between ranges 27 and 28; thence south on said range line to the section line between sections 24 and 25, in township 14 north, range 27 east, Willamette meridian; thence west to the place of beginning."

The county seat was temporarily located at Spokane Falls, "until located elsewhere by a majority vote of the legal electors of said county, for which purpose there may be a vote taken at the next general election."

W. C. Gray, John H. Wells and Andrew Lafevre were appointed a board of commissioners to call a special election for the election of county officers—auditor, treas-

urer, sheriff and auditor, probate judge, superintendent of schools, coroner and three county commissioners.

The act required "that all taxes levied and assessed by the board of county commissioners of Stevens county for the year 1879, upon persons or property within the boundaries of said county of Spokane, shall be collected and paid into the treasury of Stevens county for the use of said county of Stevens; provided, however, that nothing in this act shall be so construed as to deprive the county of Spokane of its proportion of the tax levied for common school purposes for the above named year; and provided, further, that the county of Spokane shall not be liable for any of the indebtedness of the county of Stevens, nor entitled to any portion of the property of said county of Stevens."

We look upon the referendum as a novel, even revolutionary, legislative principle. It may come as a surprise, then, to some of my readers that a practical, legalized application of that principle was made in eastern Washington more than thirty years ago. With the settlement of prairie or grass regions, one of the first public questions to arise is that of fences or no fences, "herd law" or "no herd law." Settlement and development of the country east of the Cascade mountains came in waves or eras. Of these came first the period of the fur traders, to be followed in sequence by the missions, Catholic and Protestant, the gold miners, and after these latter the herd owners who ranged large numbers of cattle and horses over the bunch-grass areas of what we now term the Palouse and Big Bend districts. These always view askance the appearance of agricultural home-makers, protesting now, as the fur traders had protested before them, that the country was unsuited to soil cultivation, and grumbling, even after the richness of the land had been demonstrated, that the plough was "spoiling a mighty good stock country to make a miserably poor farming country."

With the rapid appropriation of the public domain by homesteaders came the inevitable conflict of interest between stockman and ploughman. The herd owner contended that the settler should fence in his cultivated area. The settler held that the stock owner should keep his cattle or horses under close herd control and thereby relieve the permanent home-maker of the labor and expense of building fences. To meet this conflict of interest, the legislature passed an act under date November 13, 1879, "to ascertain the wishes of the people in certain counties in regard to the fence law." It provided that "at the next general election for delegate to congress, to be held in November, 1880, the question of fence law or no fence law shall be submitted to the legal voters of Walla Walla, Columbia, Whitman, Spokan, Stevens, Yakima and Klickitat counties," then embracing all of the territory lying east of the Cascades.

"At such election," continues this act, "there shall be plainly written or printed on each ticket, in said counties, the words, 'For fence law,' or 'No fence law.' The vote shall be canvassed the same as other votes or other questions are canvassed, and shall be returned to the county auditor, who shall keep the same on file, and give each member elected to the legislative assembly as a guide for future legislation in regard to fence laws in their respective counties."

By an act passed at this session a zone of one mile on each side of the Northern Pacific right of way through this section of country was made "dry" territory. It provided that—

"The county commissioners of Spokan, Stevens and Whitman counties shall not grant any license in their respective counties for the sale of intoxicating liquors within one mile of the proposed railroad of the Northern Pacific Railroad company, as established by said company, now in process of construction in said counties, until said railroad shall have been completed and in operation.

"It shall be unlawful to sell or dispose of any intoxicating liquors within said limits to any person during the construction of said railroad; and any person violating any of the provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and punished by a fine not exceeding $300, or imprisonment not to exceed three months, or both, at the discretion of the court.

"This act shall not apply to towns located within said limits, where legal licenses have already been granted for the sale of intoxicating liquors."

A memorial to congress, asking for an increase in the legislative assembly, adopted at the session of 1879, contained much informative data relative to area, population, and wealth. "Our territory," it set forth, "embraces nearly eight degrees of longitude, with an average width of three degrees of latitude, equal to 69,994 square miles, or 44,796,160 acres. After deducting the approximate area of Puget Sound, which has a shore line of 1,594 miles, there remains 35,000,000 acres, of which 20,000,000 are timber lands, 5,000,000 alluvial bottom lands, and 10,000,000 prairies and plains. Our territory has an area nearly ten times as large as the state of Massachusetts, more than twice as large as Ohio, and almost double that of New York. That our territory is, at present, divided into twenty-four counties, with a total population of 57,784."

King county, including Seattle, had then a population of only 5,183, and was exceeded by two eastern Washington counties, Walla Walla, with 6,215, and Columbia, with 6,894; and was close pressed by Whitman, with 5,290. Spokane and Stevens had a combined population of only 2,601.

The memorial further represented that "during the year 1878 our population increased 7,283, a gain of more than twelve per cent, and it is safe to say that the gain for 1879 will equal if not exceed twenty-five per cent." The assessed valuation of property for 1879 was $21,021,832, an increase in two years of $4,165,843. Congress was reminded "that if our population and wealth are considered, spread as it is over a vast territory and compared with the state of Delaware, New York, Rhode Island and some of the southern states whose legislatures are composed of from 100 to 200 members, it will be seen that our people and their interests are not fairly represented in their territorial legislature. That that part of the legislative, executive and judiciary bill approved June 21, 1879, insofar as it applies to our territory, and which reduces our council to not more than twelve members, and our house of representatives to not more than twenty-four members, and which fixes the compensation of the officers, employes and members of the assembly, we believe to be unjust and unreasonable, as it deprives our people of fair and equal representation in their own legislative body, and tends to deprive their officers and representatives of just compensation for services rendered. That it seems not to have been considered in the passage of said act that the sessions of our legislature were held only every two years, and that only forty days were allowed in which so few members were expected to represent and legislate upon the varied interests of a great territory with so considerable and fast growing population. That we have many business

centers, with from 1,000 to 3,000 people, whose populations are daily increasing and whose interests and business vary according to location, soil, etc. That our legislature has the interests of game and gaming, fish and fishing, mines and mining, commerce, manufactures and agriculture to consider, foster and provide for, any one branch of which should not be deprived of fair and equal representation.

"Your memorialists therefore pray that your honorable body enact such law as will fix the maximum of our council at eighteen, and our house of representatives at forty-five members. The compensation of the members of our legislative assembly be fixed at not less than $6 per day, with mileage, and that the speaker of the house and the president of the council be allowed, each, $4 per day additional as such. That the chief clerk of each house be allowed $6 per day, and the officers and employes of the assembly be allowed from $5 to $3 per day, according to the services performed and in the discretion of the legislature."

A memorial relative to a military telegraph line represented "that large numbers of Indians are located on reservations between Snake river and British Columbia, making it necessary for the government of the United States to maintain military posts at various points for the protection of the people;" and that "telegraphic communications with these military posts" connecting with the military telegraph line now in operation from Lewiston, I. T., to Dayton, W. T., commencing at Pomeroy, W. T., on said line, via Almota and Colfax to Spokane Falls, and thence connecting the several military posts aforesaid, would render the military more efficient and inspire the citizen with more confidence of protection against hostile demonstrations of Indians than could be given them from almost any other measure, and in case of hostilities would result in incalculable benefit to both citizens and military."

CHAPTER XXXIII

"THE DAYS OF OLD, THE DAYS OF GOLD"

SPOKANES SELL GOLD IN 1854—PIERCE'S DISCOVERIES IN THE CLEARWATER COUNTRY—THOUSANDS OF MINERS HASTEN TO THE NEW CAMPS—JOAQUIN MILLER AN EXPRESS RIDER—FABULOUS YIELDS IN OLD FLORENCE CAMP—EX-GOVERNOR COLE'S RECOLLECTIONS—HIGH PRICES IN THE MINES—FIRST TRIP OF STEAMER COL. WRIGHT—RICHEST PLACERS IN THE U. S.—HOW FLORENCE AND OTHER CAMPS WERE DISCOVERED—FAMINE AND HARDSHIPS—GOLD BY THE QUART—REIGN OF CRIME AND TERROR—AMAZING ESCAPE FROM THE GALLOWS—LYNCHING AT LEWISTON.

For thee, for thee, vile yellow slave!
I left a heart that loved me true.
I crossed the tedious ocean wave,
To roam in climes unkind and new.

The cold wind of the stranger blew
Chill on my withered heart; the grave
Dark and untimely met my view—
And all for thee, vile yellow slave!

—*John Leyden.*

LONG before the discovery of gold at Sutter's mill in California, fur traders knew of the existence of the precious metal in the sands of the upper Columbia river and some of its tributaries. According to one report, an officer of the Hudson's Bay company obtained a quantity of gold dust from the interior and sent it to London to be made into an article of jewelry. Bancroft says that in 1854 a man named Robbins of Portland purchased some gold from Spokane Indians. By 1858, year of the Steptoe repulse and the Wright campaign, placer miners were scattered through the interior, and the murder of some miners near Colville precipitated the Indian outbreak of that year.

The first substantial discovery in the Clearwater country was made by E. D. Pierce, an Indian trader. Pierce had long known that gold existed in the mountains east of the great bend of the Snake, but was prevented by the Nez Perces from prospecting for paying deposits, and went to California. He returned to the Nez Perces' country in 1858, and the ratification of a treaty with these Indians provided the long desired opportunity. Early in 1860 he confirmed his belief that gold was there in paying quantities, and reported his discovery at Walla Walla. With a party

of ten men organized there he made a more thorough examination, and returning to Walla Walla in November, freely imparted all information at his command. The fields were 150 miles east of Walla Walla, the diggings were dry, and the pay dirt yielded from 8 to 15 cents to the pan.

In the spring of 1861 Pierce organized a larger party and returned to the gold country. They built cabins, sawed lumber for flumes, and wintered there, 1861-2. News of the discovery drifted down to Portland and the Willamette valley, and thence on to California, and when the Nez Perce treaty was concluded, 300 miners were in the Orofino district. A month later their number had grown to 1,000, and miners and adventurers were coming in large numbers from Oregon and California. The route was from Portland to Wallula on the Columbia by boat, thence by stage to Walla Walla, and the remaining distance was by team or pack train.

"The winter of 1861-2 was the hardest ever known in the country east of the mountains," said Ex-Governor George E. Cole to the writer. "I was living in Walla Walla then, and for fifty-six days we had no news from any part of the country except the mines at Orofino, Elk City and Florence. Joaquin Miller, then known as Charlie Miller, ran an express from the mines to Walla Walla, with a man named Mossman. They were obliged to pack everything on their backs and walk on snowshoes. When winter broke on the first of April, several pack trains started for the Florence mines, which were situated in a basin on the mountains near Salmon river.

"It was curious how those mines were discovered, and I will tell you about it. During the previous fall a party of prospectors camped for the night in the basin and tied their horses to the tall bunch-grass. During the night several of the horses were restless and pulled up the bunches they were tied to. In the morning the prospectors found gold at the roots of the grass.

"They remained there, and during the fall took out from a baking powder can to an oyster can full of dust per day to the man. I met Jack Monroe coming to Lewiston with 250 pounds of gold which belonged to the camp. When the news reached Walla Walla, several pack trains were gotten ready immediately to go to the mines, but the winter came on with such severity that we had to wait for the spring of 1862.

"I left Walla Walla about the first of April for Florence, on a foot trail with four loads. From the foot of the mountains to Florence was about forty miles, and it was impossible to get to Florence with the animals. We were obliged to pack our supplies across on our backs. The charge was 50 cents a pound into Florence. We carried the freight to the Mountain House, a distance of ten miles, for which we made a charge of ten cents per pound. From there to Florence it was forty cents. We sold our goods at the Mountain House. For flour we received $1 per pound, and $1.25 for bacon, sugar and coffee. The price of whisky was $25 per gallon. A meal at the Mountain House cost $3, and consisted of hard bread, bacon and coffee without sugar."

In May, 1861, the steamer Col. Wright, Leonard White captain, ascended the Columbia, Snake and Clearwater to within twelve miles of the forks of the Clearwater, or forty miles from Pierce City, then the objective point of the gold-hunters. Bancroft says a town was immediately started at this landing, called Slaterville

after its founder. It contained in May five canvas houses, one a saloon. This primitive place of good cheer was roofed with two blankets, one red, the other blue, and on its side the adventurous proprietor wrote the single word, "Whisky," in large charcoal letters. His stock was one barrel of whisky, and two bottles and two glasses constituted the bar furniture.

C. W. Shively of Astoria, one of the 300 passengers who made the pioneer trip on the Colonel Wright, recalls some of the incidents of the voyage:

"Five days had elapsed since leaving Celilo. Shortly before night a large Indian village was seen. When the boat blew the steamer whistle to make a landing, there was confusion and excitement on shore, as this, in all probability, was the first steamboat ever seen by these Indians. This village was on a large flat, barren of trees, at the point where the Clearwater empties into the Snake. Lawyer, head chief of the Nez Perces, was here on a visit from his home, further up the Clearwater at Lapwai. In the evening some of the Indians came on board to examine the wonderful fireboat."

The Wright was fifty tons burthen, and 125 feet long. John Gurty was engineer, Frank Coe purser, and she carried a crew of two firemen, a steward and assistant, and six deck hands.

On the second trip of the Wright, Captain Leonard White stopped at the mouth of the Clearwater; but a messenger from Slater asked him to come on to Slaterville and take his outfit, as he had decided to establish his store at the confluence of the Snake and the Clearwater. The trip was made in safety, and Slater opened the first mercantile establishment in what is now the very substantial and prosperous city of Lewiston.

A few months later Captain W. P. Gray ascended the rivers to Lewiston in a sail boat, ninety-one feet long and twelve feet beam. Captain Gray is a son of W. H. Gray, who, as secular agent of the American Board, came overland to Walla Walla in 1836 with the Whitman-Spalding party. Captain Gray navigated steamboats on the Columbia and Snake for many years. In the early '80s he took a homestead at the present site of Pasco, of which flourishing city, until recently, he was mayor.

To accomodate the rush to the interior, the Oregon Steam Navigation company put a larger and better equipped steamer on the river, the Okanogan, with Captain White in command. Ephraim Baughman, who had served under White as pilot of the Colonel Wright, was made Captain of the pioneer steamer. A month later the Tenino, yet larger than the Okanogan, was placed in service. Steamer service was suspended in July by low water.

In July, 1862, Levi Ankeny, Dorsey S. Baker, Captain Baughman and several others put an opposition boat on the river, the Spray. It ran between Celilo and Lewiston till November, and the following winter was sold to the Oregon Steam Navigation company for nearly double its cost.

By July, 1861, about 2,000 men were in the Orofino district. The richest claims were in Rhodes and Canal gulches. The California mining laws were adopted, and three kinds of claims were recognized—creek and gulch claims, extending two hundred feet along the creek or gulch and one hundred fifty feet wide, and hill claims, from the rimrock to the summit of the hill, with two hundred feet frontage. The first laws were enacted in miners meetings held on Sundays. After

the lapse of a few years Orofino City became a memory, but Pierce City flourished longer, becoming the county seat of Shoshone county and holding that distinction till the discovery of the Coeur d'Alene mines.

By the end of the summer of 1861 weekly receipts of gold dust at Portland were nearly $100,000. "The Colville and Orofino mines helped Portland greatly," says a manuscript history by Judge Matthew P. Deady, "and in 1861 built up the O. S. N. company. Loaded drays used to stand in line half a mile long, unloading at night freight to go in the morning that involved a fortune."

In Orofino building lots sold for from $100 to $200; with a log house, from $500 to $1,000. Carpenters' wages were $8 to $10, and common labor $3.50 to $6. Lumber was 20 cents a foot and nails 40 cents a pound.

I find a wide discrepancy in estimates of the number of men in the mining districts of northern Idaho when the placers were in the heyday of their affluence, ranging all the way from 5,000 to 25,000. Bancroft thinks it probable that after the influx from California there were at one time 20,000 in the mines of Clearwater, Salmon, Powder and John Day rivers. Probably a majority of these were in the mines of north Idaho.

In the judgment of old and experienced miners, some of whom had mined in the bonanza diggings of California, the Florence placers were the richest ever uncovered in the United States. In the gulches claims yielded to the rocker from $30 to $250 a day, two men to a rocker. Out of his claim in Baboon gulch Weiser took $6,600 in a single day, and half that amount in another, one pan of dirt yielding $500. The average yield of these placers was not far from $75 a day.

In an article in the Portland Oregonian, August 31, 1861, G. C. Robbins reported that 2,500 practical miners were at work on Rhodes creek, Orofino creek, Canal gulch and French creek, and that 4,000 or 5,000 men were making a living in other ways. A few claims were yielding fabulous returns, but most properties paid from $10 to $20 a day to the man. Shaffer & Co. working fourteen men, were taking out $60 a day to the man; Paine & Co., twenty men, $70; Mortimer & Co., twenty-four men, $70 to $80; wages ranged from $5 to $8.

The Elk City placers were discovered in 1861. In May, a party of fifty-two men left Orofino to prospect the south fork of the Clearwater and tributary streams. Indians protested and half the party turned back, but the others pressed on and discovered gold at the point where the three branches of the south fork come together—American and Red rivers and Elk creek. A mining recorder's office was established, with Captain L. B. Monson as recorder. Elk City was laid out that fall, between Elk and American rivers. Joel D. Martin, who went there in the early summer of 1862, found several stores, five saloons and two principal hotels—Ralph's and the Marsten house. The crest of this camp's prosperity came in 1862, but its yield was greater in 1863 and 1864, when hydraulics had displaced the primitive rocker.

Joshua Fockler, one of the earliest settlers in Florence, says that camp was discovered in August, 1861, by a party of five that included John Healy, James Ayers and a man named Grigsly, a detachment of a party of nineteen which started from Elk City and the Clearwater to prospect the Salmon river country, traveling via Camas prairie and White Bird creek. When they reached Pioneer gulch a tree that had been uprooted by the wind attracted their attention. They panned the sand

GIRLS' DORMITORY, STATE NORMAL SCHOOL, LEWISTON, IDAHO

STATE NORMAL SCHOOL, LEWISTON, IDAHO

and gravel in the excavation and found it exceedingly rich. After prospecting the ground in various places, the party started for Elk City. At Buffalo Hump they fell in with fourteen men of the original party of nineteen and revealed to them their good fortune. All returned to Elk City, agreeing not to divulge the news till the following spring, and then return and locate the best ground for themselves. The agreement was quickly broken, a stampede followed, and by the first of November men were swarming over the creeks and gulches of the new district. In miners meeting it was decided to lay out a town on Summit flat at the head of Baboon gulch. Dr. Ferber, one of the first arrivals, proposed the name Florence, after his adopted daughter in California. Early merchants in the camp were John Creighton, Ralph Bledsoe, and S. S. or "Three Fingered" Smith.

So fabulous were the easy returns at Florence that men rushed in ahead of supplies, and provisions commanded amazing prices: $75 for a 50 pound sack of flour, $50 for gum boots, $30 for a camp kettle, $3 a pound for bacon, $3 each for tincups, $10 to $12 for a frying pan, and $3 a pound for sugar and beans. A winter followed of dire privations. Destitute and desperate men dug down through ten feet of snow, softened with hot water the frozen gravel, and washed out gold to buy precious food. Rheumatism, throat, bronchial and lung diseases caused a high mortality. "By the last of January," says one writer, "nothing to eat could be purchased except flour at two dollars a pound." Noble says that in one case of sickness the patient lived for five weeks on flour and tea made by steeping the young needles of the fir. A young man who came from a home of plenty complained of "nothing but a kind of weakness all over. He had lived two weeks on four pounds of flour and the inner bark of the pine tree, with snow water for drink."

And still men pushed their way into the snowy, famine-stricken wilderness. till the trail was completely blocked in February, and Florence lay isolated till May.

The fame of the rich diggings had spread afar. A correspondent of the Portland Times reported that while he was at these mines in October, 1861, he saw claims yielding $30 to $80 to the pan; that a man named Weiser, for whom an Idaho river was later named, took out $1,800 in three hours with a rocker; that a single pan of dirt in Baboon gulch yielded $151.50. George W. Smith states that "Three Fingered" Smith, who owned the richest claim in the camp, kept three rockers at work through the winter, and each rocker averaged $1,000 a day. "It was no uncommon thing," says Bancroft, "to see on entering a miner's cabin a gold pan measuring eight quarts full to the brim or half filled with gold dust washed out in one or two weeks. All manner of vessels, such as oyster cans and pickle bottles, were in demand in which to store the precious dust."

By midsummer, 1862, prospectors were scouting far and wide in the search for new eldorados. In July, 1862, James Warren, a college graduate, Matt Bledsoe and a few others, left on an exploring tour of the Salmon river country, and discovered Warren's camp, where as high as sixty ounces a day to the rocker were taken out. Judge J. W. Poe, who was engaged in the mercantile business at Florence with Joseph Haines, and S. S. Smith, says when news came of this discovery, thousands deserted Florence for the new mines. The trail led from Florence down the Salmon river, across that stream, several miles up a mountain, past Marshall lake and over a divide to Warren creek. His firm dispatched Haines with a stock of goods, the first to enter with a mercantile train, September 8, 1862. Miners helped Haines

to build a log cabin, and before night the first store in the new district was standing at the mouth of Slaughter creek. "The settlement which sprang up around it was named Richmond, after the Confederate capital, and the Unionists, not to be outdone, established another settlement a mile below, to which they gave the name Washington. Richmond did not long survive the Confederate cause, for by 1866 it was abandoned by nearly all its inhabitants. Early in the fall of 1862 a miners' meeting was held at Richmond, at which I was elected by acclamation to the office of district recorder. For recording a claim I received a fee of $1.50, and some times I recorded as many as 100 a day. When the law reduced this fee to $1, I resigned, not caring to bother with such work and believing that I could make more in the mines."

Several thousand men rushed into the Warren district but by the fall of 1862 the population fell to 1,000. It increased in 1863 to 1,500, and so late as 1867 was at least 1,200.

Bancroft says that Warren was "a shiftless individual, a petty gambler, miner and prospector. Unlike the Florence mines, the Warren diggings were rich as well as deep. This proved to be one of the most valuable discoveries made. The diggings outlasted the Florence mines, and when the placers were exhausted on the creek bottoms, still yielded by hydraulic treatment returns nearly as rich as the placers. Notwithstanding the uncanny reputation of the discoverer, Warren's diggings were worked chiefly by practical miners and men of good character, many of whom remained there long in business. In November 400 men were mining at Warren's, taking out an average of $14 to $20 daily. When the mines had been worked for ten years they were sold to Chinese miners, some of whom became wealthy." Chinese followed white miners into all the placer camps of this country.

Estimates as high as $140,000,000 have been made of the output of the northern Idaho placers in the decade lying between 1860 and 1870. Probably half that sum would be nearer the mark. Treasure shipments from Portland to San Francisco in the six months between June 25 and December 5 aggregated $2,393,656. Exports of treasure by Wells-Fargo were $6,200,000 in 1864, $5,800,000 in 1865, $5,400,000 in 1866, and $4,001,000 in 1867, and at this period the cream of the richer placers had been skimmed.

The old Oregon Steam Navigation company, predecessor of the O. R. & N., drew enormous profits from the mines. Fare, Portland to Lewiston, was $60 in gold, with meals and berths a dollar each. The freight charge between Portland and Lewiston was $40 a ton, measurement basis. On a single up trip the Tenino collected over $18,000 for freight, fares, berths and meals. Extras and the bar privilege produced $1,200 a month.

Hundreds of reckless, lawless and desperate characters were drawn by the lure of easy money to these rich camps. Men mined by day, and dissipated their golden gains at the gambling table at night. Every other shack or tent was a saloon, dance hall or gambling house. Passions ran high, and men fought at the drop of a hat. The roads and trails between Lewiston and the eldorado camps were infested by highwaymen, called in the vernacular of the times, "road agents." From the files of newspapers of the day, Bancroft compiled a significant though only partial list of criminal deeds:

Robert Upcreek shot at Orofino by a Frenchman in September, 1861.

Hyppolite, owner of a large pack train and $500 in gold, murdered on the road in October, 1861.

Ned Meany killed in a quarrel at Jackson's Ferry, near Lewiston, November, 1861.

Two masked men entered a house in Lewiston in December, and in spite of resistance carried off $500, shooting fatally one of the inmates.

Matt Bledsoe killed James H. Harmon at Slate creek, Salmon river, over a game of cards, December, 1861.

Four murders were committed within two weeks at Lewiston in the fall of 1861.

Three murders in March, 1862, at Florence.

William Kirby killed John Maples, in July, 1863.

William H. Tower, while threatening others, was shot and killed at Florence, February 23, 1863.

Morrissey, a desperado, was killed at Elk City about the same time.

George Reed was shot by Isaac Warwick in a quarrel about a claim in April, 1863.

Frank Gallagher was murdered by Berryman, with whom he was traveling.

At a ball in Florence on New Year's eve, an immoral woman was ejected from the dancing room, whereupon Henry J. Talbotte (Cherokee Bob) and William Willoughby armed themselves for vengeance. Later they were both killed in an attempt to get it.

One Bull, living near Elk City, kindly entertained one night two men who asked for shelter. In the morning the men and five horses were missing. Bull followed them for twenty days, coming up with them at a camp on Gold creek, 265 miles from home. On seeing him one of the men sprang on a horse and fled; the other, William Arnett, was shot. A party pursuing the fleeing robber brought him back and hanged him.

Enoch Fruit was a chief of road agents; James Robinson, a mere boy, was one of his assistants. In the autumn of 1862 they were prominent among the "knights of the road" between Florence and Lewiston. Both met violent deaths.

James Crow, Michael Mulkie and Jack McCoy robbed three travelers between Orofino and Lewiston. William Rowland and George Law were a couple of horse thieves operating on Camas prairie.

George A. Noble of Oregon City was robbed of 100 pounds of gold dust between Florence and Orofino in December, 1862.

Two horse thieves, for stealing from a government train, were shot dead.

Joel D. Martin and James Witt, eye witnesses, gave a writer in the History of North Idaho an account of the first determined resistance to crime, made at Elk City in the summer of 1862. James Maguire and one Finnigan, after fighting several rounds, agreed to settle their difficulties amicably and the bargain was sealed over the bar. Between drinks protestations of friendship were made again and again, but one party to the compact of amity was a traitor. In keeping with the unenviable reputation for treachery he sustained in California, Maguire stealthily seized the handle of Finnigan's knife and unsheathed the weapon with intent to bury its blade in its owner's bosom. But bystanders saw the movement, threw themselves up on the aggressor and prevented the consummation of the atrocious deed.

Later the two men met again. Finnigan fired five shots, wounding Maguire in the leg and neck. Friends carried the injured man to a room over Maltby's saloon and there left him, expecting to return in the morning. During the night Finnigan returned and slipping up stairs, killed his foe in a most atrocious manner, leaving the cruel bowie knife in Maguire's throat. Had Finnigan killed Maguire in a fair fight the spirit of the times would have condoned him; but cowardice and treachery were unpardonable.

Finnigan was arrested and put on trial before a popular tribunal. He admitted the crime but claimed in extenuation that he had to kill Maguire to save his own life. A newly elected justice of the peace presided as judge, and Colonel Johnson, a lawyer recently from California, acted as defendant's council. The testimony elicited some expressions of sympathy for the prisoner, but the jury nevertheless rendered a verdict of guilty.

The following afternoon, a man named Powers, who was acting as sheriff, led Finnigan to the gallows. Brackett, a shoemaker, tied the hangman's knot and when all was ready the Irishman was launched into space. But the knot failed to hold and Finnigan fell to the ground, soon recovered from the shock, gained his feet, and accompanied by Moses Hart and Joseph Ritchie, two of his friends ran away from the scene. The crowd was so dumbfounded that for a short time not a man moved. Then Josh. Phipps started in pursuit and overtaking the fugitives covered them with his rifle and demanded that they halt. Phipps expected that others would come to his assistance, but as none came he lowered his gun and told Finnigan to go, a command which the latter was quick to obey. It is said that he was later seen in San Francisco by one who knew him in Idaho and that the tell tale mark of the rope was still on his neck.

The next assumption of judicial functions by the populace says the writer of the foregoing, was in Lewiston in the fall of 1862. The occasion was the robbery of the Berry brothers, while on their way from Florence to Lewiston with a pack train. When near Rocky canyon, each of the men was confronted by a masked highwayman armed with a shot gun and ordered to throw up his hands. The men were relieved of between $1,100 and $1,400 in gold dust.

When Berry arrived in Lewiston he found that the robbers had gone on to Walla Walla. Then commenced the pursuit. The Berrys had recognized the voices of the two men, Bill Peoples and Dave English, who held them up (for both were well known to them personally). They later ascertained that Charley Scott was also in the plot.

In company with Gus Meamber, a Frenchman, and others who joined him at Lewiston, the merchant proceeded post haste to Walla Walla, traveling with a four horse team and breaking the record for fast time. They arrived just behind the highwaymen. Berry met Peoples in a saloon, disarmed him and took him into custody. Meamber found and arrested Scott. Dave English had not stopped in Walla Walla but had gone to Wallula. His arrest was made by Sheriff James Buckley, his deputy and a saloon keeper named Vancise. It is said that an attempt was made to secure for the prisoners a civil trial in the Walla Walla courts, which failed; also that the roughs of the city attempted the rescue of their captured confreres. But the captors escaped with their prisoners to Lewiston. Here the outlaws were confined in a little log building.

OVERLAND STAGE—TYPE OF THE EARLY SEVENTIES BEFORE THE RAILROAD—EIGHT HUNDRED MILES BY STAGE COACH FROM KELTON, UTAH, TO THE COLUMBIA RIVER

The people of Lewiston were thoroughly aroused over this crime. The victims of the robbery were well known and liked; furthermore there was a general feeling that the rule of the roughs must be brought to its termination, and accordingly efficient means were provided for the safe guarding of the prisoners. The men were confined in a little building situated on the point formed by the confluence of the Clearwater and Snake rivers. Two men, thoroughly armed, guarded them day and night and these were to bring to their assistance the entire populace in case of an attempted rescue, by ringing a large triangle near at hand. A plot for their release was led by an uncle of Peoples, named Marshall, but the raid was defeated by Jonas Whaley, of the guard, a shot from whose Kentucky rifle served the double purpose of temporarily disabling Marshall and alarming the citizens.

Eventually a trial was given the accused men in George H. Sandy's store, at the corner of D and Second streets, which ended in their conviction. That night the guards were notified that their services were no longer needed. The next morning those who went over to the jail to see the prisoners found the three men hanging by their necks from the rafters.

The date of this summary execution, according to a notation in the old Luna hotel register, now in the possesion of Charles F. Leland, was November 9, 1862. It marked the decline of lawlessness in the vicinity of the Clearwater, for the villainous element departed one by one and in small squads to points in the interior and in Montana, where most of them ended their careers as such men usually do, either at the hands of their kind during quarrels or by the merciless ropes of vigilance committees. Among those to depart this life by the latter route was Henry Plummer himself, the reputed leader of the largest band, and the known author of many murders, homicides and robberies.

Lewiston first, then Orofino and finally Florence had been centers of operation for these bands of criminals. In Florence a vigilance committee had been formed. Its members met after the death of "Cherokee Bob" and Willoughby and instructed their executive committee to warn all suspicious characters to leave the town forthwith. The most notorious characters had, however, taken refuge in flight.

A. J. Miner organized a pack train in 1857 and carried provisions from Walla Walla to the Wild Horse placer mines in British Columbia. On his first trip he passed over the present site of Spokane. "I saw 300 Indians drying fish in the sun in the woods where the city hall now stands, at Howard and Front," said Mr. Miner. "This was a great fishing place for the Indians in those days. The squaws took the fish in dipnets, and after they cleaned them the bucks would dry them in the sun. I built a store in Elk City in 1861, and ran it for years. Sugar was $1.25 a pound, boots $10 a pair. The only house of any kind within miles of Spokane was a small store built by Charles Kendall at Spokane Bridge, east of here in 1862. At that time there were only three women in the Inland Empire. My wife was one of them."

CHAPTER XXXIV

IMMIGRATION OF THE EARLY SEVENTIES

ARRIVAL OF OLDTIME CALIFORNIA AND IDAHO MINERS—THOMAS NEWLON ESTABLISHES A FERRY NEAR TRENT—WILLIAM SPANGLE'S STAGE STATION—FIRST SETTLER AT MEDICAL LAKE—M. M. COWLEY LOCATES IN SPOKANE VALLEY—D. F. PERCIVAL IN ROCK CREEK REGION—COPLEN FAMILY AT LATAH—WORLD'S LARGEST MASTODON DISCOVERED—SPOKANE'S FIRST BRASS BAND.

TYPICAL of the pioneers who came into the Spokane country in the '60s is Maxime Mulouin, who after a life of danger and hardship settled down in 1871 to peaceful pursuits on a farm on the present site of Mica. Born in Canada in 1840, he came overland to California in 1861. He shifted north in 1864, and for a year followed mining when the rush was on to the old Wild Horse placers on the upper Kootenai river, and then became a packer between those mines and Walla Walla. As early as 1864 he traveled with his pack train over the place he subsequently took as a homestead, and in 1871 bought out the rights of a prior settler there named Knight. By thrift and industry Mr. Mulouin subsequently enlarged his holdings to 1,800 acres.

Thomas Newlon crossed the plains to Oregon in 1852. He joined the rush to the Orofino mines in 1860, mined there for three years, returned to Walla Walla where he lived until 1865, when he bought a boat and operated a ferry for one year at Riparia. He came to the Spokane valley in 1866, built a cabin and constructed a ferry above Trent. He then went back to Snake river, but soon returned to his bridge, which he ran until 1868, when he sold out and mined in Montana until 1872, when he returned to the Spokane valley, and followed the carpenter's trade for a while, but later built a ferry boat at Spokane Bridge after M. M. Cowley's bridge had fallen in. In 1876 he homesteaded 160 acres on Moran prairie.

Eighteen hundred and seventy-two brought many settlers into the territory north of Snake river.

William Spangle came with his family from Walla Walla and located a squatter's claim on the present site of the town of Spangle. At first he kept a stage station and postoffice, then started a blacksmith shop, then a hardware store, and as the country became more settled he encouraged others to locate in business, and a town was incorporated in 1878 and named in his honor.

Andrew Lefevre, a California pioneer of 1849 and veteran of the Indian wars of Washington territory, located at Medical lake, bringing a band of horses, cattle and sheep. The Indians, to discourage his settlement there, told him the waters

were poisonous, but holding to his purpose, he took as a homestead the site of the present town. He served one term as county commissioner; died January 15, 1900.

M. M. Cowley established this year an Indian trading post at Spokane Bridge, better known in later days as Cowley's Bridge. He went to the Salmon river mines in 1862, and mined and traded there till 1867, when he opened a store and ran a ferry at old Bonner's Ferry on the Kootenai. He became identified with the Trader's National bank in 1885, and in 1889 sold his stock of goods at the Bridge and moved to Spokane to become cashier of the bank. He was elected president in January, 1892.

Thomas Steele, who came in a wagon from Portland to the site of Spangle, claimed to have once owned the site of Rosalia, and to have built the first house ever erected in Spokane.

Philo S. Barnum settled twelve miles north of Sprague, and later moved to Tyler, Spokane county.

Frederick A. Dashiell took a preemption claim two and a half miles southeast of Spangle.

George W. Spangle took a preemption near Spangle. His mother, also a pioneer of 1872, died in Spangle February 25, 1900, aged 87.

Cornelius W. Murphey preempted 160 acres near Medical Lake.

D. F. Percival engaged in stock-raising in the Rock Creek country in 1872. He rode horseback from Walla Walla to Colville, and a few years before his death said to the writer that he met in that journey only a single settler in the Palouse country, who was discouraged by frosts and was planning to abandon his claim and return to the Willamette valley. The first settlers in that region naturally chose the valleys, where frost is more prevalent than on the uplands, and had not yet discovered the important fact that the hillsides and elevated benches were admirably suited to grain-growing and fruit-raising.

In 1873 the Coplen family took as a homestead the future site of the town of Latah. A. D. Coplen, then eleven years of age, became one of the most enterprising mining men and prospectors this section has developed. He was actively identified with the development of the Coeur d'Alenes, of Rossland camp and the Slocan.

The fossil remains of the largest mastodon known to science were discovered in the spring of 1878 in the southern end of Spokane county. They were uncovered on the Coplen farm in a marshy hollow formed by a spring which oozed out of a bed of black mud. They were exposed by workmen who were cutting a ditch to drain the swampy ground. Parts of four adult skeletons were taken out, and from these the great mammoth was mounted by the Chicago Academy of Science, and later exhibited at the Columbian exposition in 1893. This prehistoric monster stands thirteen feet high; length of tusk, nine feet ten inches; length of lower teeth, ten inches; length of lower jaw, twenty-two inches; length of humerus, forty-five inches.

In 1874 Benjamin F. Dashiell came to the site of Waverly, secured a farm of 320 acres, and later platted the townsite from his holdings.

In 1875 John W. Hammond located at Colfax; after seventeen years' residence there he moved to Rockford in 1892. Montgomery Hardman located at Rosalia and became postmaster. His postoffice and that at Spangle were the only ones between Spokane and Colfax. Herman Linke took employment with Frederick

POSTMASTERS OF SPOKANE, 1872 TO 1912
(PORTRAITS COLLECTED BY POSTMASTER W. P. EDRIS)

Top row, left to right—C. F. Yeaton, appointed September 16, 1873; S. R. Scranton, July 5, 1872; James N. Glover, February 5, 1877.

Second row, left to right—Sylvester Heath, October 14, 1880; J. J. L. Peel, October 26, 1886; Thomas B. Warren, August 2, 1889; Arthur J. Shaw, July 24, 1890.

Third row, left to right—Howard T. Mallon, May 9, 1894; George W. Temple, July 14, 1898; Millard T. Hartson, February 5, 1902.

Bottom portrait, W. P. Edris, July 26, 1909.

Post near Rathdrum and two years later took a preemption claim at Saltese lake.

In 1876 James Butler located in Whitman county; Richard Millman near Cheney; Robert G. Williamson five miles southeast of Spokane; and William K. Griffith near Cheney.

Year of the Nez Perce war, 1877, brought an increased immigration. T. W. Pynn came with the troops, but left the army in 1880 and engaged in the restaurant and bakery business in Spokane. He organized, in 1882, the Spokane Falls brass band, the first band in the town.

James P. Campbell took a homestead near Latah. He was elected county commissioner in 1898 on the republican ticket. His father, Samuel L. Campbell, came to Latah in 1876.

Elisha C. Thompson located near Latah. He came to Spokane in 1899 as county jailer.

Thomas J. McFeron came to Cheney and filed on the first quarter section taken in that township.

Thomas Botham and his two brothers-in-law were the original settlers this year at Rockford.

CHAPTER XXXV

EARLY SETTLEMENTS BY THE FALLS OF THE SPOKANE

ARRIVAL OF DOWNING AND SCRANTON IN 1871—THEIR "MULEY" SAW THE FIRST INDUSTRY—RECOLLECTIONS OF "BABE" DOWNING—ARRIVAL OF JAMES N. GLOVER IN 1873—HE BUYS OUT SCRANTON AND DOWNING—PLATS THE FIRST TOWNSITE—GIVES FREDERICK POST FORTY ACRES TO START A FLOUR MILL—ARRIVAL OF A. M. CANNON AND J. J. BROWNE—TROOPS MOVE TO LAKE COEUR D'ALENE—FIRST PHYSICIAN, AND FIRST DRUGSTORE—CANNON STARTS A BANK—SPOKANE'S FIRST GUN PLAY—HOW THE PIONEERS LIVED—THE FIRST NEWSPAPER—BUSINESS LOTS GIVEN AWAY—TRADE WITH THE INDIANS.

"The beginnings of all things are small."

—*Cicero.*

THE names of J. J. Downing and S. R. Scranton will pass down the ages as the first white settlers by the falls of the Spokane. Some conflict of opinion exists regarding the date of their arrival, but the weight of authority points to 1871.

Mrs. E. R. Bailey, known more familiarly to the first pioneers here as "Babe" Downing, who has the distinction of having been the first young woman to take up her home in Spokane, has contributed to Mrs. Hathaway, of the Spokane public library, an approved manuscript, narrative of her recollections of the little outpost as it broke upon her girlish eyes, forty years ago. She fixes the date of the arrival here of Downing and Scranton as 1870, but James N. Glover, H. T. Cowley and other pioneers are confident that her recollection errs.

"They were at the Falls when I located at Cowley's Bridge in 1872," says M. M. Cowley.

"They came about 1870," says James Monaghan, then a resident of Colville. "It might have been 1872. The old records at Colville should throw some light on this question, for Scranton and Downing began to attract attention very soon after their arrival at the Falls."

John B. Slater, the well known pioneer attorney of Stevens county, obligingly searched the records at Colville. On page 169 of Book 1, county commissioners' proceedings, under date of May 6, 1872, this entry was found: "Spokane Bridge precinct was formed, and S. P. Scranton* appointed judge of election." And on

*Mr. Glover recalls Scranton's initials as S. R.; Mrs. Bailey as S. B., and the Colville records give them S. P.

page 186, November 25, 1872: "S. P. Scranton, bill for $4, election judge, ordered paid." Mr. Slater searched back to 1869, but found no earlier references to Scranton or Downing.

H. L. Gray of Orofino camped near the mouth of Hangman creek in 1870. "The only person living at Spokane then was a squaw man. There were people living on the California ranch, between the falls and the old Spokane bridge. At old Spokane bridge a man by the name of Kendall owned a store."

G. W. Bassett, a well known pioneer, residing now at Washtucna, who was with Scranton when he located at the Falls, recently said:

"I had known Scranton and Downing for several years in Montana. Downing and myself left Helena, Mont., the fall of 1870 and went to Walla Walla to buy cattle, but prices were too high and Downing returned to Montana in midwinter by snowshoeing it part of the way.

"I remained at Walla Walla until the following April and started for Montana with a bunch of horses, and when I reached Moran prairie I found Downing and Scranton had picked claims on Moran prairie.

"I remained with them 10 days waiting for the snow to melt in the mountains, then it was Scranton and I visited the Falls and Scranton located.

"I thought at the time the man was going 'batty.'

"I went on to Montana and when I returned in October to Walla Walla I called at the Falls and found Downing and Scranton had nearly completed a sawmill."

Mr. Glover, who long held to a belief that Scranton and Downing located here in 1872, it now convinced that the date was 1871.

"It was in the spring of the year 1870 that J. J. Downing and wife, and Mr. Downing's partner, S. B. Scranton, who had been stock-raisers in Montana, in looking around for a location, came upon the beautiful falls in the Spokane river," says Mrs. Bailey's manuscript. "They immediately recognized the great benefit to be derived from the vast amount of natural water power here, and decided to remain. Accordingly Downing squatted on 160 acres of land on the south side of the river, and Scranton on 160 acres on the north side, the two quarter sections almost totally embracing the falls."

Here again Mr. Glover's recollection is at variance with that of the manuscript. Nothing was said, when he bought out Downing and Scranton, about squatter rights on the north side of the river.

"At this time (resuming the manuscript), there were but few settlers in the Spokane country; some of them, who afterwards played an important part in its development, being Joseph Moran, on Moran prairie; Baptiste Peone, of Peone prairie; Steve Liberty, near Liberty lake, and Frederick Post, at Rathdrum.

"In a short space of time Downing and Scranton began the erection of a sawmill at a point on the south side of the river, somewhere near Havermale island. In this mill they installed a 'muley' saw, operated with an overshot wheel, but this was not a success in the sawing of the large logs, and after some use it was torn out and a five foot circular saw and a four foot edger, operated with a turbine wheel, was installed to take its place. With this equipment the daily capacity of the mill was between 35,000 and 40,000 feet, the natural water power being used entirely."

Here again Mrs. Bailey's recollection wanders: the enlarged mill was installed by Mr. Glover, after Downing and Scranton had left Spokane.

"Only a little over a year after their settlement here," continues Mrs. Bailey's narrative, "Mrs. Bailey, who was more popularly known then as 'Babe' Downing, after graduating from school in the east, started for her new home in this far off western country. At that time Spokane was not the center of the network of suburban electric lines and transcontinental steam railroads that it is now, the closest she could get by rail being Kelton, Utah. Here she began a very perilous journey overland to Walla Walla, where she was met by her father, completing the journey to Spokane with him. . . .

"In that day there was a ravine running from Cannon Hill to the river, a little below the falls, known as Little Wolf ditch. For one approaching the settlement from the southwest, the view of the falls and river valley was almost entirely obstructed until the opposite side of the ravine was reached. Then there flashed into view, as if by magic, a scene which, for beauty and grandeur, was surpassed nowhere. Here lay a broad, fertile valley, completely covered with waving bunchgrass, and surrounded by ranges of lofty mountains whose hooded peaks, towering above the fleecy clouds, seemed to fade away into the serene blue of the heavens. Through the valley the river wound its course, now running smoothly, and now rushing with a roar over boulders and cataracts. . . .

"Mrs. Bailey was the first white girl in this section of the country, so her arrival was of much interest to the Indians, who came from far and near to look upon this new wonder of the palefaces. . . .

"The country at that time afforded many pastimes for the early settlers. One of the most largely indulged in was the salmon fishing, which began in July, at which time the red salmon, coming up the river from the Columbia, began to make their appearance just below the falls. The white salmon did not come up the river until later in the year, in October." . . .

Mrs. Bailey says that her father, "although always conscious of the vast wealth of the waterpower at the falls, greatly underestimated the agricultural possibilities of the region surrounding it, which he thought necessary for the building of an important city," and he was therefore in a ready frame of mind to dispose of his interests. "Accordingly, when a man by the name of Benjamin came to the falls and offered him $5,000 for his rights, he accepted and moved his family to a claim six miles from Hangman creek. While they were living at this place," continues her reminiscence, "this region was visited by the last and most violent of the earthquakes recorded in the northwest. It was on the night of the 14th of December when it came. The Downings were almost shaken from their beds, and awoke terrified by the swaying of the house and the sound of various articles crashing to the floor. They rushed out of doors, only to see large trees shaken to the ground, and to find a large corral battered down, either by the shaking of the earth or the feet of the frightened animals it contained. On this night the region underwent its last great topographical change, marked by the disappearance of many of the smaller streams and the appearance of new ones. It was also reported that a large point of land on lake Okanogan entirely disappeared from sight.

"Downing had not lived here long when he was forced back into the mill business by the failure of Benjamin to make his payments. The original owners of the

mill continued in its operation until 1874, when J. N. Glover, J. N. Matheny and Cyrus F. Yeaton, in looking around for an investment, came to the falls and offered the partners $10,000 for the entire property. This offer was accepted, and Downing moved to a ranch on Moran prairie, while Scranton left for California. But the separation of states was not to interfere with the romance which had received so much nourishment at the falls; so late in the fall of the same year, 'Babe' Downing left for a southern clime, where she entered into a life partnership with the man who had formerly been her father's business partner. They lived in California about four years, when they returned to Walla Walla, but the climate of the north did not agree with Mr. Scranton, and he again left for California, where he died. Six children had been born to their union, the four who are still living being Frank S. Scranton of Spokane; Ada V. Sturgiss of Pendleton, Oregon; Earl H. Scranton of Spokane, and Vernie L. Scranton of Pendleton. Twenty-two years ago Mrs. Bailey was married to her present husband, at Dayton, Wash. During this course of time four children have been born. They are Mrs. F. C. Daugherty, of Spokane; Mrs. Carl Leonard, of Pendleton, Oregon; Hazel R. Bailey and Bill Bailey, of Spokane.

"J. J. Downing died twenty years ago at Dayton, Wash., only slightly realizing the vastness of the fortune he let slip by him at Spokane Falls. His wife followed him nine years afterward, both being buried at Dayton."

Mrs. Bailey's memory is manifestly in error regarding the date of the coming of Glover, Yeaton and Matheny, 1873, not 1874, and the price paid for the townsite and mill, which was $4,000, not $10,000.

To James N. Glover belongs the title of Father of Spokane. While three or four other white men were here before him, they remained but a short time. Mr. Glover has been here continuously since May, 1873, and there is not now in Spokane, nor has there been for many years, a man who located here ahead of him.

Mr. Glover, who had lived in the Willamette Valley of Western Oregon for many years, having learned of the possibilities of the upper country as it then was called, resolved in May of that year to take a prospecting trip over the Inland Empire, and to locate, if possible, the site of the future commercial metropolis of this section. He traveled by boat from Portland to Lewiston, and at the latter place purchased a cayuse saddle horse and rode extensively over the country. He was accompanied by J. N. Matheny, a fellow townsman of his in Salem, and the two rode leisurely over the country, consuming eight or nine days on the road between Lewiston and the falls.

"We very rarely saw a white man or a house," says Mr. Glover; "when we reached the falls we found here ahead of us, J. J. Downing, S. R. Scranton, Walter France, Benjamin, and A. C. Swift, who posed as an attorney. Scranton and Downing had set up a little upright sawmill on the site of what is now the Phoenix Mill, near the foot of Mill street. They asserted that by working from sunrise to sunset, they could rip out seven hundred feet, but I doubt if their little outfit really had that capacity. Downing had a wife and a step-daughter, Nellie Downing, or 'Babe,' as everyone familiarly called her. They later lived on the brink of the falls, at what is now the south end of the Post street bridge, in a log building of two large rooms and a cellar beneath, but I found them occupying a little box house adjoining the

mill, on what is now block 4 of Spokane, roughly constructed of green lumber and without battens.

"The larger log house was occupied when I arrived by a man named Benjamin, who had a large family. Scranton had no family. He and Downing had come here about a year before and taken squatters' claims, both on the south side of the river. They claimed nothing on the north side. Benjamin had entered into a deal with Downing for his squatter's right in this property. He had agreed to pay $2,000, and had made one cash payment of $400. The next payment was overdue and Benjamin could not raise the money. I found that there was quite a feud between the two men over this transaction.

"Directly I arrived, Downing came to me for a deal, and really I was in a good humor for a deal, for I was never so infatuated with a place in all my life. I asked him his price, and when he gave it I replied that I would take it under consideration, but first wanted to scout around a little and look at the country. I walked up the river a way and found a makeshift of a canoe, hollowed out of a pine log about ten feet long. In this tippy craft, I paddled across the river at a point near the little island, adjacent to the Division street bridge. I spent the day looking over the north side of the river, and when I returned in the evening, Downing tackled me again.

" 'Mr. Downing.' I said, 'you have sold this property once to Mr. Benjamin and he has paid you $400 down on it.'

" 'Yes, that is correct.'

" 'Well, I'll tell you. Mr. Benjamin has a large family and no means of support. If I purchase your property, the first money would have to be paid to Mr. Benjamin—that $400.'

"I added that if he did not accept this proposition, I'd be off the next morning. Downing and his wife conferred together a little while and he then came out and said:

" 'I have come to accept your offer of two thousand dollars.'

"I employed Swift to draw up the papers and had them signed by Downing and wife, Scranton, 'Babe' Downing, and Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin. By this action I made a lasting friend of Benjamin.

"Immediately after buying Downing's squatter's right, I arranged with Scranton to look after the property while I returned to Salem. I had little confidence in the man, but he was the only logical person to leave in charge. Benjamin and his family moved onto a homestead on the head of Rock creek, twenty-five miles southwest of the falls, and Downing and his family then moved into the old log house, vacating the little box house by the mill.

"Mr. Matheny and I then returned to Oregon, riding cayuses to Lewiston, and taking the stage there for Wallula by way of Walla Walla. At Salem, I contracted for a new sawmill, and had it shipped to Portland and thence by boat to the mouth of the Palouse river, on the Snake.

"In the meantime I had formed a partnership with C. F. Yeaton and J. N. Matheny and sent them ahead with the machinery, a mill wright, and a few other men to build the mill and install the machinery.

"They arrived here on July 29, 1873, and notified me at once by letter, that on their arrival, they had found the place here filled with constables. All the white

men in the Colville valley had been sworn in as constables and were hunting for Scranton, my agent, and my partners urged me to come up as soon as possible. I returned here on the nineteenth of August, and found eight or ten of the constables still here. I had driven from old Wallula junction in a lumber wagon. It was a very hot and dusty drive, and I was pretty well worn out. While I was helping the man unhitch his horses, a man came alongside and said in a low voice:

" 'Would you like to see Scranton?'

" 'Not especially,' I said. 'I have no business with Scranton.'

"After the team had been put away, I asked this man his name, and he said it was Charlie May.

" 'Do you know where Scranton is?'

" 'I'll take you to him if you want to see him.' he replied.

" 'I may want to see him, but don't feel like going very far.'

" 'You won't have to go very far,' he said.

" 'Well, you come to me at one tomorrow and I'll go where Scranton is.'

"At the appointed time he was on hand, and I went with him. We crossed the Spokane in the little log canoe, and as the river was low, the water was still. I found Scranton, where at that time there was a little lake, just east of the present O. R. & N. depot. It was surrounded by a very thick growth of blackthorn so dense that May and I had to crawl in on our hands and knees.

"We found Scranton lying on a buffalo robe with his weapons alongside of him. After a fifteen minutes talk, I arranged for him to come in to the log cabin where Downing and his family still lived, at 11 o'clock that night when I would have papers all ready to buy him out. I realized that I could not do business with him.

"He came in and we bought him out and he disappeared.

"Scranton left the country and I never saw him again. A little later two or three Indians came to me and said that he had crossed the river with eighty-one head of American horses, at a ford where the O. R. & N. bridge now spans the Spokane. They added that they had gone south with Charlie May. I doubted their story for a long time, but later found that the Indians were correct. Scranton and May crossed the Clearwater near Lewiston, were later seen near Boise City, and still later in Nevada, where they had driven the horses. May was never heard of afterwards.

"After disposing of the horses, Scranton moved to Santa Ana, in southern California. While living there he was married to Miss Downing. After residing there a few years, they moved into the Blue mountains above Dayton, in this state. He built a shingle mill and lived there till his death. His widow was in Spokane last year. She telephoned me then and I called on her at her residence on Mallon avenue. She had married again and had several children.

"From Spokane Downing moved to Moran prairie. Later he drifted to the Snake river country and then went to Walla Walla, where he and his wife died.

"The Benjamins, I think, are dead.

"Lawyer Swift left here with his wife about a year after my arrival, and they too went to Santa Ana.

"It was several years after my arrival before the little settlement could show as much population as it had possessed when I came here. My wife joined me in August, 1873, and my partner, Mr. Yeaton, came with his family in July. He had a

MRS. J. J. DOWNING

First white woman in Spokane. Came here with her husband in 1871

FREDERICK POST, WHO BUILT THE FIRST FLOUR MILL IN SPOKANE

H. T. COWLEY, WHO CAME TO SPOKANE IN 1874 AS MISSIONARY AND TEACHER AMONG THE SPOKANES

wife and one daughter, and the three of them are now living in or near Seattle. They stayed here till the fall of 1876.

"Mr. Matheny's family joined him in 1874. His wife was dead and his sister-in-law cared for his four children.

"My first store was just across the street and directly west of the present City Hall. It stood in about the center of the block and was a frame building. My first stock of goods was made up very largely of Indian supplies—cheap blankets, shawls, calicoes, beads, paints (I did a big business in paints), tobacco, sugar, tea and coffee, cutlery and all sorts of groceries. I never carried powder and lead, and with the exception of an old shot gun had no fire arms. I frequently loaned the shot gun to Indians, and they would occasionally bring in a deer for its use. I always got along pleasantly with the Indians, although I was always firm with them. From the beginning I adopted a policy of trading with them just as I would with white men. They were cautious buyers and always watched the scales very closely.

"The Indians here at the Falls were known as the Upper band of Spokanes. In summer they pitched their tents near the river, but in winter they would move back to a point near Fourth avenue and Pine street. There is a little knoll there and they had a cemetery near by. They had a couple of old sheds in a dry and well sheltered spot. When I came they buried their dead in the earth, the same as the whites do, having been taught this method by Father Eells, the Protestant missionary. At their funerals they held Christian services.

"I lived in my store building, where I had partitioned off a living room, bed room and a little kitchen. Mr. Yeaton lived in the rear of the store, and Mr. Matheny in a log house on the present site of the Coeur d'Alene hotel. We built several log houses and were glad to have people come in and use them rent free.

"I bought out Mr. Matheny in the spring of 1876 and Mr. Yeaton in the fall of the same year. I paid them their own price and they were glad to find that I was in a position to buy them out and let them go.

"Up to that time we had not increased in population, but had rather decreased. All this while I was growing more uneasy about my squatter's right. When I reflected on how much I had invested, and the years of waiting, and thought that all this might be lost, if it should turn out that I was on railroad land, the thought grew pretty disturbing. At that time, the present business district from the river to the present line of the Northern Pacific tracks, was a beautiful prairie of bunch-grass and sun-flowers, and when these flowers were in bloom they made a sea of gold. I kept a horse staked out there all the time for emergency. One bright, beautiful morning in June, 1875, an Indian, named George, half brother to Curly Jim, rode up in great excitement, his horse in a foam of perspiration, and told me that he had seen a squad of white men coming from White Bluff prairie down the Hangman creek slope. He described them to me and I knew they were surveyors. I told him to rest a moment till I could put a saddle on my horse, when I would go with him. We went down the road on about the same route that now leads to Greenwood cemetery, and pretty soon I met Till Sheets and his party of two line-men and two blazers. I introduced myself and he said:

" 'So you are the man they call Jim Glover? I'm trying to locate you. I had a contract from the government to survey three townships on Crab creek. After I completed that work, I said to my men that Jim Glover is at the Spokane Falls, and

don't know whether he is afoot or ahorseback. I told them that if they would give their time I would board them, and we would run a base line and show Mr. Glover where he is.'

"I soon knew that I was on government land. It was a warm day, and I was sweating like a Turk. Strange as it may appear, those lines came just about where I wanted them. My east line was Bernard street; my south line the center of Sprague avenue; my west line was Cedar street; and my north line was Broadway, east to a point where the line makes a jog and crosses the river. My claim included most of the bay by the Phoenix mill and took in the Centennial mill property. It then ran due south to a point at the curve of Mill street, a little north of Front avenue, and then ran due east to Bernard.

"From the beginning I had refused to deal in liquors, but when I bought my second bill of goods from Barney Goldsmith, he asked me if we had any rattlesnakes up at the Falls. I replied that there were none at the Falls, but I had seen two or three in the rocks west of there. Mr. Goldsmith then said that as I had been a pretty good customer, he was going to make me a present of a barrel of whisky. I accepted the present, but afterwards regretted that I had done so, as I had heard that Indians could smell liquor a great distance. When the barrel of whisky arrived, I built in a little closet in my store, just big enough to hold it, and boxed the barrel in and nailed it up solid. I never tapped that barrel till Surveyor Sheets came in, but I then felt so grateful that I ripped the boards away and gave him and his men all they could drink.

"When my partners, Matheny and Yeaton moved away, we had less population at the falls than ever, and I made extraordinary efforts to induce Frederick Post to come here from Rathdrum and build a little gristmill. I had to pull all my flour from Waitsburg, and it was a hard task. I argued long with Mr. Post, as he was a practical millwright and already had most of the necessary machinery. He was one of God's noblemen. He and his wife were old fashioned Germans, as fine people as I ever knew in my life. They had five daughters, Mary, Martha, Alice, Julia and one whose name I cannot remember. They were nice girls. All are dead except Alice, who married a man named Martin, and they still live in the old Post house on the south side of the river at Post Falls. Mary married West Wood, Martha died single, Julia married one of the Dart family, for whom the town of Dartford on the Little Spokane was named. Mother Post died last winter, and Mr. Post about eighteen months ago.

"I finally made Mr. Post an offer he could not well resist, forty acres of my preemption as a gift. Out of that forty acres I reserved the block where the Auditorium building stands. He was very anxious later to square up his forty, and begged me to sell him that Auditorium block. I finally let him have it in 1876 for $350, and he raised the money and paid me. Later he came to me and said:

" 'You are the only man I can go to for help. I am broke and you will have to take that property back.' I replied that I was broke too but that I would take it back. In that way that piece of property passed back and forth between us five times and the price was always the same. Mr. Post finally sold it to A. M. Cannon and J. J. Browne and they built the Auditorium theatre upon it.

"The frame of the old mill stood until last year, when it was torn down. It had

a capacity of twenty barrels a day, and did its first grinding about November 1, 1877.

"My sawmill had a capacity of 35,000 to 40,000 feet a day. It was a fine mill and much too large for the country. My only market was among a very few settlers as they came into the surrounding country. I would saw out 150,000 feet in four or five days and that output would supply the demand for a year."

Mr. Post's old residence was destroyed by fire in the autumn of 1911. It was attached to the old Falls View house, west of Post street and north of Front avenue.

When the Nez Perce war broke out in 1877, Spokane had a total population of less than twenty: Mr. and Mrs. Glover, Rev. and Mrs. S. G. Havermale, who, however, were hardly permanent residents, as they were coming and going from time to time. H. T. Cowley and family, and Frederick Post, his wife and five daughters. But the little frontier settlement had prospects, and its founder had expectations for he platted a townsite in January, 1878.

"For that work I employed L. W. Rima," said Mr. Glover in discussing pioneer times with the writer of this volume.

Mr. Rima had come here after the Nez Perce uprising and started a little jewelry store—an act of sublime confidence in future developments, for assuredly the immediate prospect of a demand for diamonds and gold watches could not have been alluring. Rima bought a lot from Mr. Glover, on the alley on Howard street, just south of what is now the Coeur d'Alene hotel, and later built a small two-story brick building, one of the first, but not the very first structure to be erected here of that material.

"I platted from my east line at Bernard," said Mr. Glover, "to the west line of Post street, and from Sprague avenue to the river. Sprague street I named in honor of General Sprague, then general superintendent of the western division of the Northern Pacific. As I expected Riverside to continue westward as a boulevard or drive along the river bank, it was given that designation. Main street I rather expected to become the chief business thoroughfare, and Front was so-called because of its fronting on the stream. Washington was named jointly for the father of our country and the territory, Stevens for the first governor, Isaac I. Stevens, Howard for General O. O. Howard, who commanded the troops in the Nez Perce war, Mill because I expected the milling industry to center around its terminus at the river, and Post street in recognition of Frederick Post. I regret exceedingly that the name of Mill street was changed to Wall, a designation having no local or pioneer significance.

"Mr. Rima made little pretension to exact knowledge of civil engineering, but he had some instruments and had done a little surveying. I assisted in the work, serving as chainman. He lacked a proper chain, and later I made up my mind that there were errors in the original survey and determined to have a resurvey, hence the existence of that term in the official description of property in the original plat.

"For this resurvey and the platting of another section of my land west to Cedar street, I employed G. F. Wright, a Northern Pacific engineer, in 1881. Mr. Wright's resurvey made a number of lots and blocks a little larger than they had been originally, and I made a great number of quitclaim deeds to persons who had previously purchased lots, granting them the additional ground without additional pay. Lin-

coln, Monroe, Madison and Jefferson streets were so named in honor of those four presidents."

In April, 1878, came A. M. Cannon and J. J. Browne. They were from Portland, Oregon, then the metropolis of the broad northwest, with a population of about 15,000 exclusive of Chinese, of whom the town held several thousand, lured there by railroad construction. The newcomers were to play conspicuous parts in the great drama of city building by the wild cataracts of the Spokane, and it may well be doubted if two men better fitted by courage, enthusiasm and knowledge of western life and western conditions could have been found, either east or west, to take up that work and carry it forward to success and brilliant achievement. Both men had limited means, and in a sense were soldiers of fortune. Mr. Cannon had led an adventurous life from early manhood. When a young man he had gone to Chicago and made and lost a considerable fortune on the grain exchange. From Chicago he drifted to the Pacific coast by way of Kansas City and Denver. In Portland he engaged in the business of selling sewing machines, but suffering there from sciatic rheumatism, he made up his mind to seek health and fortune in "the upper country," concerning which he had heard enticing reports, both in respect to its scenic beauty and its natural resources.

Mr. Browne's activities up to that time had been divided between the law and education, and he had served a term as county superintendent of schools at Portland. He was attending court at The Dalles, Oregon, when Mr. Cannon, on his way to Spokane, encountered him there and persuaded him to join in the scouting expedition.

"Cannon and Browne arrived here, I think, on the 24th of April, 1878," said Mr. Glover. "They approached me with a proposition to buy an interest in the townsite, and held out inducements in the way of boosting for the town and helping to build here an important business center. Two days later an agreement was drawn up and signed, I agreeing to sell them a half interest in my claim, excepting such portions as I had given to Mr. Post and built upon myself, and a few other lots which I had practically given away. They were to pay me $3,000 for it, $50 down, all they had, as neither man possessed any means beyond the little required to bring their families here. The final payments were not made for five or six years."

At this time Spokane's population was little larger than it had been when Mr. Glover landed by the falls in 1873. The two companies of regulars that had wintered here after the Nez Perce war, were moving to Fort Sherman, on Lake Coeur d'Alene. The first physician was here in the person of Dr. J. M. Masterson, who brought with him a wife and three or four children; and about that time came George A. Davis and C. W. Cornelius, also from down Portland way, and started a little drugstore fronting on Front avenue and just west of Glover's store. About that time, too, came Captain J. M. Nosler, after whom Nosler's addition was named, with a few drugs from Colfax.

"Browne and Cannon returned to Portland immediately after the signing of the agreement," continues the narrative of Mr. Glover, "and in the fall of the same year Cannon returned with his family and Alexander Warner, a brother-in-law. They brought a little stock of general merchandise and set it up in my store building, I having discontinued the merchandise business. They continued in business there for several years under the firm name of Cannon & Warner.

"It was there, in a little addition I had built on the store, fronting on Howard that Mr. Cannon put out his sign, 'Bank of Spokane Falls; A. M. Cannon.' This is how the first bank was started here. At that time I was employed by the Northern Pacific as forage agent and to construct necessary buildings for its construction camps, and I had to traverse the country and buy hay and grain for the horses. Most of my supplies I bought around Farmington, fifty or sixty miles south of here, for there were very few settlers producing anything in the immediate vicinity of Spokane. D. C. Cushman and a man named Lewis were in charge of the Northern Pacific land office at Colfax, and I had to go there to draw funds for my purchases and make settlement with the company.

"Returning from one of these trips to Colfax, great was my surprise, on stepping from the stage, to see Mr. Cannon's bank sign. When I walked into the store building Mr. Cannon was the first man I met, and when we had shaken hands he said:

" 'Mr. Glover, I guess you'll be greatly surprised to see what I have done.'

" 'Why, what do you allude to, Mr. Cannon?'

" 'I've started a bank, and you know better than I do that I haven't got a dollar; but Mrs. Pope (a sister-in-law) had $1,000 and agreed to loan it to me. There's no business here now for a bank, but the Northern Pacific is coming this way with its grade and construction and there will be all sorts of timechecks and other checks to cash, and I thought I might as well get in and be ready to take care of it.'

"Mr. Warner, Mr. Cannon's partner, was a very near-sighted man, and was bending over his books in the front of the store. When I approached him he looked up and said:

" 'You see what A. M. has done? What a foolish man; over head and heels in debt and starting a bank. But if he wants to do it and run it on wind, he'll have to go it alone. I'll have nothing to do with it!' "

In November, 1882, Mr. Glover, F. Rockwood Moore, Horace L. Cutter, H. M. McCartney, Dr. L. H. Whitehouse, and August Goldsmith incorporated the First National bank of Spokane. It was capitalized at $50,000 and was housed in a two story wooden building, at the corner of Main and Howard, fronting on Main.

"Mr. Cannon came to me one day," says Mr. Glover, "and said his bank was in trouble and he wanted help. I replied that our bank could not extend help until we had first looked over his affairs and seen what he had in his institution. I went in with him and his cashier B. L. Bennett, early in the morning before banking hours, to see what he had in the way of money and securities. I found a most desolate and woebegone situation; 25 cents was all the cash on hand. I asked Cashier Bennett why he had not bought a drink with the two-bits, and he replied that it belonged to the bank. We decided that if Mr. Cannon would give us such collateral as he had, and a note signed by himself and wife, secured by certain pieces of real estate, that we would advance him $4,000 or $5,000. His word was good and I knew he would meet any obligation that lay within his power. He gradually paid us back.

"Mr. Browne came back either in the fall of 1878 or 1879 with his family. For a while he rented rooms and boarded with Mr. Post. I had two offices in my store building on the second floor, and he took one of them as a law office. His first house was in what is now Browne's addition. My first claim was a preemption, and I had homesteaded 160 acres west of it. This I relinquished to Mr. Browne. I took my

team and plowed ground for his garden and orchard at a place just south of Pacific avenue and west of Maple street. Mr. Browne and family lived there until he built the large brick place further west in his addition, the place that is now owned by R. E. Strahorn.

"Mr. Cannon also took a homestead, covering what is now Cannon's addition and Cannon Hill, but had established no residence on it, his only improvement being the digging of a trench and the setting of a few pine poles. I had as my clerk in my railroad work, a very fine young man, Howard Tilton, son of General Tilton, a close friend of Superintendent Sprague. Howard was very much taken with Spokane, and not considering Mr. Cannon's improvements a compliance with the law located himself upon the same claim, built a little shack and was living there. One day as I was returning from Colfax, on reaching the town of Spangle, I was informed by Mr. Spangle that a great row had taken place up in Spokane and a number of shots had been fired. I hastened on to Spokane and learned that a mask ball had been given at the California house, and that after the ball was over the party had gone out to Tilton's shack with guns and revolvers, driven Tilton out of his place and demolished it. Tilton had a revolver and fired several shots in return. I never did find out the names of the men who were in the raid. Mr. Cannon assured me that he had no hand in the affair, and both he and Mr. Browne urged me to write to General Sprague asking him to recall Tilton and give him employment at some other place. Although I disliked to do this, I consented in the interest of peace and the harmony of the community, and the young man was called away and given work at Tacoma. Years later I met him in San Francisco, and he said the one great regret of his life was that he had not resisted my advice and held his claim. This happened in the winter of '79 and '80.

"For a long time the Cannons and Warners lived in the building that I had used as my first store, and when the Cannons moved it was into a little frame house that Mr. Cannon had built for his homestead. Mr. Cannon's wife was a widow when he married her, and they had a good sized family of young men and women. There were Ralph Clark; Marie, who married B. H. Bennett in Spokane, and who after the death of Mr. Bennett became the wife of M. D. Wright, now of Hayden Lake; George, who died and was buried here; Kitty, who married J. R. Allen, a railroad engineer who, I learn, afterwards made a great fortune in South America, and is now living in New York; Josephine, the youngest is married and living in London. Mr. Cannon's father lived with him and died and was buried here. The family came from Illinois, and two brothers followed Mr. Cannon to Spokane and took up their residences here.

"Colonel D. P. Jenkins came in the spring of 1880, and took a homestead on the north side. The Court House now stands upon his homestead. The river had not been bridged and Jenkins' only means of communication between the town and his claim was a little boat which he kept tied just below the falls. He practiced law a little, but at that time legal business was not extensive and there was not much to do beyond the making out of deeds and other papers.

"About the same time Robert W. Forrest, who afterwards became Spokane's first mayor, located here and operated the first ferry across the Spokane. It was a little flatboat, propelled by man power, and ran at a point east of the Division street bridge, just where the river makes a bend.

"Francis H. Cook came in 1879 and started that year, Spokane's first newspaper, the Weekly Times. I gave him the lot at the southeast corner of Riverside and Howard as an inducement to his starting the paper, sixty feet by a hundred and eighty running through to Sprague. This corner is now covered in part by the Whitehouse store and Rookery building. He constructed a little two story wooden building, and there is where he operated that paper. Mr. Cook was aggressive in some of his utterances and in one article gave deep offense to Mr. Cannon and Mr. Cannon's son-in-law, B. H. Bennett. The two went up to demand a retraction and it was said that Bennett carried a revolver and used it menacingly towards Cook, but the results were not what they had expected, for Cook came at them with a heavy iron bar, a piece of his mechanical equipment, beating Bennett over the head with it and finally kicking him down stairs."

At this period an interesting feud had grown up in the community over the proper way of spelling the name "Spokane." One party under the leadership of Editor Cook stood valorously for "Spokan," without the final "e." The other felt that the fate of the future great city depended on the final "e." In a smaller way the controversy became as tense and accrimonious as the historic feud between Guelph and Ghibelline, and the final "e" party determined that an opposition newspaper must be established. Accordingly they entered into negotiations with an editor named Carlisle, and dispatched him to Portland to purchase a printing plant. Editor Carlisle was subsidized in this great undertaking by Glover, Browne and Cannon, and the result was the founding of the Spokane Chronicle.

From the beginning, Mr. Glover adopted a freehanded policy of encouraging newcomers by outright donations of corner lots, any one of which would now command a good sized fortune on the real estate market of Spokane.

The reader will recall that C. F. Yeaton was one of his partners in the original enterprise, but subsequently becoming dissatisfied, sold out his interest and returned to Oregon. When Yeaton learned that two companies of regular soldiers had gone into winter quarters at Spokane, and Spokane in consequence was enjoying its first boom, he wrote to Mr. Glover asking means to bring himself, wife and daughter back to the falls, and an opportunity to take charge of Mr. Glover's store, suggesting further that possibly he might get something to do in connection with the military people. Mr. Glover forwarded Yeaton what little money he could scrape up and the Yeatons promptly acknowledged its receipt by putting themselves in evidence. Mr. Glover put them in the store and a little later used his influence with Colonel Conrad, Captain Daggett and such other army officers as he could reach, to secure Yeaton's appointment as post-trader at Fort Sherman. Yeaton retained that place for six or seven years, and prospered immensely, accumulating a fortune of $35,000. Then he grew weary of the life of a post-trader, disposed of his interests, and decided to move out of the country. Before going to California the Yeatons spent several days visiting Mr. Glover.

"I gave Mrs. Yeaton Lot 1, Block 4, directly across Howard street from the city hall, and at the same time presented her daughter, Lulu, Lot 7, in Block 23, the south-east corner of Riverside and Lincoln directly across the street from the Empire State building. Mrs. Yeaton wanted to sell her lot right away, and insisted so strongly that I went out and disposed of it for her for $1,200. I persuaded Lulu

to hold her lot for several years. Several times she wrote me, asking that I dispose of it for her, and finally became so insistent that I found a buyer and sent her $5,000.

"From 1873 to 1877," continued Mr. Glover, "my trade almost entirely was with Indians who brought in furs. I have bought as high as $1,000 in one night. The Indians are peculiar in their ways of doing business, doing their trading almost invariably at night. My first business in this line was in December, 1873. They came in one evening about sunset, a swarm of them. Up to that time, M. M. Cowley and Tommy Ford, who had a trading-post at a point seventeen miles up the river, had enjoyed a monopoly of the Indian trade in this valley. This time there was about a foot of snow on the ground, and forty or fifty Indians came into my place a little after dark, with their furs packed on their ponies. They always wanted to have a long smoke before getting down to business. After they had their smoke out they would ask prices and this would be followed by the actual business of bartering wares for furs. The skins I bought were chiefly marten. The dark marten was as handsome a fur as could be bought anywhere. For these I paid from $2.50 to $5.00. Other furs were musk-rat, beaver, black and brown bear, and at times in winter, a great many buckskins. In the fall of 1874 I bought some of the most beautiful buffalo robes I had ever seen, forty-five of them, and for these paid from $4 to $4.50. They were beautifully tanned. I shipped them by wagon to Wallula and thence by boat by way of Portland to Victoria, paying the freight and receiving for these beautiful robes only $5.25. If it had not been for the profit on my merchandise, I would have lost on the transaction.

"I never could learn the reason, but these fur-bearing animals disappeared like magic and after 1877 my Indian trade in furs fell off to almost nothing."

CHAPTER XXXVI

NEZ PERCE WAR AND MASSACRES OF 1877

SAVAGE DEVOTION TO A CAUSE—JOSEPH'S LOVE FOR THE WALLOWA VALLEY—INDIAN BUREAU VACILLATES—FIRST CONFLICT WITH SETTLERS—FANATACISM OF THE "DREAMERS"—JOSEPH'S BAND ORDERED TO NEZ PERCE RESERVE—WAR PARTY PREPARES FOR THE CONFLICT—CAMAS PRAIRIE SETTLERS ATTACKED—MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN MASSACRED—SHOCKING ATROCITIES—SETTLERS FLEE TO PLACES OF REFUGE—FIERCE AND SANGUINARY BATTLES WITH U. S. TROOPS—JOSEPH'S REMARKABLE RUNNING CAMPAIGN—SETTLERS IN SPOKANE REGION ARE TERRORIZED—TAKE REFUGE ON HAVERMALE ISLAND—J. N. GLOVER'S RECOLLECTIONS—WAR PARTY DANCES NIGHTLY BY THE FALLS—ARRIVAL OF THE TROOPS—M. M. COWLEY'S REMINISCENCES.

Kamiah, Kamiah, Voice of the Wolf,
Blood of my spirit and heart of your sires,
Sleep, for the West is kindling its fires;
Sleep, for the sun, worn out by its flight,
Creeps to the dusky wigwams of Night.
Sleep, little Kamiah, Voice of the Wolf.

Kamiah, Kamiah, Voice of the Wolf,
Some day our fathers will call from the sky,
And march with the braves; the paleface will fly
Like snow when Chinooks blow over the swale.
Sleep, for you soon must go forth on the trail.
Sleep, little Kamiah, Voice of the Wolf.

Kamiah, Kamiah, Voice of the Wolf,
The buffalo yet shall return to the plain,
The bellow of moose shall be heard once again.
The red men shall hunt through the land as they please.
Slumber, my young brave, and dream you of these.
Slumber, my Kamiah, Voice of the Wolf.

—*Winfred Chandler.*

IN SPECTACULAR setting and deep, tragic interest the Nez Perce Indian war of 1877 stands out in history, an unsurpassed exhibition of savage devotion to a cause. In a technical, legal sense Chief Joseph erred in that dramatic clash of arms. In its moral aspects, the uprising was not unjustified.

From time immemorial the Joseph band of the Nez Perce tribe had occupied in summer and autumn the Wallowa valley in eastern Oregon. Their deep ancestral

love for it flashed keen and strong in 1855, when Governor Isaac I. Stevens of Washington and Indian Superintendent Joel Palmer of Oregon negotiated treaties with the various tribes of the interior and Old Chief Joseph, father of the warrior of later days, insisted that this ancestral vale be included within the areas set apart for the Nez Perces. As we have seen in a preceding chapter the discovery of gold in northern Idaho led to the adoption in 1863 of a supplemental treaty which narrowed the boundaries of the Indians' domain, and surrendered the Wallowa country to the United States. This treaty Old Joseph refused to sign; its validity he challenged to his death, and his people went on making their annual pilgrimages to their favorite hunting land. Old Joseph was buried there.

Young Joseph fell heir to his father's cause. The tribe, as a whole had no right to barter away the possessions of a powerful protesting clan; the Wallowa valley had always been the acknowledged property of this particular band; they had never assented to its sale; and for more than twenty years had maintained, without official protest, their possessory rights. Thus, in brief, Joseph and his supporters presented their case.

Down to 1872 the Wallowa region remained as wild as it had been a hundred years before; but in the spring of that year the Tulley Brothers drove in 300 head of stock and used the valley as a cattle range. A little later came other stockmen, and in August forty or fifty Nez Perces held a protesting council, but offered no overt resistance to the white invaders.

In 1873 the secretary of the interior recorded an official order that seemed, at least to the Indian mind, to confirm their claim. He directed—

"That the band of Indians referred to be permitted to remain in said valley and occupy it during the summer and autumn, or for such time as the weather is suitable, according to a previous custom; and that assurance be given them that it is not the intention of the department to disturb them so long as they remain quiet."

The secretary further directed that white settlers be notified that they were prohibited from settling in the valley, and that the property of the settlers already there be appraised, in order that congress might be asked for an appropriation, and "that the claims of the settlers may be extinguished."

Governor L. F. Grover of Oregon promptly wrote a protesting letter to the secretary of the interior. "I urge (he said) that the Indian title to the land occupied by these settlers has been doubly extinguished—first by treaty, and second by form of law . . . . There is abundant room for Joseph's band on the present Nez Perce reservation. Joseph's band do not desire the Wallowa valley for a reservation and for a home. I understand that they will not accept it on condition that they shall occupy it as such. The reason of this is obvious: they can have better land and a more congenial climate at a location which has been tendered them upon the Nez Perce reservation. There are but seventy-two warriors in this band. The white settlers in the Wallowa country number eighty-seven."

Vacillating first on this side and then on that, the Indian bureau decided in the spring of 1874 to abandon its plan of making an Indian reservation of the Wallowa country, and so advised Senator Kelly of Oregon.

Joseph's band continued its summer visits, but no conflict occurred till the summer of 1876. A. B. Findley and Wells McNall, while hunting lost horses, came upon an Indian encampment; an altercation followed, one of the Indians grappled with

McNall and tried to wrest away his rifle, and Findley shot and killed the Indian. The white men were tried at Union and acquitted, and thereupon the Indians demanded that they be tried by Indian law. This was denied them, and Joseph ordered the white settlers to leave the valley. The settlers appealed for help, and forty volunteers came out from Union and other towns and encamped at the McNall ranch the day preceding that set by Joseph for the eviction. Lieutenant Forse with forty-eight regular soldiers made a forced march from Fort Walla Walla, and found the Indians on a hill near Wallowa lake, painted, stripped, well armed and in battle array. Forse held a council with them and demanded that they should stay on the opposite side of Hurricane creek from the whites. Joseph assented and the warriors washed off their war paint.

In November, 1876 a commission was sent to Lapwai to endeavor to adjust these differences with Joseph and the non-treaty Indians, but the council broke up after several stormy sessions, with no agreement. The commissioners met stout opposition from the "dreamers," who contended that since the earth was created by the Great Spirit for his red children, to sell it would be shameful sacrilege, an act comparable with the sale of one's mother.

"This fanaticism," wrote General Howard, "is kept up by the superstition of these dreamers, who industriously teach that if they continue steadfast in their present belief, a leader will be raised up in the east who will restore all the dead Indians to life, who will unite with them in expelling the whites from this country, when they will again enter upon and repossess the lands of their ancestors."

The commission recommended: "If these Indians overrun lands belonging to the whites, and commit depredations on their property, we recommend the employment of sufficient forces to bring them into subjection and to place them upon the Nez Perce reservation. The Indian agent at Lapwai should be fully instructed to carry into execution these suggestions, relying at all times upon the department commander for aid when necessary."

Early in 1877 the government ordered Indian Agent J. B. Monteith to carry out the recommendations of the commission, and directed Howard to occupy the Wallowa valley and cooperate with the agent. Howard and the agent then directed pressure against Joseph, and an extended conference at Fort Lapwai in May was attended by Howard, Monteith, P. B. Whitman (a nephew of Dr. Marcus Whitman) as interpreter, Joseph, his brother Ollicutt, and about fifty of the non-treaty Indians. After a stormy council the Indians agreed to go upon the reservation, and June 14 was designated as the date.

The war party among the Nez Perces devoted the intervening month to hasty and secret preparations for conflict. Guns and ammunition were purchased, horses were rounded up, and provisions accumulated in a wild and picturesque glen at the head of Rocky canyon, eight miles west of Grangeville. In that deep and secluded defile they herded their stock, killed beeves and dried the meat, and stored their provisions in a great cave. By day there were councils and drills, by night dances and feasting. Here they argued the momentous issue, peace or war, with opposing forces almost evenly divided.

General Howard at Lapwai received his first intimation of treachery in a letter of June 14 from L. P. Brown of Mt. Idaho on Camas prairie.

"Yesterday (wrote Brown) they had a grand parade. About 100 were mounted

and well armed, and went through the maneuvers of a fight for about two hours. They say openly that they are going to fight the soldiers when they come to put them on the reservation. A good many were in town today, and were trying to obtain powder and other ammunition."

On the day after came this startling bulletin:

"Mount Idaho, 7 a. m., Friday, June 15, 1877.

"*Commanding Officer, Fort Lapwai:*

"Last night we started a messenger to you, who reached Cottonwood house, where he was wounded and driven back by the Indians. The people of Cottonwood undertook to come here during the night; were interrupted, all wounded or killed. Parties this morning found some of them on the prairie. The whites are engaged, about forty of them, in getting in the wounded. One thing is certain: we are in the midst of an Indian war. Every family is here, and we have taken all the precautions we can, but are poorly armed. We want arms and ammunition and help at once. Don't delay a moment. We have a report that some white men were killed yesterday on the Salmon river. You can not imagine the people in a worse condition than they are here. Mr. West has volunteered to go to Lapwai; rely on his statements.

"L. P. Brown."

Howard promptly dispatched Colonel Perry, with 90 cavalrymen, to the scene of the uprising.

Richard Devine a retired English sailor living alone on a ranch on the Salmon river was the first victim, it is thought of the Nez Perce uprising. Some pioneers hold that the first sacrifice was made on John Day creek, six or seven miles from the Devine ranch. Devine possessed a fine new rifle, coveting which three Indian youths, the oldest not more than 21, fell suddenly upon their victim on the evening of June 13. These Indians went the following day to the Elfers ranch and massacred H. Elfers, Henry Beckroge and R. S. Bland, who were working in a hay field. They next went to the Elfers house and seized a rifle, but made no effort to molest Mrs. Elfers.

Passing down the Salmon, they shot and wounded Samuel Benedict near the mouth of White Bird creek. That afternoon they returned to the Indian rendezvous at the head of Rocky canyon, reported their bloody deeds, and exclaimed, gleefully, "Now you have to fight!" Here they were joined by twelve or fifteen recruits, and led by Mox-Mox (Yellow Bull) returned immediately to the Salmon, and attacked a party of refugees who were on their way to seek cover in the stone cellar of James Baker. Mrs. Manuel and her baby were mounted on one horse, Mr. Manuel and his seven-year-old daughter Maggie were on another, and Baker rode a third. Mrs. Manuel's father, George Popham, and Patrick Price remained at the Manuel place, hidden in the brush. The hostiles fired on this party, wounding Manuel and his daughter, who fell from their horse. Mrs. Manuel and the baby fell from their plunging mount, and Baker was mortally wounded by arrows.

Mrs. Manuel and her baby were taken back to the house by the Indians and promised immunity if she would deliver up a rifle and ammunition. Acquiring these the band rode off, and Price and Popham came out from their thicket and learned

from Mrs. Manuel that her husband and little daughter had been wounded and had crawled into the brush. Popham brought the little girl into the house, but as Manuel was wounded and could not walk, blankets, food and water were carried to him.

Another band came to this house the next afternoon, and one of them drove a knife into Mrs. Manuel's breast. The last words of the dying mother, twice repeated, were "Don't kill my children."

"After this," said Maggie, in a signed statement made at Grangeville April 1, 1903, "the Indians took me to an adjoining room and shut me in. Of course I cried, and one of the White Bird Indians slapped me. Being sick and exhausted, I fell asleep, and didn't wake up until nearly dark. Then I went into the other room where mother had been killed. I was barefooted, and even now I can recall the horrible feeling that came over me as the blood oozed between my toes. The body was naked and lying in a pool of her life blood. At her head lay baby Johnnie, also dead."

That night the little girl and Price lay in the brush, but were attacked by Indians at daylight. Baring his breast, Price resolved on a bold ruse. Advancing into the open, he showed the Indians a cross tattooed upon his skin, and proposed that if they would permit him to take the child to Mt. Idaho, he would return and surrender to them, and to this strange offer the Indians assented.

"After we had gone into the house and seen mother's and baby's bodies," continues this narrative, "we left for Camas prairie. I was barefooted and in my night clothes. We traveled all day, Mr. Price carrying me a part of the way, and stayed that night at Harris' place near the head of Rocky canyon. There Mr. Price made me a chair, fashioned out of a dry-goods box. With a rope he fastened it on his back. At this place he found an old white shirt and put it on me. During all this time, and until I reached Mt. Idaho, my left arm, which had been broken in the fall from the horse, hung limp by my side, the old people in the excitement not even fixing me a sling. In this box chair I rode into Mt. Idaho, reaching there about noon.

"The day we left the house the Indians burned it, together with the bodies of mother and baby. From his place of concealment in the brush grandfather witnessed the destruction of the buildings. Father remained in the brush and small outbuildings on the ranch for thirteen days, living on berries and vegetables from the little garden. After suffering for five days from the arrow in his neck, he cut it out with his knife and dressed the wound, using horseradish leaves and cold water from the creek. His hip wounds had crippled him so seriously that he could not travel. The soldiers found him and brought him to Mt. Idaho, where he eventually recovered. Grandfather came into Mt. Idaho several days after Mr. Price and I arrived."

The band that first attacked the Manuels found Benedict (previously wounded) in his store and saloon, with August Bacon and killed them. After the war they said they offered Bacon his life if he would leave Benedict and come out, but he refused to desert his wounded comrade.

Meanwhile scenes more tragic yet, more horrible than death, were unfolding among the feeble and scattered settlements on Camas prairie. Warned by the menacing demeanor of the Indians, settlers far and wide hastened towards Mount Idaho, and by nightfall of the 14th nearly all had gained that place of refuge.

Warned by Lew Day of the imminent peril that beset them, the people at Cottonwood house, conducted by B. B. Norton, made hasty preparations to flee, and a party including Norton, his wife and son Hill, Miss Linn Bowers, John Chamberlain, wife and two children, and Joseph Moore, started by wagon and saddle about 10 o'clock at night. When ten miles upon their way, a band of Indians attacked them in the rear, firing and yelling like demons. Almost instantly the horses ridden by Norton and Moore were down, but the men escaped to the wagon, and the wild race was renewed. Presently the team was shot, and instantly the savages were upon the terrified fugitives. Miss Bowers and little Hill Norton slipped away under cover of darkness and escaped unharmed to Mount Idaho. Mr. and Mrs. Chamberlain and their two children made a like effort, but were discovered, and Chamberlain and the boy were killed before the horrified eyes of the frantic mother, and the other child torn from her arms, stabbed in the neck and a part of its tongue cut out. Lew Wilmot, now a resident of Keller, Wash., a member of a rescue party that went out the following day and gathered up the wounded and the dead, informed the writer of this volume that when his party came upon the mutilated child strong men broke into curses while tears coursed down their cheeks. Mrs. Chamberlain was tortured and subjected to outrages more terrible than death.

"Norton, Day, Moore and Mrs. Norton had remained near the wagon," says a writer in a local history of North Idaho, "Norton was shot just after he sprang from the wagon, and Mrs. Norton as she stood on a wheel, but she crawled out and sought refuge behind the dead horses. The bullet which struck Norton severed an artery and resulted in his death fifteen minutes later. Moore was shot through both hips; Day received two bullets in the shoulders and one through the leg; and Mrs. Norton was wounded in both lower limbs. At daylight, for some unaccountable reason, the Indians withdrew.

"Meanwhile Miss Bowers and the little Norton boy had become separated in their flight for life, but both managed to keep on the right course. The child was picked up about daylight, four miles northwest of Mount Idaho, by F. A. Fenn, who was scouting. Mr. Fenn took the boy on his horse to Crook's ranch (now Grangeville) where a general alarm was given. Miss Bowers was found about nine o'clock by J. A. Bowers, about two miles north of Mount Idaho, and taken to that town.

"At the Crook's ranch a party consisting of Frank A. Fenn, C. L. Rice and James Atkinson set out for the scene of the encounter. About three miles northwest of Grangeville they found the wagon, and to it Rice and Fenn hitched their saddle horses. Mrs. Norton was placed in the wagon, when the redskins suddenly appeared on a nearby hill. At once Fenn and Rice mounted the horses, and the party commenced another race for life. Fortunately a second and larger party came to their relief and the Indians drew off. Peter Ready, Lew Wilmot, E. W. Robie, Mac Williams and others went out later the same day and picked up Mrs. Chamberlain and others, living and dead. Mr. Chamberlain's body was found about a quarter of a mile from the wagon. His two children, one of whom was also dead, were lying in his arms. Half a mile away Mrs. Chamberlain was picked up. All were placed in the wagon and brought to Mt. Idaho, where every attention was given them. Day died the following afternoon, and six weeks later Moore succumbed, but Mrs. Norton, Mrs. Chamberlain and the child eventually recovered."

Attempts to hold accountable the Nez Perces as a tribe for these and other

CHIEF JOSEPH

SKETCHED BY HOMER DAVENPORT

atrocities of the war are unwarranted and unjust. They were perpetrated by two or three small bands, made up of lawless and desperate spirits who had gone entirely beyond all responsible control. Had Joseph and his warriors been so disposed, they could easily have inflicted a general massacre, for the settlers were poorly armed and incapable of serious resistance.

Chief Joseph himself has been accused of personally participating in some of these atrocities. Mrs. Maggie Bowman, whose mother, Mrs. Manuel, was stabbed to death by an Indian before her then childish eyes, has asserted that Joseph committed the shocking deed. "Joseph was dressed as a chief and told us that he was chief Joseph. The Indians called him Joseph and I am positive that it was he." But Maggie was then a child of seven, and this statement is a recollection made twenty-six years after. That Joseph, burdened with the exacting cares of leadership and the multitude of details involved in his preparation for war, should have abandoned the council tent and gone off on a foray of this character, must strike the reader as the very height of improbability. Joseph well knew that his bold step would bring the army upon his trail; that he would have soldiers to fight; and all his thought and all his activities, by night and by day, were centered then on preparations for that serious work.

The scope of this history will not permit an extended review of the Nez Perce war. Briefly it may be said that Captain Perry's troop of cavalry, hurriedly sent from Lapwai by General Howard, came upon the savages in force at White Bird creek and suffered a disastrous repulse, leaving more than thirty per cent of his little command of 110 men dead upon the field. Joseph then made a number of skilful maneuvers, evading the pursuing troops, and escaped up the Clearwater. On that stream he fought a successful battle, and took to the Lolo trail. Crossing into Montana, he encountered a force under General Gibbon, which he repulsed on Ruby creek, and after swinging back into the Lemhi valley of Idaho, struck across into Wyoming and the Yellowstone park region, all the while impeded by women, children and camp impedimenta.

Six companies of the Seventh cavalry and five of the Fifth were now hot in pursuit, but after several skirmishes he eluded them all, and crossed the Yellowstone on September 10 and headed for the Canadian boundary. General Miles, who had been on the lower Yellowstone, hastened north to intercept him, and on September 30 began an attack at Bear Paw mountain. Five days later Joseph surrendered. He and his band were deported to Indian territory, but after seven years, reduced by disease from 450 to 280, they were returned to the north and placed on the Colville reservation.

In this fierce running campaign Howard's forces marched nearly 1,500 miles; the United States lost 105 officers and men killed and 120 wounded; thirteen volunteers were killed and fifty settlers massacred.

Throughout the Salmon river region and around Camas prairie, pioneers still cherish deep hatred for Chief Joseph. Many of them resent the suggestion that he was endowed with admirable or heroic qualities. They regard him as a treacherous, bloodthirsty savage, and contend that his campaign was characterized by cowardice, and make up of ambuscades and sneaking retreats before forces numerically no stronger than his own. But Howard, Miles and other army officers dissent from this harsh judgment, and credit Joseph with remarkable military ability.

Before Joseph escaped over the Lolo trail deep alarm was felt in all the scattered settlements north of Snake river. Appeals were sent to the coast towns for arms and ammunition, and at many points in the Spokane section and the Palouse country settlers gathered for defense with their wives and children. James N. Glover, then conducting a store at Spokane Falls, contributes an interesting account of the manner in which the danger was met by the settlers around the falls:

"We drifted along in that dull way until 1877, the year of the Nez Perce Indian war. June came around and we began to get little glimpses of the conditions in the Lapwai country. We learned that chief Joseph and his followers had broken away from the reservation, had taken to the warpath and had killed two or three white men on White Bird creek near the Salmon river. Meanwhile the government had ordered the second regiment, commanded by Colonel Wheaton to the scene. At that time we had mail once a week, carried on a cayuse from Lewiston to Pend d'Oreille lake, but I got my most authentic news through the Indians. Things here continued fairly quiet and I went on trading with the Indians until about the middle of July, then a squad of Nez Perce Indians, who had been on the warpath, were sent over here to work up the young bloods of the Spokane tribe. They had a camp out near a little grove, just south of the present line of the Northern Pacific tracks. After they had been doing the war dance for a week, I gradually got alarmed. It seemed to me that the trouble was getting so close to me that I could almost smell gunpowder. I sat up one night and watched them at their war dance. Mr. Post and Reverend Mr. Havermale were the only other men then here. I watched the red devils from dusk till daylight, when they lay down to sleep. The next night Ed. Bradbury, afterward sheriff of Kootenai county, Idaho, came in and volunteered to sit up with me. It was a gloriously beautiful summer night and we could plainly see them dancing from the stoop of my store, where the Pioneer building now stands, at the corner of Front and Howard.

"While we were watching, I saw a procession coming along the trail from the four lakes country, as the Medical Lake section was then known. When I sighted the procession it was at a point that is now the corner of Riverside and Howard, I turned to Bradbury and said:

" 'Ed., I think we are up against the real thing.'

"That night every soul in Spokane except Mr. Post and his family was sleeping in my house. Bradbury went to the house and gave the alarm. He found Mr. Havermale at the rear end of the building trying to get out of a window. Mr. Havermale's daughter, Mrs. B. F. Burch, was on a pallet on the floor. She had a child under each arm, and was praying that if she had to go, she wanted to go just as she was with her children.

"All the time I was watching the procession, and when Bradbury returned, its outlines were a little more distinct and I could hear wagons. I turned to him and said:

" 'Bradbury, it's white people instead of Indians.'

"First came an old man named Crunk, a homesteader, riding a pony. He had an old bedspread over his head, which gave him very much the appearance of an Indian in a blanket. It proved to be fifteen or twenty settlers, men, women and children from the country west of Spokane. They had come here with the idea

of taking refuge on Havermale island and building fortifications there. Other fortifications had already been built at Spangle, Pine Grove, Lower Pine Creek, and Colfax, and the settlers roundabout had been assembled at those places.

"They were all pretty hungry and the first thing to do was to get them something to eat. By this time daylight had come. I had a skiff and we constructed a raft and moved them and their effects over on the island. I had made up my mind to stand my ground, but after two nights of sitting up, I had determined on the course that I would pursue—call a few of the old Indians into my store and have a heart to heart talk with them as I had often done before. Many times the old fellows had told me of the Wright campaign, and the tears would run down their cheeks like rain.

"I called them in and closed the door. I asked them if they remembered the time when they were a happy and prosperous people. They said they did. I asked them if they remembered when Colonel Wright came and destroyed their wealth and made them a poor people. They said they did.

"I then asked them if they knew what this squad of Nez Perce Indians were here for, dancing the war dance night after night. They said they did.

"I then said at a hazard:

" 'My friends, I know where Uncle Sam's soldiers are. They are very near here, and I can call them here at any hour. Do you want to have the last remnants of your people wiped from the face of the earth? If you do not, see that these Indians leave here and leave here for good before noon.'

"They promised me, went directly to the camp, and before noon there was not a sign of an Indian to be seen there.

"I don't know whether providence so ordered it or not, but it happened that between eleven and twelve o'clock the following day Colonel Wheaton with ten companies of soldiers marched into Spokane.

"Among the Indians at the conference at my store were Curly Jim, who is still alive; George, Old Totonahee and Old Enoch.

"The regiment went into camp right by my store. General O. O. Howard, in whose honor I named Howard street, was with the command. The second day after the arrival of the troops, they held a council with the Indians at a point that is now in Union Park. Chief Garry and several other chiefs were there, in all about three hundred or four hundred Indians came to the council. Howard addressed them. He told them what the Nez Perces had been doing and that they had been run out of the country and might never be allowed to return. He reminded them that the Spokanes had been at war once with the United States and if they went to war again they would be severely dealt with. On the other hand, if they behaved, they would be taken care of. Chief Garry, an old skulker and hypocrite, bowed his head and said nothing. Enoch, a sub-chief, a man of principle and a good man, said he had always been at peace with the whites and always intended to remain their friend, as they had always been fair to him.

"A few days later General Howard and Colonel Wheaton left companies I and H at Spokane, and went with the rest of the command to the Lapwai country. The two companies remained here about six weeks, and a few days after they had left General Sherman with an escort of twelve or fourteen men arrived here from Fort Benton over the Mullan trail on his way to Walla Walla. The general

and his party took lunch with me and spent the day here. He had camped the night before on Lake Coeur d'Alene, and as I afterwards learned had selected then the site for Fort Sherman.

"At that lunch I made the most earnest plea of my life, urging the general to order the two companies to return here and go into winter quarters. He gave me no encouragement, but listened very attentively to all I had to say. He and his party started for Walla Walla about four o'clock that afternoon.

"As soon as I could get a team and make my arrangements, I started for Walla Walla to lay in my winter's supply. I made my purchases and had almost reached home on the return, when a man rode up behind my wagon and called out:

" 'Mr. Glover, I've got good news for you.'

"It was 'Doc' E. J. Philleo, who now has a large ranch on Rock creek in this county.

" 'Out with it, Doc,' I said.

" 'General Sherman has ordered Companies H and I to return to Spokane and go into winter quarters.'

"I hastened home and the next day after my arrival in came Colonel Conrad and Captain Daggett with the two companies. I was so glad to see them that I said:

" 'Colonel, I'll move right out of my house and take another, and that house will be yours. There is a big hall overhead that will answer for your commissary.'

" 'That's all right, Mr. Glover, but what about lumber to build quarters for my men?'

"I answered: 'I have some logs out there in the woods, but no teams to haul them. If you will have your men and mules bring in the logs, I'll file my saw and cut your lumber.'

" 'All right, Glover; but who'll run the store and postoffice?'

" 'Well, I guess business isn't so brisk that I can't attend to that, too.'

"He had the logs hauled in and dumped into the pond in no time at all, and I cut out enough lumber to build barracks for the two companies and for a house for Captain Daggett. Daggett paid me $25 for a lot 30x142 feet, in about the center of the block facing south on Main, between Stevens and Howard. The Real Estate block now occupies that ground.

"They lived comfortably here all winter and allowed me to furnish their supplies, nearly everything they wanted. They remained at the falls until May, 1878, when they went to Fort Sherman. Their barracks were on what is now Main street in front of the Grand Hotel, corner of Main and Howard."

In an interview reminiscent of the Nez Perce war, M. M. Cowley says: "I was postmaster at Spokane Bridge during those stirring days and received the mail from the post riders, mounted on the hurricane decks of cayuses. The riders carried horse mail sacks. Their arrival and departure was watched with interest by the people of the settlement. The riders would come in from Montana, after changing horses at the dozen or more points. There was a great deal of ceremony about the way they would draw up their sweating animals, toss the mail to the

official designated to receive it, and, after a hurried meal, mount another cayuse and hasten on to the next stopping place.

"But the Coeur d'Alene Indians who were friendly gave us information from two to three days in advance of our own despatch riders. In this way we were able to keep in touch with the operations of the Indians. Stel-Stel-Lame, which means 'Big Thunder,' used to come to the settlement giving us the latest news, which generally turned out right. One instance in particular shows that he and his tribesmen knew the interior workings of the campaign. The Indian report came that General Howard had sent an officer and soldiers against the Nez Perces on Camas Prairie and the white men were killed. The report was discredited by friends of General Howard, who insisted that Chief Joseph was unable thus to outwit the trained soldiers, but it turned out to be true, as did most of Big Thunder's advice to us. He told us 'Joseph has the best of us.' He had told the truth, as we ascertained later: the troops were in great peril, as the Indian sharpshooters were picking off the best men one by one, and their continual firing kept the whites away from the stream and they were unable to get water for their sick and wounded. The bravery of the men was never questioned, but when Howard asked for volunteers and not a man offered to go, the old general himself gathered up the canteens in his one hand and started for the stream. After that he had no difficulty in securing men to carry water. Jackson's cavalry relieved the situation.

"We were more than ordinarily interested in the outcome of this engagement. There were two outlets for the Indians, one of them by the way of Spokane Bridge and the other by the lower pass. We knew the Indians wanted our stores and we prepared in a measure to defend them, as well as the handful of people in the settlement. Believe me, it was with a feeling of relief that we heard the news from the Indian courier that the Nez Perces were breaking for the lower pass. General Miles and his force afterwards captured Chief Joseph near the boundary.

" 'This Howard man puzzles me,' said an Indian of the Nez Perces in council, when the terms of the treaty were under discussion. 'He preaches peace, and yet he fights like a warrior of old. I will see whether he is a Christian or a soldier.'

"Well, that Indian was a natural born strategist. We went to council and while the scrivners were drawing up the treaty, he spoke through an interpreter, substantially in these words: 'I have something to say.' When told he was privileged to speak, he said, 'who is going to put us on the reservation if we don't want to go?' General Howard is quoted as having replied, with a show of authority and a little impatience. The Indian then stepped to the outer edge of the circle and picked up as much earth as he could hold between his two fingers and shouted in defiance: 'When I am like that you may do it, General Howard, but not before!' This irritated the general and he ordered the guards to arrest the man. While he was being hustled out, he threw back his head and shouted a single word, so that all could hear. It was 'Soldier!' "

CHAPTER XXXVII

SOME FIRST THINGS BY THE FALLS

SPOKANE'S FIRST "CIVIC CENTER"—FIRST WHITE CHILD—FIRST BOARDING HOUSE, HOTEL AND RESTAURANT—FIRST LAW OFFICE, WATER SUPPLY, CHURCH, BRIDGE, TELEPHONE, ETC.—FIRST CHRISTMAS TREE AND FIRST FOURTH OF JULY CELEBRATION—REMINISCENCES OF FRANCIS H. COOK—APPEARANCE OF THE TOWN IN 1880—FIRST TOWN GOVERNMENT—START OF THE FIRE DEPARTMENT—J. T. DAVIE TELLS OF THE FIRST BRICK KILN AND FIRST BRICK BUILDINGS—HISTORY OF THE PUBLIC LIBRARY.

"Distance is nothing; it is only the first step that counts."

—*Mme. du Deffand.*

AFTER the Nez Perce war, the little settlement clustered around the present corner of Howard and Front. On the southwest corner was the store owned by James N. Glover, location of the postoffice. On the northwest corner were two frame buildings occupied by officers of the troops. The northeast corner was vacant, and Mr. Glover's residence stood on the southeast corner. On the southwest corner of Stevens and Front was a boarding house owned by James Masterson. With the exception of the log barracks occupied by the soldiers, these were the only buildings.

The first white child born at the Falls was the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. W. F. Bassett, in a cabin which stood about ten rods from the Post street bridge. Her parents moved to the Four Lakes country soon after her birth, and she was drowned there, July 4, 1875. Mr. Bassett was the millwright who constructed the first little sawmill for Scranton and Downing.

Among the first white children born near the present city was a son of Mr. and Mrs. Sol Ziegler, living on Moran prairie, in October, 1872.

Writing of first things in Spokane, Rev. T. G. Watson, pioneer Presbyterian minister, made the following record a few years prior to his death:

"Dr. Masterson had a boarding house on Front and Stevens in 1877; but W. C. Gray seems to have been the first to build a hotel proper, the California house—burned down partially, and rebuilt and enlarged into the Windsor, which again went down in the great fire of 1889.

"The first restaurant was opened by S. T. Arthur, or possibly by Charles Carson. It is said of the latter that at first he had to be steward, clerk, cook and dishwasher, but would go behind the screen and repeat his orders as if there were a dozen waiters in attendance.

"The first law office was opened by J. J. Browne in 1878.

"The first water supply was chiefly in tanks, brought from the river. The waterworks were introduced in 1884, but hard times made it necessary for thirty citizens to buy them up and hold them one year till a city election authorized the issue of bonds. The floating of these bonds was one of the hardest things undertaken in the history of the city. Mayor Cannon and Chairman R. W. Forrest deserved great credit for their final success.

"The first church organized was the First Congregational, though a Methodist Episcopal class was started about the same time, possibly before. That was in the spring of 1879. However, Mr. Havermale had started a Sabbath school in Glover's hall in 1876, and this being given up, a new one was started by the Rev. H. W. Stratton in 1878.

"The first Baptist and Episcopal churches came in 1881-82, and the first Presbyterian in 1883."

Mrs. Stella Newell Clarke, a resident of Spokane since 1879, recalls the following pioneer events: "The first bridge was built across the river at Howard in September, 1881. The first brick block, 'The Wolverton,' was completed that same month. We also, in that eventful month of September, had a visit and speech, in Graham's hall, corner of Main and Howard, from Governor Newell of the territory of Washington. The first furniture store was owned by Peter Deuber, who died in 1910. Morris, a real Englishman, had the first picture store and newsstand. I am still the proud owner of articles from stores of Deuber and Morris and Rima's jewelry store. I think the first hardware store and tinshop was opened in 1880 by A. K. Clark and Ed. Knight, on Main avenue, near the Howard corner. They also, with Mr. Wolverton, were the first to occupy the Wolverton block on Riverside. Clark, Knight and Clarence White stretched the first telephone wire in Spokane. The line ran from a hardware store to a newspaper office where Mr. White was employed."

"We enjoy simply a semi-weekly mail service," said the first issue of the Spokane Times, April 24, 1879. "Small favors from Uncle Sam are thankfully received, larger ones in proportion. This section of country is certainly entitled to a tri-weekly mail, at least, inasmuch as there are two important military posts north of us, and a rapidly increasing settlement all over the country."

The Spokane Chronicle says that a little steamer from Stanley Brothers, in Massachusetts, puffing along the streets of Spokane in 1900, with F. O. Berg steering it, was the first automobile seen in this city. The car had previously done service in Portland, Oregon, for two years. Mr. Berg kept it eighteen months, traveled 7,000 miles in it, and then sold it to a laundryman.

J. R. DePugh and William Dozier were the first settlers on Five Mile prairie, spring of 1879. The same season came G. W. White, J. F. Strong and Charles Wilson. In 1881 a friendly Indian warned the settlers on the prairie that they were in danger of massacre, and the alarmed homesteaders gathered at the place of J. S. Allen, while about thirty volunteers came out from Spokane. Guards were posted, but no attack was made, though some alarm grew out of an accidental discharge of a gun.

Spokane Typographical Union was chartered by the International organization in August, 1886. George E. Epperson was the first president. H. W. Greenberg, who at one time owned a third interest in the Daily Review, is the only char-

ter member of the union, now living here. N. J. Laumer, still a resident of the city, came from a union in the east shortly after the charter had been received and was the first elected president of the local union and the first delegate chosen to attend the international convention.

Shortly after the Typographical Union was on a sound footing, in cooperation with the Carpenters' Union, it started a small circulating library, of which E. J. Tamblin was the first librarian.

"In 1883," writes Mrs. C. L. Hathaway, of the public library, "a number of our Spokane women, realizing the need of a library and reading room, made a house to house canvass soliciting books. Among the earnest workers were Mrs. I. S. Kaufman, Mrs. Eugene Fellowes, and the Rev. T. G. Watson. They organized the Spokane library in 1884, with Mrs. Fellowes as first librarian at a salary of $25 a month. Later the labor unions had a reading room and small library, and April 6, 1891, they consolidated with the Spokane library and the name was changed to the Union Library association, E. J. Tamblin librarian.

"In October, 1891, F. L. Price was elected librarian, but owing to ill health he resigned, and in January, 1895, Miss Emma Driscoll was elected librarian.

"In August, 1894, the name was changed to the Spokane City Library and the membership fee was one dollar a year, which was abolished by act of the city council in January, 1901, and the library made free.

"In April, 1902, Mrs. Estelle Deffenbaugh was appointed librarian. This year a number of citizens appealed to Andrew Carnegie for a library building, as we had outgrown our quarters in the city hall and were sadly in need of a larger home for our books. Mr. Carnegie responded with a donation of $85,000, and on December 18, 1905, we moved into our present building on Cedar street between Riverside and First avenues. For the site A. B. Campbell donated a block of land costing $15,000, triangular in shape and bounded by three streets, giving the library abundance of light, air and a good lawn. March 14, 1907, the library was put under the state law.

"Mrs. Deffenbaugh was succeeded as librarian by Miss Alta Stansbury in September, 1909, and in September, 1911, the Rev. George W. Fuller was appointed librarian."

"For the first time in the history of Spokan Falls," observed the Times in its issue just before the holidays, 1879, "it has been decided to have a public Christmas tree and entertainment on next Christmas eve. The management will be in the hands of the officers and friends of the Sabbath school." The following committees were appointed and accepted by the school:

Executive committee—Mr. Cook, Mrs. Nosler and Miss Peet.

Finance—Mr. Clark, Miss Ida Ellis, Miss Rilla Masterson, Miss Ama Waterhouse and Mrs. Mollie Wood.

Music—Dr. Gandy, Mrs. Cook and Olly Ellis.

Decoration—Mrs. Warner, Miss Post and Curtis Dart.

Tree and evergreens—Lafayette Dart, Mr. Rue and Herbert Percival.

Room—Messrs. Lewis, Whitten and Muzzy.

Presents—The teachers.

Cornucopias—The two Bible classes, with Mrs. Shannon as chairman.

Popcorn—Mr. Rima, Miss Muzzy and Miss Edith Cowley.

"The celebration at this place on the fourth," reported the Times of July 10, 1879, "was a grand success, and with the exception of the slight rainfall in the afternoon, all who participated considered it one of the most pleasant days they had spent for a number of years."

J. M. Nosler was president of the day. After the audience was called to order prayer was offered by the Rev. S. G. Havermale, D. F. Percival followed with an address of welcome, the audience sang "America," J. T. Lockhart read the Declaration of Independence, "Hail Columbia" was sung by the assemblage. "The oration of J. J. Browne, Esq.," says the Times, "was a well rendered piece of oratory." Mr. Browne so wrought on the patriotic fervor of one of the audience that he brought out the exclamation, "Bully for the Boston tea party." Mr. Rowe sang as a solo "The Star Spangled Banner," the Glee Club joining in the chorus.

"After dinner the audience was called together by the firing of the anvil, when toasts were offered and responded to by those called on. Next was an address of welcome to the Northern Pacific railroad by Dr. Waterhouse, which was responded to by Mr. Weeks, chief of the surveying party, who said that he felt safe in saying that by another Fourth of July the people of this part of the country would hear the whistle of the locomotive mingling with the anvil.

"The crowd next adjourned to the baseball ground to witness a game between a nine picked from the survey party and the Spokan Falls club. The surveyors had their choice and took the field. The Spokans made thirteen runs and then took the field, the surveyors making eight runs before getting out. At the conclusion of this inning the rain began to fall, and the game was called by the umpire, Captain Pease, the score standing; Spokans, 13; Surveyors, 8. This ended the afternoon's sports.

"In the evening a large number assembled in the hall, and although the building was crowded, a very enjoyable time was experienced. Dancing was kept up until a late hour. The supper, which was served at the California house about twelve o'clock, was gotten up in good style."

FRANCIS H. COOK AND THE FIRST NEWSPAPER

Francis H. Cook, who started the first newspaper, the Times, came to Spokane in the spring of 1879. The plant he brought from Tacoma, by way of Portland, and thence by boat up the Columbia and the Snake to Almota, Whitman county. At Almota the press and type were transferred to a wagon and started for Spokane, but bad roads delayed the editor and his outfit at Colfax, and while waiting there for the mud to dry, he published two issues of his paper. Cook started for Spokane April 29, 1879, with two wagons drawn by sixteen horses, and the outfit was six days on the road between Colfax and Spokane. C. A. Cole accompanied him, and carried the newspaper mail to Colville on horseback. Spokane's population was then about 150.

Recalling pioneer days and conditions, Mr. Cook wrote the following historical review in June, 1909:

"Thirty-one years ago lots in Spokane Falls, in the vicinity of what is now known as Riverside Avenue and Howard Street, were valued at $50 each, with only

one purchaser in the early spring of 1878, and the acceptance of this offer was in the nature of a trade.

"In those early days a few lot stakes in the prairie grass indicated what was mapped out as South street, with no buildings or fences and not even a wagon road to mark it's east or west corners. The lots on the south side of South street extended to the section line and were 214 feet in length. As it's name would indicate, this street suggested the extreme southern limits of the town.

"The business interests of Spokane Falls at the time mentioned were represented by a little store at Front and Howard and a shack for boarding wood-choppers at the corner of Front avenue and Stevens street. All lands north of the Spokane river and, with the single exceptions of the Havermale claim on the east, all lands south, east and west that the eye could rest upon had no particular value.

"With the exceptions of the sections which were claimed by the Northern Pacific Railroad company, the lands mentioned were without owners.

"Whitman county was an extreme frontier and Columbia county the regular mecca for prospective settlers, while Walla Walla county was so far advanced as to be a suitable field for sewing machine and organ agents. Colfax was a typical frontier, Dayton, a neat little village and Walla Walla, the well ordered business center of the bunch-grass country.

"Colville was the far-away relic of the fur gathering days of the Hudson's Bay company, with many miles of wild and unsettled country between it and civilization. No man could keep his eyes on Pasco in those days, for the site of the present prosperous little city was a sagebrush pasture. Ritzville, Sprague and Cheney were not yet located and stray herds grazed over the future site of Davenport. Luxuriant bunch-grass waved over the unbroken sod where Waterville now stands and Coeur d'Alene was only a quiet lake where the aborigines alone launched their light canoes.

"Rosalia and Spangle each had a farm house, and Rockford, Latah and Waverly were similarly favored. Deer Park was only what it's name describes and Post Falls was a wild and unharnessed cataract without habitation; in fact, this whole 'upper country' was a land of long distances with a questionable future.

"In order to reach the Spokane country one generally touched at Portland, Walla Walla, Dayton and Colfax, and was given to understand at the latter places that all realty values had about reached the zero point soon after leaving the last named town going north.

"The first organized boosting for Spokane and the great Spokane country began in March, 1878, and publicity has kept this growing section in the public eye ever since.

"The people of Spokane Falls in the spring of 1879 had increased to about seventy-five persons, with several small business houses, mostly one-story shacks, occupying each a lot or part of a lot on Howard Street, between Front and Main, or near by.

"Many people now look wise and say, 'If I had been here in those early days I would have gotten many good lots and held them, and now I would be rich.' Bless their souls, they would have done nothing of the sort; the town proprietors were long in lots and the whole population was short in money. If anyone had

more lots than he required for his business or home he was looking for suckers, for he wanted to sell. He knew that a walk of ten or fifteen minutes out upon the prairie would bring him to eighty or 160 broad acres that he could have in exchange for the trouble of living upon them. Spokane Falls had no capitalists, and every man was struggling manfully to make the business he was engaged in earn his family a living.

"There were several reasons why Spokane Falls lots were not in demand in 1878. First, the adjacent lands were not considered good for farming. Second, the main routes of travel were the Walla Walla and Colville wagon road, fifteen miles west, and the old Mullan road five miles south. Third, rival towns sprang up which claimed all the advantages necessary for the metropolis of the great Spokane country.

"Cowley and Ford of Cowley's Bridge, eighteen miles east, were the only capitalists in this part of the country with a rival store. Colonel G. H. Morgan located what he claimed would be the future great city, Four Lakes, at the cross roads where Meadow Lake Station is now situated, fifteen miles west. The most formidable and for some years the most successful, rival of Spokane Falls was located eighteen miles southwest, and was first named Section Thirteen, then Depot Springs and lastly Cheney, after a Boston director of the Northern Pacific Railroad. The rivalry extended over a period of several years, with the officials of the Railroad working strenuously against Spokane Falls. Such was the case even after the company had joined the huge railroad addition to the outer limits of the latter town.

"Among the early speculative buyers of lots in Spokane Falls were Captains Hunter and Symonds, the former purchasing on Riverside and the latter on Sprague. Colonel H. C. Merriam, also an officer of the United States Army, was dining with the family of the writer shortly after Railroad addition had been laid out, when the conversation turned on town lots. We told the colonel that the block lying west of Howard street, south of First avenue, east of Mill street, and north of the railroad, could be purchased for $625.00, and that we considered it a good buy. He said he had just about that sum to his credit in one of the Portland banks, and he believed he would buy the block. We looked up the agent and after an introduction the trade was made. A conservative estimate of that block now would be placed at something away up among the three sets of figures. Those officers are now ranking high, but they have held on to their lots until they have brought them wealth.

"Francis H. Cook."

Harvey Brace, a former Spokane pioneer of 1879, but since a resident of Cashmere, Wash., recalls that when he arrived here about April 6th, 1879, the town had, not to exceed seventy-five inhabitants.

"Bill Gray was then running the California hotel on the present site of the City Hall. It was the only hotel in Spokane, consisting of about eight rooms and a corral upstairs, a big room where the boys could bunk down with their blankets when the rooms were full. Bill was a great favorite with all the boys.

"L. W. Rima ran a small jewelry store on the east side of Howard near the present site of the Coeur d'Alene hotel. Just across the street Jack Squier ran a

saloon and just back of that was the local jail. A. M. Cannon had a store on the northwest corner of the square opposite the California hotel. S. Heath was his clerk at $75 a month. J. N. Glover had a small frame house surrounded by a picket fence where the Coeur d'Alene hotel now stands and just east of this was another small house, in which, later, was organized Spokane's Masonic Lodge, No. 34, during the winter of 1879 and 1880, of which I was a charter member. Louis Ziegler was elected worshipful master; Colonel Smith, of Medical Lake, senior warden; L. W. Warren, treasurer, and I don't remember our secretary's name. The first member initiated by our new lodge, which was the second organization north of the Snake river, was John Blalock.

"Cannon's sawmill was in operation at the time on the present site of the Phoenix mill. I was a sawyer and millwright and during the winter of 1879-1880, remodeled the mill. At that time the Post grist mill was located above the lower falls where the Medical Lake electric depot later stood. At the time I was operating the mill for Cannon, Bill Shannon was jacking logs and operating the bull wheel. We had a big wind storm that spring and the big pine which stood south of Jim Glover's house, had it's top blown off. The wind carried the broken portion completely over Cannon's store which saved the building from being demolished. Five men had to sit on a trunk, which was placed on the inside of the front door of the California hotel, to keep the wind from forcing the door and demolishing the hotel.

"I helped set out two of the first six apple trees which came to Spokane from Ritz's nursery at Walla Walla. The two I planted were near the old Pedicord hotel and I believe one of the original trees still stands. I witnessed the first deed drawn up by J. J. Browne, conveying a lot from Mr. Havermale to a woman from Walla Walla, who built upon this lot the first frame house on Riverside avenue east of Howard street."

SPOKANE IN 1880

Major E. A. Routhe has recorded a graphic pen picture of the little town by the falls as it broke upon the stranger's eye in 1880: "A little cluster of houses, some fifty or more, upon the south side of the river near the falls, comprised all there was of the town. A little rope ferry and a couple of canoes offered the only means of passing over the swift stream as it rushed among the little islands and tumbled over a series of precipices in its adamantine bed in unrestrained freedom, save at one point where a noisy little dam reached across a quiet arm of the river to furnish power for a busy sawmill. A missionary, a merchant, a miller, a district clerk, a sturdy smith and a tavern-keeper constituted the representative element of the little hamlet. . . . Indian tepees dotted the hillsides and pleasant places along the river, and blanketed braves loafed and stalked majestically in the shade of the silent pines, and their ponies browsed at will over the grounds of the future city. The packhorse and freighter's wagon afforded the only means of transportation for goods. The merchant's supplies and the iron for the smith were brought from Walla Walla, then the great supply center of the inland northwest."

Walla Walla, as shown by the United States census of 1880, was the largest town in the territory.

FIRST TOWN GOVERNMENT

The city was incorporated in 1881, with Robert W. Forrest as its first mayor, and a council of seven—S. G. Havermale, A. M. Cannon, Dr. L. H. Whitehouse, L. W. Rima, F. R. Moore, George A. Davis and W. C. Gray. These held office by legislative appointment. The incorporating act was approved November 29, 1881. It vested the city government in a mayor and common council of seven members, with a city treasurer, city marshal and city clerk to be elected by the council with the approval of the mayor "(the city treasurer may be one of the council), and who shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the council, and the council may appoint and dismiss at its pleasure such other offices and agents as may be deemed necessary. Provided there shall be no officer appointed under this section except those herein named, unless the office is established by ordinance."

The city was empowered to "purchase, acquire, receive and hold property, real, personal and mixed, for the use of the city; may lease, sell and dispose of the same for the benefit of the city; may purchase, acquire, receive and hold property beyond the limits of the city to be used for burial purposes, also for the establishment of hospitals for the reception of persons affected with contagious diseases, also for workhouses or houses of correction, also for the erection of waterworks to supply the city with water; and may sell, lease or dispose of the same for the benefit of the city."

Elections were to be annual, on the first Monday in April. All vacancies to be filled by the council.

The usual powers were conferred on the council, but it was expressly provided that the city tax levy should not exceed five mills, and that no tax should be levied "on the value of articles the growth and produce of the territory which are brought into such city and sold."

As a further safeguard against extravagance, it was provided that "when the city's indebtedness amounts to $1,500 no further debts shall be created except for the ordinary current expenses of the city, and debts created in violation of this provision shall be void."

It was provided that the mayor and councilmen should serve without pay, and that "all other officers provided for in this act, or to be created, shall receive such compensation as shall be provided for by ordinance."

Violations of ordinances could be punished by fines not exceeding $100, and by imprisonment not exceeding thirty days. All moneys received for licenses or from fines was to be paid into the city treasury and constitute a general municipal fund, "including two-thirds of all county license for liquor, assessed or collected within the corporate limits of the said city of Spokan Falls."

An act of the legislature of 1883 extended the city limits to two miles square and divided the city into four wards, with Riverside and Howard the cornering point. Election day was changed from the first Monday to the first Tuesday in April, treasurer, attorney, marshal and clerk to be elected by the people; and the mayor was made the presiding officer of the council. The charter of 1883 was still further amended by the legislature of 1886.

S. G. Havermale served as president of the first council; A. M. Cannon was treasurer, and J. S. Gray city clerk. At the first election, in April, 1882, the legis-

SPOKANE'S FIRST CARRIAGE, 1882

MRS. E. R. BAILEY
FIRST WHITE GIRL IN SPOKANE

INDIAN ENCAMPMENT IN PEACEFUL VALLEY, IN 1884

This was their favorite camping place in early days

lative appointees were elected with only one change: S. T. Arthur was substituted for A. M. Cannon, but he moved to Missoula shortly after his election and Mr. Cannon was chosen to fill his place.

At the election in 1883 J. N. Glover was elected mayor, and A. M. Cannon, R. W. Forrest, F. R. Moore, J. F. Lockhart, J. M. Grimmer, L. H. Whitehouse, and L. W. Rima, councilmen. J. Kennedy Stout was chosen as city attorney.

FIRST FIRE DEPARTMENT

To an editorial article in a semi-humorous, semi-serious weekly paper called the Mule, and printed from the Review press by one of the printers of Mr. Dallam's journal, pioneers attribute the organization of the first volunteer fire department in the town.

"Through negligence of the powers that be, our rapidly growing city is completely at the mercy of that ruthless destroyer of cities, fire. 'Lock the stable door after the horse is stolen,' as did our sister city Colfax last year. Will not at least a few of our enterprising business men take the matter in hand and organize some means of defense against this dreadful element, be it only the forming of a bucket brigade? There are, to our certain knowledge, nearly 100 old and experienced firemen at present in the city, many of whom own not a single dollar's worth of property here, but who are ready and willing to enter an organization and contribute their mite toward the purchase of equipment for the same. Babcock fire extinguishers would be better than nothing. Let us hear from Mr. Charles Abel on the subject, and any other gentleman who realizes the immediate danger of our beautiful city at the hands of the lurid leveler."

Mayor Glover and other active citizens took the matter under discussion, and in the autumn of 1884 R. J. Anderson, then in the jewelry business, with B. H. Bennett and Grover Simpson, organized a company that was the nucleus of the present large fire department of Spokane—"Rescue Hose Company No. 1." A small hose cart, to be drawn through the streets by hand, was bought. Rescue company's meetings were held in a building on the south side of Main avenue, east of Howard street. The Spokane Falls fire department was organized, with George W. Wooster as president of the board, and R. J. Anderson secretary. Members of the hose company included Frank Dallam, the editor; B. H. Bennett, A. M. Cannon's son-in-law; Harry Gordon, the town's amateur poet; W. R. Newport, R. J. Anderson, one of the Brickell boys; E. B. Hyde, later state senator and register of the United States land office; Cal. Duncan; Hal J. Cole, later Indian agent on the Colville reservation and receiver of the United States land office; William Wilson; W. W. Witherspoon, who subsequently filled the offices of city commissioner and chief of police; Grover Simpson, Wylie Glover, George W. Wooster, A. M. Orchard, William Edwards, E. J. Pitman, Alva Summers and Ralph Clark, another of Mr. Cannon's sons-in-law.

FIRST BRICK AND FIRST BRICK BUILDINGS

I think I shall credit J. T. Davie with burning the first brick in Spokane, Mr. Davie himself says that he did, and then again he didn't. Another had come

before him and fired a little kiln, but the product was so poor that it could not fairly be termed brick.

Mr. Davie came to eastern Washington from Napa, California, and arrived at Walla Walla November 6, 1879. Lacking $10 of the stage fare to Spokane, there was nothing left for him but to walk, "as many other good fellows had done and were doing."

"On arriving at Colfax," he writes, "I found that brick were being manufactured and sold there by James Bleeker for $12.00 per 1,000 at the kiln. Having worked in brickyards in New England and California, I came to the conclusion that if there was no brickyard in Spokane Falls I would supply the want.

"When I arrived at Spangle I struck out west as far as Cottonwood Springs near the present site of Davenport, Lincoln county, for the sole purpose of exploring the country which was little more than an uninhabited wilderness. I got caught in a snowstorm out there and traveled through it for three or four hours, when at a certain point of the inevitable circle I was describing I bumped into a German settler coming from the woods with a load of fuel. His next neighbor, he told me, was a Norwegian whose homestead was exactly five miles east. They visited each other at their respective homes every alternate Sunday. I stayed with my German friend over night, passed the Norwegian next day on my way to the Falls and reported the Dutchman alive and well.

"I walked into Spokane Falls just before noon, November 15th, and made my quarters at Sam Arthur's hotel and restaurant near Howard and Front. I dined sumptuously and then commenced asking questions, the only one of which I now remember was, 'Is there ere a brickyard here?' to which I got two replies, there was, and there wasn't. Some one had been trying to make brick but was not successful in some essential particulars. I said that I would go and see for myself and would report on my return. I found the yard on the homestead of the Rev. H. T. Cowley. It was somewhere about where the Lincoln schoolhouse now stands. My report was that the brickyard and kiln were not gems of the first water, that the brick in the kiln had been jammed close together, no spaces being left between them for the flames to travel through and consequently the burning was a failure. A very small portion of the brick next the fires being burned, but very imperfectly.

"A few days afterwards I ran across the proprietor of the yard, a man by the name of Roberts, a bricklayer by trade. He told me that he had a chance to build some flues and fireplaces, but there was not any brick to be got nearer than Colfax, and he had undertaken to make brick himself nearer the seat of his operations. He had worked at his trade on the construction of the Napa Insane Asylum, California, and I had worked for two seasons in the brickyard at the same job. We agreed that I would make the brick and he would lay them as of yore in our new home. When I reported our interview to the boys down in the village they all with one accord commenced examining me for cuts, bruises and broken bones. The brickman had threatened to paralyze the new man for criticizing his kiln.

"I took up a homestead in February, '80, and the location was about eight miles west of Medical Lake. I commuted and paid for it in '83 and held possession of it till 1895 one of the years in this country that tried men's souls. I fortunately

got a chance to sell it that year, and small as the price was, it helped very materially to keep me on earth and our brickyard on the map.

"At the time that I took up that homestead I might have taken anything in Spokane north of the river except Jenkins' addition. The north side, however, did not look good to me at that time.

"I secured permission from Wentzel Grant to locate my yard on his ranch on Hangman creek and broke ground on it April 12th, 1880. I built my pug mill, constructed moulds and wheelbarrows, also built a shack out of slabs and the only iron in the whole outfit was a few pounds of nails which cost 15 cents per pound. I bought a *cuitan* for $15.00 and went to work with a crew of three men besides myself. We put up a small kiln, containing about 30,000 brick, when the funds ran out. I burned the kiln myself and got a very fair burn, but a trifle soft.

"After the kiln was burned nobody appeared to want brick very badly, and while I was waiting a la Macawber somebody stole my little horse. I did not have the wherewithal to induce a Siwash to let me have another. I borrowed one, however, and went to work again constituting the whole brickyard gang myself. I moulded, carried out, set and filled the pit myself, and so kept everything in the family. I turned out from 1,000 to 1,200 brick a day.

"The second kiln I put up on the homestead of R. R. Pynor, about half a mile from my first location. Grant noticed that it made a hole in the ground where the clay was taken out of and he would not stand for that.

"By and by my first kiln began to move a little. The first load I sold was to a freighter by the name of Harris, who was hauling freight from Ritzville, at that time the nearest or most advanced point on the Northern Pacific Railway. He claimed that he lacked $2.00 of having enough to pay for them, but he agreed to bring it to me when he returned with another load of freight, but he never came back.

"Roberts, the bricklayer, left town in the spring of '80 and I. T. Benham, a contractor and builder, still well remembered among the old-timers, came in. Benham was thoroughly up in his business and built quite a number of the best business blocks that went up before the big fire of '89.

"The first brick building constructed in town was built this year. It was a storage warehouse, put up by I. T. Benham for J. N. Squier, the pioneer saloonkeeper. The first story was of rock and the second of brick. The brick were laid herring-bone fashion, as Benham phrased it. The brick were laid on edge with a header, so constructing a hollow wall.

"I burned my second kiln of brick containing 50,000 late in the fall. Altogether in 1880 I sold about 50,000 brick and carried about 30,000 over till next spring. About half of them were used in town and the rest were sold to farmers and to the county seat to be, Cheney. Cheney captured the county seat in November, '80, at the polls, and a few weeks later by strategy and arms that were not brought into action. The first year I sold brick at the kiln for $10.00 per 1,000, raising them in the latter part of the season to $12.00.

"In 1881 I made about 200,000 brick and I. T. Benham built out of them the first Wolverton block (the first all-brick block) for W. M. Wolverton, at the corner of Mill and Riverside. There was a brickyard started at Cheney this year by a man named Carew. I think he ran his yard there two or three years, but was

not very successful. Cheney in its palmy days would have done considerable brick building if the brick there had only been of passable quality. Better late than never, there is a first-class brickyard there now under able management.

"In 1882 I made 400,000 brick, having my brother William as partner in the first part of the season, and a young man by the name of N. H. Wright in the latter part. In August, J. N. Glover bargained for 250,000 brick for the construction of the First National Bank building, corner of Front and Howard. He paid me in advance for 100,000 of them at $9.00 per 1,000 delivered, and I had never felt so rich before nor have I since, and I never expect to feel half as rich again. H. Preusse, architect, arrived in town this summer and his first work was drawing plans for the First National Bank block. Henry Brook also came to town about the same time and next year superintended the brick work on the bank.

"1883 was a stirring year in the manufacture of brick and the construction of buildings. Wright and I made about 850,000 during the season. A man by the name of Taylor started a large yard southeast of town on the Moran prairie road and went broke about the middle of summer. Charles Sweeny took over his yard to satisfy a claim for groceries and supplies furnished and ran it for the rest of the season. We bought our stuff from Sweeny, but paid for it sooner or later. It was not in that brickyard that Sweeny made his millions.

"A man by the name of Adams late in the season of '83 burned the brick for the old Gonzaga College. Adams was up a stump for a hand moulder and it looked for a while that he would not be able to get his brick made that year. We had a good moulder, a Colfax boy by the name of Monte Bickford, that we were paying $90.00 a month and board. Monte went over to Adams' yard to see how the clay worked. He found that it moulded first-class and came back and reported. He also said that the fathers over there offered him $5.00 and board to do the moulding, but that he had hired for the season to us and he did not want to break bargain. I told him to take it in and I would do the moulding on our yard for the rest of the season. Monte went to college, and moulded up all the material that had been hauled up from the bank of the river to the site of the prospective building. The old building still stands and it was moved a few years ago a considerable distance from its original site and planted down on a new foundation that stands square with the North Star, which is more than the first foundation did.

"But I am getting ahead of my story. The building was put up next year and I have still to mention that among the buildings put up in 1883 were the First National Bank, the Union block situated across Howard street from said bank, Henry French's block, Jamieson block, and the Browne block on the corner of Riverside and Post. Over 1,500,000 brick were laid in the wall in 1883 and the town for the first time was overbuilt. There were all kinds of vacancies and it was about two years before there was much more done in the way of brick-building

"In 1884 I was the only one in the brick-making business and the only building that went up was the Gonzaga College building. Henry Brook and Preusse, the architect, were the officers in charge, and both of them took a hand with the trowel in its construction. There was about 250,000 brick used in the building.

As between the rival cities of Spokane Falls and Cheney, 1884 was Cheney's round.

"1885 opened hard on your humble servant. A prospective gas works came to town that was all gas of the foulest kind. The promoters bargained for a lot from J. N. Glover on the corner of Washington and Front avenue. They also bargained for brick, lumber and everything needed for the construction of the works. The building was pushed along until it was about half completed, when the promoters started out over town to sell stock in the concern, but the gentle public would not bite, as the unfortunate material men had done. The promoters then rolled up their tent like an Arab and hied away. They had paid for nothing, neither lot, material, board nor lodgings.

"About the time they left a terrific thunderstorm hit these parts and laid my brickyard in ruin. While it was drying up I went to town to try to get some sympathy and other necessities, when the cheering news was gently broken to me that the gas works people had cleared out. I went over to the works and found that nearly all of about 100,000 brick that I had sent in were in the walls; there might have been 5,000 left still in the pile. As I was standing there viewing the ruin, wishing that I was possessed of an 'anathema of power so dread as to blend the living with the dead,' to send after the scoundrels that had just been working here, I saw Frank Johnson, contractor, and a priest coming across the street to where I was. 'Now,' says I to myself, 'if that priest would only go by on the other side I perhaps could get Frank to help me do some cussing;' but this was not the priest that ever went by on the other side, and this time to me he proved to be the good Samaritan himself. Johnson introduced me to him, Father Jacquet. I told my tale of woe to the reverend gentleman and he told me by way of consolation that I was just the man he wanted to see, that he wanted a whole lot of brick to build a church on Main avenue, about a couple of blocks away. He bought the brick lying at the works and enough more to put the church up. If I remember aright, he advanced me some money. Anyway, when I parted with him I had practically forgotten all about the late buffetings of the evil one.

"Later in the season of '85 I sold D. M. Drumheller brick for a residence on the corner of Second and Mill streets, and Mr. Van Valkenburg for his block adjoining the Jamieson block on Riverside avenue.

"In 1886 I moved my plant from Latah creek up to the present location of Cannon Hill Park. Henry Brook and I bought eighty acres of land up there from Calvin Robertson. Mr. Brook had forty acres adjoining which he had bought some time before from W. D. Parks. We paid $30 an acre for one of our forties and $50 for the other. Mr. Brook handled all of the brick I made, using most of them himself for the buildings for which he contracted. Among the buildings that he erected this year were the Keats block, corner Riverside and Howard, the old Hyde block, adjoining, and the First Presbyterian church on the present site of the Review building. This year, with one hand moulder I made over 1,000,000 brick. I moulded the last two months myself, which was the last of my hand moulding. In this year N. Triplet, my first co-worker that stayed in the clay-working craft for any length of time, started operations. His yard was first located on Downer's ranch, or the present location of Liberty Park. Wm. Reddy ran a yard for several seasons on the same site some time after. Next year Triplet

moved down to Hangman creek to the site of one of my old yards and he stayed in the business altogether for nearly twenty years, when he retired. He made and burned many millions and made brick for a good many of the substantial blocks put up after the big fire. He turned out a good, shapely, well-burned brick while he was in the business.

"In 1887 the first machines were introduced into Spokane for the manufacture of brick. That year I made 3,000,000 brick and burned them. There was great difficulty in early days in getting skilled help, and that year so much of the higher mysteries of the craft fell to my lot that I overworked myself and my health broke down. I did all of the burning in the daytime along with my other work, and also put in a good many nights. The burner that I had hired for the season had gone insane and was committed a short time before the yard started, and I could not get one to take his place. Early in 1888 I sold out all of my interests in the business, including the land, to Mr. Brook, and took the season off for rest and repairs.

"Mr. Brook ran the yard under the superintendence of George B. M. Rambo, and after a short time sold out to two men from the east, Messrs. Spear and Belt. Belt went out of the business that year, and Messrs. Brook and Spear formed the company that certainly came to stay, the Washington Brick and Lime Company. Mr. Brook died some years ago, but Mr. Spear is still at the head of one of the greatest industries of the northwest and a clay-working establishment of national note. Its history is written and is being written on tablets of clay. Nothing on earth can stand the gnawings of the tooth of time like well-burned clay.

"In 1889 I came back to the business, taking in Mr. P. Erickson as partner. We have burned up a whole lot of wood and mother earth since that time and are still turning out our ware. J. C. Truitt came to town this year and started a brick-yard adjoining us. He stayed in the business five or six years.

"After the big fire of August 4, 1889, brickmakers crowded into Spokane from all over the United States. Next year there must have been about two dozen concerns pouring brick into the city by wagon and rail. The business was entirely overdone and the burg was as badly overbuilt that year, which, of course, resulted in the inevitable and world-old struggle among the clayworkers, the survival of the fittest, and in about two years after, when the smoke of battle had cleared away, only the four old firms that were here before the fire, though 'much dilapidated, were still in the ring.' A still harder battle was on hand, however—those terrible years of the panic of '93. Three of the old yards survived those: The Washington Brick & Lime Company, N. Triplet, and J. T. Davie & Co. I think it was in '95 that we were the only outfit that moved a wheel."

CHAPTER XXXVIII

CONCISE REVIEW OF TOWN, 1874 TO 1887

H. T. COWLEY ARRIVES WITH BAND OF NEZ PERCE HELPERS—APPEARANCE OF VILLAGE IN 1874—INDIAN SCARE—POW-WOW IN FRONT OF GLOVER'S STORE—FIRST SCHOOL DISTRICT ORGANIZED—ELECTION IN GLOVER'S HOUSE—FIRST CHRISTMAS TREE AND SUPPER—NEZ PERCE INDIAN WAR—ARRIVAL OF TROOPS RELIEVES THE TENSION—BROWNE AND CANNON ARRIVE—GRAND OPENING OF THE CALIFORNIA HOUSE—CHENEY CAPTURES THE COUNTY SEAT—FIRST BRICK BUILDING—INCORPORATION OF THE TOWN—CITIZENS CELEBRATE ARRIVAL OF NORTHERN PACIFIC, 1881—SPOKANE'S FIRST BIG FIRE—RUSH TO THE COEUR D'ALENES—LAST SPIKE DRIVEN IN N. P.—CITY ACQUIRES THE WATER SYSTEM—DEVELOPMENTS IN COLVILLE COUNTRY—PIONEER STREET RAILWAY—SPOKANE REGAINS COUNTY SEAT.

BY H. T. COWLEY

IT WAS a radiant day in the month of June, 1874, when the writer, accompanied by four or five young Nez Perce Indians as helpers and guides, halted for a few moments on the bluff south of the falls, to admire the indescribable quiet and beauty of the groves of pine which interspersed to the dreamy murmur of the cataract. Descending, they pitched their camp opposite the upper rapids, and laved their dust-begrimed faces in the limpid river. After a brief rest, the writer sought the little settlement which had preceded him one year, and found it to consist of Mr. and Mrs. James N. Glover, and Mr. and Mrs. Cyrus F. Yeaton and their charming little daughter Luella. The sum total of the embryo hamlet consisted of two "box" structures built continuous, one of which was occupied by Mr. and Mrs. Glover as a domicile, and the other as a store kept by Mr. Yeaton, with living rooms in the rear. These were the nucleus and headquarters. Besides, there were a couple of transient families who were helpers in the rather rude sawmill built on the site of the Phoenix mill of today.

This mill and a few lumbermen's rude shanties Mr. Glover had found in the spring of 1873, on his first prospecting trip into the Spokane country, attracted by the probable selection of the new Northern Pacific railroad company of the Spokane valley as the outlet from the Rocky mountains of their great transcontinental route. The mill had been erected the previous year by S. R. Scranton, J. J. Downing and Mr. Benjamin, to supply the expected demand for building material which the early advent of the Northern Pacific road would naturally create. The collapse of the great enterprise in its incipiency was a blight to the hopes of these hardy

pioneers, and one of the firm, Mr. Scranton, was rather solicitously avoiding an interview with the sheriff. This state of affairs was becoming disagreeable to the little community, and Mr. Glover's arrival on the scene at that time, from Salem, Oregon, was most opportune for all concerned. They were anxious to go farther west, and Mr. Glover easily negotiated the entire improvements and squatters' rights for $4,000, which was a most liberal sum. Scranton, the fugitive, concealed in a clump of underbrush, had to be approached in a boat under cover of darkness to complete the transfer. A dabbler at law named Swift had also built a comfortable log house some quarter of a mile from the falls, and his wife was acting as postmistress. The mail service was up the Columbia and Snake rivers, via Lewiston, at that time the largest town in the upper country, besides Walla Walla. Major R. H. Wimpy, one of the pioneers of the Palouse country, and subsequently a representative of Stevens county in the legislature, had the contract for delivering the mail weekly.

After thus gaining possession of the future townsite, Mr. Glover was joined by J. N. Matheny of Salem and C. F. Yeaton of Portland, in a partnership for the purpose of running the sawmill and dealing in lumber and general merchandise. The pioneer settlers were scattered far apart, from Snake river to Colville, and Stevens county then embraced, besides its present limits, the counties of Spokane, Lincoln and Douglas. Probably not over 350, besides the garrison at Colville, would sum up the entire white population from Snake river to the British line. It was a daring venture to risk one's property, not to say life, in such isolation, although the Indians were peaceably inclined, and even anxious to adopt the white man's civilization. But the sparse settlements afforded renegade adventurers an excellent opportunity for depredations and lawlessness. The predominance of brave and upright citizens, however, was so noted that but few efforts at pillage and violence were ever undertaken, and the country prospered finely considering its feeble beginning.

Besides those already mentioned, were J. F. Moran, of Moran prairie; M. M. Cowley, trader at Spokane Bridge; William Spangler, founder of the town of Spangle; Henry Kaiser, a ranchman up the valley; Maxime and Peter Muluoine, proprietors of the California ranch; Steve Liberty and Daniel Courchaine, their nearest neighbors; Frederick Post, who owned the site of the original town of Rathdrum; and Messrs. LeFevre, Labrie and Murphy, of the Medical Lake region.

The task which confronted the new firm of improving their investment and securing a living in the face of the slow resuscitation which was the apparent prospect of the Northern Pacific Railroad company owing to the failure of Jay Cooke, was not an attractive one. Mr. Glover, however, went vigorously at work, determined to conquer a success. Late in July, Mr. Matheny and Mr. Yeaton and family arrived and took charge of the new purchase, while Mr. Glover returned to Portland to select a stock of goods and order an entirely new outfit of machinery for the sawmill, returning by the middle of August with his wife. The machinery was put in operation late in the fall, and before winter had set in they had turned out over 100,000 feet of lumber, and put up a store room and dwelling combined, and the stock of goods was unpacked for business. Mr. Yeaton received the appointment of postmaster and filled the office for three years.

Something of an Indian scare occurred during the season, which was about

equally shared on both sides. Unfounded rumors of an expected outbreak got afloat and were magnified by the Portland and lower country papers, until an excitement prevailed which prompted a number of families to abandon their claims and take refuge in Walla Walla. In the midst of the excitement, Rev. H. H. Spalding, a missionary among the Nez Perces at Lapwai, appeared, having come at the urgent solicitation of the Spokanes, and after holding religious services in the various camps at the root and fishing grounds, aided greatly in quieting the feverish apprehensions. These little excitements occurred almost periodically for several years, but with no better foundation except in the Nez Perce outbreak in 1877.

The little community wintered without serious incident (1873-74), and prepared for a busy season. But the hoped for immigration did not appear. A few additions were made to the unfinished dwellings, and several hundred thousand feet of lumber were added to the stock, but the demand was light and mostly on credit, there being but little money in the country. The predatory crickets nearly devastated the small crops of the few remaining farmers, and the season was a discouraging one to the entire upper country.

In October (1874) the writer arrived with his family of four and a Mr. Poole and family of three came the following day. An intelligent and enterprising Spokane named Siliquowya, had fenced in below the bluff about 180 acres of land, and had urged the writer to build and conduct an Indian school on his premises. Messrs. Glover and Yeaton generously aided the project, agreeing to exchange lumber for grain, furs and ponies, and Mr. Poole accepted horses in payment for his aid as builder. The greatest event of the season was the visit of General Jeff. C. Davis, department commander, on a tour of inspection to Fort Colville. He met the Spokanes, just returned from their camas digging, in a pleasant powwow in front of the store. As the Indians were new hands at making contracts for building schoolhouses, they went beyond their resources, and the debts they incurred were never fully liquidated, and they were never pressed for payment.

The first school district among the whites was formed that fall of '74, and comprised the region between Spangle and Colville, on the south and north, and the Idaho line and the Columbia river, on the east and west. Messrs. Yeaton and Poole and the writer were elected the first directors, and Mr. Swift clerk. The first school was organized and held in the writer's house, and comprised six pupils. Mrs. Swift finished the first term, as the writer's time was demanded exclusively in the Indian school.

The first territorial election was held in Spokane Falls precinct the same fall, the polls being opened in Mr. Glover's house. R. H. Wimpy was elected to represent Stevens county in the legislature. D. F. Percival of Four Lakes (later a banker at Cheney) and L. W. Meyers of Colville were elected county commissioners, and J. N. Glover justice of the peace. The county seat of Stevens county was at Colville, and thither the writer went, a distance of eighty-five miles, in the middle of December, on a three-fold errand—as the bearer of the election returns, to perform the marriage ceremony for Captain Evan Miles, commander of the garrison, and Miss Stitzel, and to secure a teacher's certificate.

Notwithstanding the drawbacks of securing anything but the barest necessaries of life, it was resolved that winter to celebrate the holidays in the most elaborate manner at the command of the little community. Mrs. Yeaton, Mrs. Glover, Mrs.

Cowley, Mrs. Swift, and Mrs. Poole combined their resources, and probably no more enjoyable Christmas tree and supper, and New Year's dinner, ever gladdened the hearts of the eight children who participated. The result was a surprise to all, who at first imagined that such a variety of gifts and good things could not be mustered in one of the most isolated regions of the west. The Indians also observed the festivities in their own peculiar way, and the bonds of peace and good will were strengthened all around.

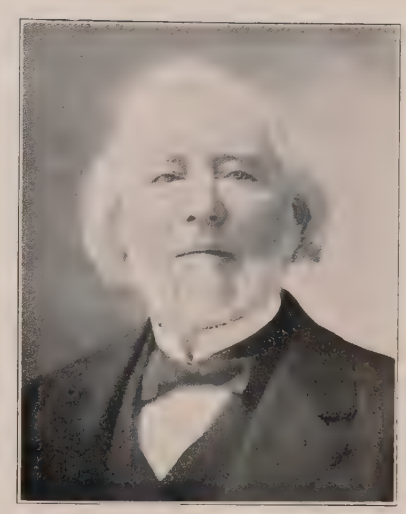
The winter and summer of 1875 hung heavily over the whole land, and the depression was keenly felt at Spokane. Enterprise drooped listlessly, and no improvements were undertaken. During the summer of this season, Rev. S. G. Havermale, then presiding elder in the Methodist Episcopal church, passed through the hamlet with his wife, on the way from Colville in the course of his itinerary, and was vividly impressed with the scenery and water power, and recognized the future possibilities of the locality as a commanding site for a city. It impressed him also as a possible great educational center, and with a plan for an academy, he returned late in the fall and preempted what is now known as Havermale's addition, including valuable water power.

Early in the spring of 1876, Frederick Post decided to remove from Rathdrum, and transfer his mill enterprise from the present village of Trent to the Falls. With his interesting family the acquisition was hailed with delight. He was met by the town proprietors with the most liberal inducements. Owing to the scarcity of help but little was done this season toward the mill enterprise but the excavation of a flume and the cutting of lumber. The town firm began the construction of a new store building and hall, on the site of Glover's corner at Howard and Front, and hastened its preparations for the celebration of the Centennial Fourth of July, which was carried through with great enthusiasm, and participated in by all the region between Snake river and the British line. The gathering was an inspiration to all eastern Washington, as it revealed to the participants the larger number and superior character of the pioneers than had been looked for. The celebration was a most happy success, and all returned more contentedly and hopefully to their scattered homes.

The population of the Falls was increased this season by Messrs. Downer, Evans and Smith. Mr. Evans started a cabinet shop, and Mr. Downer took up a farm southeast of the city. Mr. Smith remained for a time and went to farming in Spangle.

The spring of 1877 revealed but faint prospects for the enlargement of enterprise, and the town firm dissolved partnership, Messrs. Yeaton and Matheny retiring. The store and lumber business had not been profitable, but Mr. Glover held on. This was the year of the Nez Perces outbreak, and was the most trying period in the history of our settlement. The massacre of the settlers on Salmon river by non-treaty Nez Perces terrified the whole upper country, and intense anxiety prevailed in anticipation of a general outbreak throughout all eastern Washington, Oregon and northern Idaho. From the 27th of June till the 10th of August the suspense was painful in the extreme, and many removed their families to Walla Walla and Colfax, and the latter place put up works of defense and organized a company of minute men. There were a few days of terror at the Falls, and the farmers and their families who had gathered in great haste for refuge, put up a small fortification

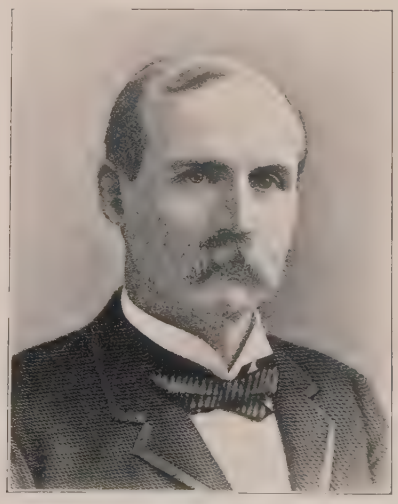
A. M. CANNON



REV. SAMUEL G. HAVERMALE

MRS. SAMUEL G. HAVERMALE

JAMES N. GLOVER



J. J. BROWNE

on the Big Island, but the peaceable assurances of the Spokanes induced the settlers to scatter to their homes within a week. There was a great relaxation of the tension, however, when, on the 10th of August, General Frank Wheaton arrived with 500 troops of the left wing of General Howard's army, which had pursued the hostile Nez Perces across the Clearwater and the Bitter Root mountains into Montana, where they were, later in the season, captured by General Miles.

The command was accompanied by Colonel E. C. Watkins, Indian inspector, who had authority to convoke the Indians of eastern Washington and northern Idaho in grand council, to assign them reservations. The movement of troops was for the several purposes of blocking the possible return of the hostiles through the Mullan pass, overawing the natives, and establishing the security of the infant settlements. The great council was held in the presence of the troops, who had encamped between Riverside avenue and the river, on Havermale's addition. All the tribes summoned were present except that of Moses, who refused to appear. Aside from the confidence inspired in the settlement by the visit of the troops, the only result was the decision of General Sherman, who passed through later in the season, with an escort of fifty cavalry, to establish a post at Coeur d'Alene lake, and the wintering of two companies of infantry at the Falls, preparatory to building the fort in the spring following.

Herbert and Myron Percival, L. W. Rima, Dr. Masterson and several others arrived during the fall. The building of the quarters for the soldiery, and business created by their presence, presented a marked contrast to the previous winters, and inspired new confidence that the country would come out all right. Mr. Post had so far completed his mill that he began to turn out flour, and Spokane began to be a producing point.

The spring of '78 saw the departure of the troops to Coeur d'Alene, to construct the new post, the revival of the prospects for pushing through the Northern Pacific railroad, and the arrival of Anthony M. Cannon and J. J. Browne, whose purchase of a joint interest in the town site, and the addition of a large stock of goods by Cannon, Warner & Co., gave a fresh impetus to the place. Among the arrivals this season were Captain J. M. Nosler, W. C. Gray, Dr. L. P. Waterhouse, A. E. Ellis and Platt Corbaley. Mr. Gray built the beginning of the old California house, and opened it on Thanksgiving evening, on the occasion of a supper and ball for the benefit of the public school building, which had been started in a grove near the Northern Pacific right of way. The entertainment was unanimously attended, and netted a handsome benefit for the school.

The season of 1879 brought renewed buoyancy and hope in the resumption of activity along the line of the Northern Pacific road. A resurvey of the route was pushed through eastern Washington. The first newspaper, the Spokane Weekly Times, was established by Francis H. Cook, then a member of the territorial legislature from Pierce county. Howard street began to assume a business-like aspect with the store buildings of F. R. Moore & Co., corner of Front and Howard, J. T. Graham, corner of Main and Howard, Friedenrich & Berg, opposite corner, N. P. Hotel, by Arthur & Shaver, J. N. Squier, McCammon & Whitman, R. W. Forrest, Louis Ziegler, Clark & Rickard, and Percival & Corbaley on Main, and Davis & Cornelius on Front.

A. M. Cannon also established this year the first bank, the Bank of Spokane

Falls, the first north of Snake river. The first two churches, the Methodist and the Congregational, were respectively organized in April and May of this season by Rev. J. H. Leard and Rev. G. H. Atkinson. The legislature of 1879 passed a bill authorizing the organization of Spokane county, located the temporary county seat at Spokane Falls, and provided for a confirmatory ballot on permanent location the following year.

The season of 1880 witnessed the approach of the construction force of the Northern Pacific railroad from Ainsworth, on Snake river. There was a temporary lull in building extension, awaiting the arrival of the road. The year, however, was famous for the rather lively discussion of the question of permanent location of the county seat. A syndicate of railroad men and capitalists from Colfax saw their opportunity, laid out the townsite of Cheney, and with some local assistance in what was then called the Four Lake county (around Medical Lake) they succeeded in capturing the county seat by a small majority. Spokane now had a rival, backed by railroad officials and adverse interests, and although the advent of the railroad in June of 1881 brought a temporary activity, the new county seat took the cream of the boom, and for two years Spokane rather languished.

The Spokane Chronicle was established in July, 1881, by C. B. Carlisle, and Congregational and Episcopal church edifices were erected. The first brick building was erected this year by W. M. Wolverton, corner of Riverside and Mill. Although a modest two-story structure, some thirty by fifty, it was regarded as "a new era in building in Spokane," and a finer stroke of enterprise, even, than the recent erection of the Old National bank building. Movements were placed on foot by the Methodists and Catholics to lay the foundations of large educational institutions, and through the encouragement given them by our citizens, these two religious bodies decided on locating here the Spokane and Gonzaga colleges. To Elders Havermale, Anderson, Strong and Turner is due the credit, seconded by Messrs. Cannon, Browne, Forrest and others, for the measure of success reached in the establishment of the former; and Rev. J. M. Cataldo and his confreres for the latter. Besides contributions in money by the citizens named, Colonel D. P. Jenkins donated to the Methodist college a tract of land beautifully located for the purpose, north of the river and west of Monroe street. With sagacious foresight, Father Cataldo applied the contributions received to the purchase of 320 acres of railroad land at $2.60 per acre, which is now worth several thousand dollars per acre, and which long ago was platted as a part of the city. The year was also signalized by the incorporation of the town, and a municipal government was organized, with R. W. Forrest as mayor, and A. M. Cannon, L. H. Whitehouse, L. W. Rima, F. R. Moore, George A. Davis and W. C. Gray as councilmen, and J. Kennedy Stout as city attorney. The population of the previous year is given by official figures as 670, and the city began its career with a population of about 1,000.

It was an occasion of enthusiastic rejoicing when the rails were laid through town late in June, and a rousing Fourth of July celebration, with a free rail excursion to Cheney, duly celebrated the occasion of connection by rail with the rest of the world. The city was visited during the summer by Henry Villard, the new president of the road, and a coterie of capitalists, who were given a reception and duly posted as to the promising future of the young city; but either the great future

was too dimly perceptible, or there was too little spare cash, for the investments were insignificant.

During the previous years, the sawmill under the management of Messrs. Glover & Matheny, and Glover & Havermale, had passed to the control of Messrs. Cannon, Warner & Pease, and finally emerged into the Spokane Mill company in the fall of 1886, with E. J. Brickell as the administrative genius. Owing to frequent loss of logs by breaking of the boom in the river, and the difficulty of securing a supply of logs, on account of the timber laws, the mill was not a profitable investment for the owners, but it was a very important adjunct in the building of the city.

Early in 1882 Messrs. Havermale and Davis began the construction of the Mammoth Echo Roller Mills, which for daring enterprise and successful results had not been surpassed in eastern Washington. Mr. Cannon constructed a fine wooden block, on the corner of Riverside and Mill, which at that time was so far from the "center of business" that it was regarded as an exceedingly doubtful venture. Mr. Cannon, who had bought out Mr. Warner's interest in the store, removed his mercantile and banking business to the new quarters in December, his customers promptly followed, and a new "business center" was established. The Sprague house was also built and opened this year by Wm. Keyser, and added materially to the reputation of the city.

Mr. Carlisle was succeeded in the publication of the Chronicle by H. E. Allen and C. B. Hopkins, who in turn sold out in the fall to A. K. Woodbury. Louis Ziegler built and moved into a fine building on the corner of Riverside and Howard. The First National bank was organized this year. There were other substantial improvements, but as before mentioned, the impetus given to Cheney by the removal of the county seat tended to divide the business of the region, and Cheney had the real boom that year. Mr. Forrest was reelected mayor, and although with but a meager revenue, the city government was reduced to better working order. Among those who contributed to the good order and safety of the city in its earlier days of meagerest salaries, none was more instrumental than ex-Marshal and ex-Councilman E. B. Hyde. To the public spirit, self-denial and patience of the early members of the city government is due great praise for the good order and prosperity of the city. This feature of our early growth was quickly noticed by tourists, and Spokane became noted as a safe and attractive place for residence and investments.

The first considerable fire which left its mark in Spokane startled the city on the night of January 19, 1883. The conflagration broke out the coldest night of the winter, in the store of F. R. Moore & Co., and as there was no fire department, the space between Front street and the alley south, comprising F. R. Moore & Co.'s store, Charlie Carson's restaurant, Forrest's grocery, Porter's drugstore and the postoffice, was completely leveled, and Rima's jewelry store across the alley was torn down to arrest the flames. It was a heavy loss and could illy afford to be borne, but the losers had resolved almost before the ashes had cooled down, to rebuild with brick. The year 1883 was thus signalized by a new impetus in building. There was a loud call for brick, and during the season there were built and occupied in rapid succession, the Glover, Burch, Moore & Co., Forrest, Hyde, Gandy, Rima, French, Porter, Wolverton, Jamieson, Wilson and Browne buildings. The Echo Roller Mills were so far completed that they began the output of flour. The prospect would have been most hopeful, but for the drawback of the long drouth of that season, which

lasted about four months and pinched the agricultural products to about half a crop. It was an experience, however, which had the effect of establishing a basis of confidence in the remarkable character of the soil of eastern Washington for producing crops without rain or irrigation.

A new factor in the growth of the city appeared in May of this year, the establishment of the Spokane Review by F. M. Dallam, who had the winter before discerned the bright future for the place, and launching out with a new plant, labored unceasingly to push his confidence to a brilliant issue. The Chronicle changed hands, passing into the control of H. T. Cowley, who had been disabled the previous year in the Indian service by a broken leg. The Chronicle repeated the experiment of running a daily, which had been essayed two years before by the Times, but the short crop depressed business, and the daily Chronicle withdrew to await better times.

During the fall of this year, mineral discoveries in the Coeur d'Alene mountains began to excite attention, and it was soon discerned that Spokane was to participate in an unlooked for impetus. The existence of placer gold had been discovered by Prichard and others, on what is now known as Prichard creek, and an attempt made by the discoverer to mine the auriferous gravel proved a failure owning to the great depth of the snow, and the disappointed prospectors came near hanging the unhappy leader. Later in the season it was thoroughly established that gold was there, and before winter the news spread.

The connection this year of the two ends of the Northern Pacific road, from the east and from the west, at Gold Creek, Montana, which occasion was elaborately magnified along the line, inspired new vigor and contributed to draw mining men and adventurers by the hundred to rendezvous at Spokane that winter, to be ready for the first dawn of spring to open the way to the new treasure fields. But the impatient crowd of adventurers which had thronged Spokane, Rathdrum, Missoula and Butte, and the hundreds who poured in from other mining camps, found themselves months in advance of the proper season to operate in a mountainous region, and the camp being covered with heavy timber, it was soon discerned that the fuller development of the placers would be the work of years. Discouragement and disgust took early possession of the camps, the hopes of speedy fortunes melted away with the mountain torrents, and there was an almost wholesale scattering of "dead broke" prospectors.

Of course this was a sore disappointment to the expectant city, but there was sufficient confidence left that the mines would yet "turn out all right," and all the spare energy that could be mustered still shaped plans to utilize the mining interests as one of Spokane's most hopeful resources. To verify the conviction that profitable mineral deposits existed within reach of the city, discoveries were made during the season in the Colville valley which resulted in a considerable diversion from the Coeur d'Alene placers and the townsites of Chewelah and Embrey were laid out in anticipation of a boom in that direction. Later still the Pend d'Oreille region showed metalliferous indications, and Spokane began to be noted as a mining center.

The Spokane College, which had been instituted by the trustees early in the winter of 1882, and placed in charge of Prof. I. C. Libby as president, and had been conducting classes in the Methodist chapel, this year erected a substantial edifice on the tract over the river donated by Colonel D. P. Jenkins, and the insti-

FIRST MEMORIAL DAY CELEBRATION IN SPOKANE

Frank Johnson, marshal of the day. Procession on Second avenue en route to the old cemetery on Cannon Hill

RIVERSIDE AND HOWARD STREETS, 1888

tution had an auspicious start in its new home. A commodious public school building was also constructed, and the basement of the Catholic college was laid, and brick prepared for raising the walls the next season. The Post street bridge was built by private subscription, and a movement started which resulted in the starting of the Spokane Library Association.

Notwithstanding its drawbacks, 1883 was a season of great activity, and on the whole very satisfactory in results for Spokane, revealing the enterprising characteristics of her citizens, and showing the stability of her resources as compared with the ephemeral boom of Cheney, which now began to show signs of collapse.

Although the previous year had been so prolific in brick building, there was still demand for more such structures, and the Moore & Mason block, Squier & Benham block and the Jamieson block were added in 1884 to the city's substantial business places. A fire in August swept off the row of buildings on the southeast corner of Main and Howard, while the Moore & Mason block was under construction, and late in the season a one-story uncompleted brick building on the same corner partially replaced the burnt space.

The Review took its turn in June of this year to do the daily act, beginning as an evening paper, and although it had to face the dull music of a reaction, it never missed an issue, although its former proprietors could tell of some hard pinches.

The Holley water system, which was started by a local company under a city charter, was brought to a standstill in August, owing to the growing financial stringency, and was taken under control by a citizens' association of thirty, who each assumed $1,000 responsibility, with the pledge that at the ensuing spring election the city should vote to reimburse them and accept proprietary control. The spirit manifested in meeting this critical emergency, and of turning over the valuable franchise to the city, was a gratifying revelation of the loyalty of our citizens to the city's best interests.

Two volunteer hose companies were organized during the year and did some valuable service at the three fires which threatened to devastate the city. Besides the brick buildings put up this season, Wolverton & Conlan built a frame between the Central block and Jamieson's; Charles Webster a frame where the Hyde block now stands; W. W. Wolverton, a frame next his brick; Moore & Cutter, a two-story frame; J. Lange, one on the corner of Howard and Sprague; Witherspoon & Kinney built two on the opposite corner of Sprague, the first one having been burned in the September fire. Loewenberg Brothers bought out the mercantile business of Charles Sweeny & Co., and the Great Eastern Co. established its business.

The winter of 1884-85 began to look blue to many of our business men, and a few of the smaller enterprises let go their grip, but there was no such panic as reigned in many of the older cities.

Paul F. Mohr, who had begun late in the fall of 1884, to study the value of the water power, undertook to organize a syndicate of eastern capitalists to furnish $400,000 to purchase the water power, and the prospect of the success of this undertaking helped to buoy up the situation. The financial stringency was, however, too apparent, and the project lapsed. Early in February H. M. McCartney succeeded in getting a contract to furnish supplies, by way of the Colville valley and Columbia river for the construction force on the Canadian Pacific road, and the building of a steamboat at the Little Dalles, together with the collection of supplies, afforded

a timely relief, and kept the wheels of improvement in motion. This, with the stimulation of prospecting in the Colville valley (notably the discovery of the Old Dominion claim) and the brighter outlook in the Coeur d'Alenes, which now began to develop from a placer to a quartz camp, renewed the fires of enthusiasm, and Spokane faced the hard times with a more determined mien.

The city voted at the April election, with hardly a dissenting vote, to assume control of the waterworks. The Catholic church was erected and the college building advanced toward completion. Mr. Van Valkenberg put up an extension to the Jamieson block; the Spokane Lumber & Manufacturing Co. was organized and began laying the foundations for extensive works; Clark & Curtis erected the C. & C. Mills; an electric light plant was put into operation by George Fitch; the Spokane Manufacturing company started with modest beginnings on Post street, developing the next year into a large plant south of the railroad station; and surveys were made under Paul F. Mohr for the Spokane & Palouse railroad. A strong move was made at the session of the legislature to secure the passage of an act to enable the county to vote on relocation of the county seat, which was passed. The organization of the Traders' National bank in November was a bright harbinger, and the year closed with unusually bright prospects.

The spring of 1886 opened up lively, and transferred its vigorous gait on to summer and fall. The first branch railway, the Spokane & Palouse, was to be an undeniable fact. Its establishment, with Spokane as terminals, had been secured by the unremitting efforts of A. M. Cannon and Paul F. Mohr, who were respectively chosen as president and chief engineer, and began grading with the earliest dawn of spring. The vast silver and lead deposits of the Coeur d'Alene river region were brought more prominently to light, and the fuller significance for Spokane of these great mineral discoveries began to be more generally appreciated. Capitalists inspected the situation, and decided that there must be an outlet for the ore, and early in the season a company was formed to construct a railway to Coeur d'Alene lake, which was later in the season transferred, with the Coeur d'Alene Navigation company, to a company which built and operated it under the title of the Spokane & Idaho Railroad company, in the interest of the Northern Pacific. Montana capitalists extended the highway to the mines, by building farther on from Mission, the head of navigation on the Coeur d'Alene river, to Wardner.

The first street railway company set on foot by H. C. Marshall and A. J. Ross, was granted a charter. The Spokane Electric Light & Power company was organized and increased the electric light plant. Mother Joseph of Vancouver planned and superintended the building of the hospital of the Sacred Heart. The Washington & Idaho Fair association was formed, and held the first agricultural fair in Spokane.

Prospecting in the Okanogan region had been prosecuted during the spring and summer, and before the close of the season the Salmon river mining region developed with a reputation hardly less promising than the Coeur d'Alenes and Colville.

The Daily Review, which had been changed the previous season to a morning daily, brought this year to its aid H. T. Brown and H. W. Greenberg, who increased its news facilities to full press reports. The Chronicle launched out as an evening daily, with Major E. A. Routhe as editor, and now divided the honors with the

Review. The Northwest Tribune removed from Cheney to Spokane, and the Daily News was run for several weeks as a campaign paper.

Mason, Smith & Co. bought out the Schulein Brothers stock, and W. D. Plants & Co. established a wholesale grocery business. Three-story bricks were required this year to meet the demand, and stately blocks were put up by A. E. Keats, E. B. Hyde, W. M. Wolverton and F. R. Moore for business and office purposes; the Arlington hotel, four stories, by Arthur & Lasher, and a fine two-story block by E. J. Brickell for the postoffice and the warehouse of the Spokane Mill company. The latter firm was this year reorganized from the former Spokane Lumber & Manufacturing company, its capital and scope greatly enlarged, and spacious accommodations provided for its varied line of manufactures.

The Presbyterian church society built a fine house of worship.

The November election settled the county seat question emphatically in favor of Spokane. The year closed with buoyant and accelerated prospects, and left to 1887 the heritage of more brilliant achievements than Spokane had yet seen.

CHAPTER XXXIX

DISCOVERY AND DEVELOPMENT OF COEUR D'ALENES

EXISTENCE OF GOLD KNOWN IN '50s—MULLAN SAW NUGGETS THERE IN VERY EARLY DAY—A. J. PRICHARD FIRST SYSTEMATIC PROSPECTOR—HONORS DIVIDED WITH TOM IRWIN—PRICHARD'S STORY—SCHEME TO COLONIZE COUNTY WITH "LIBERALS"—DISCOVERY NEAR MURRAY—WILD STAMPEDE OF '83—KEEN RIVALRY BETWEEN SPOKANE AND AMBITIOUS RIVALS—FAMOUS OLD TOWN OF EAGLE—M. M. COWLEY'S RECOLLECTIONS—MUSHROOM PLACER CAMPS—DISCOVERY OF BUNKER HILL—THAT FAMOUS DONKEY—"DUTCH JAKE'S" STORY—SALE OF THE GREAT MINE—OTHER FAMOUS GALENA STRIKES—ROMANCE OF THE HERCULES—CHARLES SWEENY'S OPERATIONS—MARVELOUS RECORD OF PRODUCTION AND DIVIDENDS—STRANGE STORY OF "DREAM" DAVIS.

Above the pines the moon was slowly drifting;
  The river sang below;
The dim Sierras, far beyond, uplifting
  Their minarets of snow.

The roaring camp-fire, with rude humor painted
  The ruddy hues of health
On haggard face and form that drooped and fainted
  In the fierce race for wealth.

—*Bret Harte.*

ASK an old-timer in the Coeur d'Alene country "Who discovered gold in this district?" and without a moment's hesitation he will answer, "A. J. Prichard was the man." That Prichard was first in that field as systematic searcher for placer gold, and that his discoveries brought about the spectacular rush of 1883-4, no longer admits of doubt. That question was threshed over more than a quarter of a century ago, and Adam Aulbach, veteran editor of the North Fork country, who challenged for awhile Prichard's claim to the distinction, was convinced after a painstaking study of all the facts, and in a letter published in 1896 testified that "gold was discovered in the Coeur d'Alenes in 1882 by A. J. Prichard on what is now known as Prichard creek, one of the tributaries of the north fork of the Coeur d'Alene river."

The existence of gold was known, however, many years before Prichard went through the country with his gold pan and prospector's pack. Lieutenant John

Mullan, who built the historic Mullan road, took note in 1858-9 of the appearance of great ledges of mineral-bearing quartz. "Nay, more, I now recall quite vividly," wrote Mullan in 1884 to the Coeur d'Alene Eagle, "that one of my hunters and herders, a man by the name of Moise, a French-Canadian, came into camp one day with a handful of coarse gold which he said he had found on the headwaters of the north fork of the Coeur d'Alene while out hunting for our expedition. This gold was so pure, so heavy, and so free from quartz or matrix rock, and weighing several ounces, that it attracted not only a great deal of attention but some degree of surprise at the time."

"The members of my expedition," adds Mullan, "were very largely old miners from California, and their universal verdict was that the entire country from Coeur d'Alene lake on toward and including the east slope of the Rocky mountains was one vast gold-bearing country, and I was always nervous as to the possible discovery of gold along the line of my road; and I am now frank to say I did nothing to encourage its discovery at that time, for I feared that any general discovery would lead to a stampede of my men from my own expedition and thus destroy the probable consummation of my work during the time within which I desired to complete the same. I then regarded it as of the first importance to myself and the public to open a base line from the plains of the Spokane on the west to the plains of the Missouri on the east, from which other lines could be subsequently opened and by means of which the correct geography of the country could be delineated."

Prichard's own statements seem straightforward and bear an impress of veracity. He came to the Coeur d'Alene country in the fall of 1878, from New Mexico by way of Colorado and Montana. "I found the quartz lead known as the Evolution lead, on my way in in November, 1878. It being late in the fall, I went to Post Coeur d'Alene (Fort Sherman), thence over to Heyden's lake where I did some work for Heyden, and remained until January. While there, hearing that Cannon, Warner & Co. wanted some logs, I went to Spokane Falls to see them and took a contract."

In after years Tom Irwin was given credit by some for pioneering in the Coeur d'Alenes. "My first acquaintance with Irwin," says Prichard, "was in January, '79, while at the falls. Finding him gentlemanly and an old prospector, we talked over the prospects of the country, in which I spoke of my finding what is now known as the Evolution lead. In the spring while I was at work Mr. Irwin came up on a prospecting trip on the South Coeur d'Alene. Being short of provisions Irwin had to return, doing very little prospecting. On his return he found the lead near Miners' camp, to which he afterwards returned and put up his cabin in the summer of '79."

Prichard says he returned to his Evolution claim in the fall of 1879, and worked his lead through the winter, but "doing very little execution, having no tools to work with and no money to buy, having only a silver dollar left on arriving. In February I commenced prospecting on a small gulch called Prospect gulch, putting in sluice boxes in March, and, to my knowledge, taking out the first placer gold on the Coeur d'Alene. It being a small gulch, the water did not last long, but I got some very nice specimens of coarse gold."

If Prichard's statement be accepted, his discovery of placer gold was made,

therefore, in the spring of 1880. He remained on the South Fork in 1880, working on the Evolution lead and prospecting, but in 1881 went over the mountains, alone, to the North Fork country, and prospected on Prichard creek. From one pan of dirt there, according to Mrs. Prichard, he washed out $42. These were bonanza returns, and Prichard must have realized, as an old prospector, that if the facts became known outside they would create a sensation and precipitate a stampede. For that he was not ready, a fact which explains his quiet operations over a period of three or four years. He held infidel or "liberal" views, was a constant reader of the "Truth Seeker," and cherished a dream of a colony made up of people holding to his anti-religious opinions. In 1888 the Spokane Review printed a copy of a letter from Prichard to a "liberal friend," dated "Evolution, January 7, 1883." "I have made a discovery," he affirmed, "of a gold-bearing country that will give employment to at least 15,000 to 20,000 men. There are two streams that I have prospected well; one is sixteen to twenty-five miles long, as near as I can judge; the other twelve to sixteen miles, and an average width of sixty to seventy rods; have found gold on three other streams of near the same size, but have not tested them enough to know how they will pay. The two streams I speak of will pay their whole length, and probably most of their tributaries, with an abundance of good timber and water. Bedrock from five to twelve feet. Gold coarse and of good quality. There are two good and natural townsites where will be built cities representing thousands in less than two years, and the country is traversed with hundreds of mineral bearing lodes of quartz. And now for good reasons which I have not time to explain, I would like to see as much of this go into the hands of the liberals as possible, and also see them build a city where they can have their own laws and enough of this vast mining region to support it, which they can do if they will go at it cool and work together."

Meanwhile Prichard had continued his prospecting on the North fork. In 1882, accompanied by William Dempsey, Phil Markson, Fanning and Gelatt, he located claims near the mouth of Eagle creek, and the party put in several months preparing to work the ground.

"In March, 1883," says William S. Shiach, in the History of North Idaho, "Mr. Prichard located, in the vicinity of the present Murray, the Discovery group, consisting of four claims, one of which was for his son Jesse, one for Mrs. C. A. Schultz of Michigan, one for Mrs. Mary H. Lane of Illinois (this is the claim which subsequently became known as the 'Widow's claim'), and one for Willard O. Endicott, a son of Mr. Prichard's old lieutenant. In each of these Prichard was to have a half interest for working and management. Besides the Discovery group he took a great many other claims on the creek bank for different friends by power of attorney. Gelatt took a claim which developed into one of the leading producers in the camp. Dempsey located placer ground about a mile above Eagle."

Prichard derived little substantial or enduring benefit from his discoveries. He died in his lonely cabin, near Murray, a decade ago, dreaming to the last of the glory that was his, and the hidden gold which lay, as he believed, in the claims he had retained so long, and so faithfully developed from year to year.

Letters from Prichard to members of Liberal leagues throughout the Rocky mountain and Pacific coast states and territories awakened widespread interest

and by early summer, 1883, miners, prospectors and adventurers in large numbers were entering the Coeur d'Alene country. Prichard had done his work with thoroughness—had located for friends nearly all the valuable ground along Prichard creek, and in protest against his greed later arrivals started the practice of claim jumping. Prichard and his little group of partners on the ground saw that they could not hold claims for absentees, and sent a hurried call to friends in the Palouse country. "At least fifty responded," says Shiach, "coming in by every species of conveyance," and about that time another party of thirty, led by Wm. Stillwell, Barney McAleer and William Osburn came upon the scene. "At first claims were held by those who could muster the greatest show of force to defend their real or pretended rights, but the numerous disputes were later taken into the courts and made the subject of protracted and costly litigation."

The Northern Pacific, nearing completion that year, had been built at enormous expense through a wild and unsettled region. Foreign bondholders were beginning to question the soundness of Mr. Villard's judgment in placing their investments in so desolate a region, and officials of the company seized eagerly on news of the gold find to stimulate travel and foster the country's development. A circular they scattered far and wide in the summer of 1883 was later severely blamed for the midwinter rush of 1883-4, with all its attendant disappointments, hardships and suffering.

"The claims are very rich," said the railroad pamphlet. . . . "Nuggets have been found which weigh $50, $100, $166 and $200. . . . The ore taken from veins shows a great amount of free gold; in fact, it fairly glistens. . . . Such is a brief sketch of the Coeur d'Alene mines, which surpass in richness and volume the most fabulous quartz and placers ever discovered, even the famous deposits of Potosi being inferior to those which underlie the mountains of the Coeur d'Alenes. As the mines of the old world, some of which have been worked since the eleventh century, are still employing thousands of men, the conclusion to be drawn in regard to the Coeur d'Alenes, a region far superior in every way, is that they are inexhaustible, and although thousands may work them, there will still be room for thousands more."

This was conjecture, pure and audacious, but the prophet divined even wiser than he knew.

Ambitious towns on the Northern Pacific engaged in keen rivalry as outfitting points for the new mines. Chief of these were Spokane, Rathdrum and Thompson Falls, Montana. Spokane and Rathdrum ran opposition stage lines to Coeur d'Alene City, where passengers took steamer up Coeur d'Alene lake and river to Kingston. There a train of thirty saddle horses conveyed them to Jackass, on the Mullan road three miles above Kingston, and thence over the divide to Eagle City, the first town to be laid out in the placer district. Town lots there in March brought from $200 to $2,000. Heating stoves sold at from $20 to $80, and cook stoves at $75 to $150. Mail was carried on snow shoes, and the carriers charged fifty cents for a letter. "Many a poor fellow is in camp who cannot pay fifty cents for a letter," protested the Nugget newspaper; "many a one who could do so cannot get his letters with any degree of promptness or certainty."

Conditions there were thus pictured by the Eagle in April, 1884:

"Eagle presents the appearance of a hard place. Its buildings are located on

CITY OF COEUR D'ALENE, IDAHO

INDIANS IN BARK CANOE ON LAKE CALISPEL

OLD COEUR D'ALENE MISSION

Sketched by Stevens' Expedition in 1853

FORT SHERMAN ON SHORE OF LAKE COEUR D'ALENE

Now abandoned

LAKE PEND D'OREILLE, FORMERLY CALLED LAKE KALISPELM

lots from which snow to the depth of four feet has been excavated and dumped into the street, so that between the buildings and the streets there is a solid wall of snow. The buildings are composed of logs and shakes. Great tents with gaudily painted signs loom up in endless variety, while from within come the sound of revelry and strains of music, the click of chips and metallic chink of hard cash as it passes over the bar. The streets and public places are thronged night and day with miners and prospectors waiting for the snow to disappear, so they can get off into the mountains on their annual prospecting tour. Then there are the packers and transient population, a tough-looking crowd, but very orderly, who stand around enjoying the luxury of a sun bath.

"On the corners are knots of men talking mines and mining, and criticizing ore specimens that pass from hand to hand. The stores are thronged discussing the locality and merits of the last new thing in strikes. The report of a pistol shot will bring a hundred men to their feet for an instant, and the saloons will disgorge twice as many more in the same moment, all on the alert to catch a sensation, which has never occurred yet. Then there are the arrival of pack trains and toboggans in a more or less advanced stage of dilapidation from hard usage on the different trails. . . . This is about the status of Eagle today. Every branch of business is well represented. We have two banks, several stores of general merchandise, and more saloons and lodging houses than you can shake a stick at."

"In the late fall of 1883 Coeur d'Alene was struck, but there was not much doing till the early summer of 1884," says M. M. Cowley. "Spokane was then a town of 900 to 1,000 people, but what they were lacking in numbers they made up in energy, perseverance and pluck. When gold was struck the movement of mining men towards the Coeur d'Alenes was picturesque and characteristic of the early inhabitants of the country. There was a stage line established in the winter of 1883, to take passengers to Coeur d'Alene City, in opposition to one from Rathdrum to the same place, and a rivalry sprang up between the two towns to get the people from the Northern Pacific railroad to the lake. Those who were not financially able to ride on stages, steamboats or on horseback, went afoot, with their blankets and food on their backs.

"When the excitement was at its height, in the early spring of 1884, a young man passed by where I then lived, at Spokane Bridge, with his blankets and a very limited supply of food. He was a talkative chap, and in the conversation about the mines I asked him where he came from. He replied San Francisco, where he had been working for Murphy, Grant & Co., a large firm in that city. 'Have you any mining experience?' He answered no. 'Well,' said I, 'you take the advice of an experienced person. Go back now, if your job is open, and resume the dry-goods business. You are too young for this opening.' He went on, and in the late fall he turned up again, on his way back to San Francisco, and he had made over $1,000 in a very peculiar way. He had started a lodging house by driving pickets in the ground in a circle, with an opening for a door, and got tentage enough to cover it on credit, as he had none, or very little cash, and charged fifty cents a night for allowing a person to spread his own blankets inside the enclosure. Of course he kept the place clean, and kept a lock on the door, and all his patrons were satisfied with the accommodations."

Soon Eagle City had its rivals, and before the end of 1884 Murray had taken the lead. Mushroom towns sprang up that year, flourished a few fevered months, and became a memory. In this class were Beaver City, Carbon City, Butte City (later Littlefield), Raven City, and Myrtle.

Development proved that many of the 2,000 placer claims staked out that year in the North Fork country were good producers. A number of them yielded an ounce a day to the man, and a few were much richer, but the diggings fell short of expectations, and never approximated the wealth of old Pierce City, Orofino and Florence. Hundreds of disappointed men, taking the back trail after a few weeks of idleness or superficial effort at prospecting, were emphatic in denunciation of the country and the men and interests who were blamed for inciting the stampede.

But men of pluck and persistence, plenty of them, stayed with the country. They saw that it was full of mineral, both quartz and placer; that time is required to test a new mining camp; and that a determined fellow, not afraid of work and hard fare in the virgin wilderness, stood an excellent chance of turning up a fortune. Of this type were Phil O'Rourke, seasoned by years of experience in Colorado, N. S. Kellogg, Con Sullivan, "Dutch Jake" Goetz and easily several hundred others. Time has amply sustained their judgment, for within a twelvemonth after the district's fierce denunciation, came discovery of the marvelous treasure vaults of the South Fork region, mines which literally have surpassed the famous historic producers of old Potosi.

Most famous of them all perhaps comes the Bunker Hill and Sullivan, discovered in the fall of 1885—not by the historic donkey, although the donkey figured conspicuously and profitably to its owners in subsequent litigation, but by the trained eye of Phil O'Rourke.

Early in the summer of 1885 Cooper & Peck of Murray "grubstaked" N. S. Kellogg for a prospecting trip through the hills. Thus provided with $18.75 worth of provisions and tools, and a Mexican burro as beast of burden, Kellogg scouted over the South Fork country for sixty days, and returned to Murray with samples from a big iron-capped quartz ledge he had discovered, near the present site of the town of Kellogg. Cooper & Peck showed this ore to John M. Burke, who saw at once that it was not free milling gold rock, and when so informed the grubstakers expressed their disappointment in pretty sharp terms to Kellogg.

Jacob Goetz ("Dutch Jake") says Kellogg showed his samples to Phil O'Rourke, and "it didn't take Phil a minute to see that they gave promise of producing some galena or carbonates like the ores that made Colorado famous. Phil came to me and told me we'd better join Kellogg in staking that ground, so I turned our cayuses and provisions over to Phil and Kellogg, and they struck right off for the South Fork. Meantime Kellogg had notified Cooper & Peck that he had quit the grubstake deal with them."

On Milo creek they lost a packhorse, and while old man Kellogg went in search of it, O'Rourke scouted up Milo gulch. Near its head he found "float" galena, "and though it was dreadful hard work to get through the brush and fallen timber, he climbed up the hill about 500 feet, and there he stumbled upon the great Bunker Hill ledge, sticking right up out of the ground. There was nothing

in sight but glittering galena, and O'Rourke knew he had found the greatest thing ever discovered in the northwest."

O'Rourke told the writer, several years later, that at sight of that shining mass of ore, glistening in the autumn sunlight, his strength forsook him, he turned weak in the knees, and was unable to walk until he had sat down and rested for half an hour. "That night," says "Dutch Jake," "he wrote out the location notice and called the mine the Bunker Hill, after the battle of the revolution. But he decided it would be better to have Kellogg sign the notice as locator.

"Next morning they started up the gulch about two miles to make the location, but their cayuses had strayed away. As luck would have it, they found the old white burro that Cooper & Peck had turned over to Kellogg as a part of his grubstake. The burro had wandered away when Kellogg was there first. They caught the beast, and loading their picks and grub on it, went up the gulch to the Bunker Hill lode. Then Kellogg happened to think that maybe he'd better not appear as locator, for Cooper & Peck might claim an interest on account of his first grubstake. So they threw away the location notice, with Kellogg as locator and wrote a new one, with O'Rourke as locator and Kellogg as witness.

"They went back to Murray next morning, and the sight of their samples set the camp crazy. Everybody knew in a general way that the find was on the South Fork, and although O'Rourke and Kellogg wouldn't tell folks exactly where it lay, the miners were getting ready for a stampede.

"Phil took me off to one side and wanted me to locate the extension of the Bunker Hill. He thought that I'd better take Con Sullivan along with me. Sullivan was a sort of side partner of Phil's. That night at 10 o'clock Con and I started out in a furious rain, without even a pack horse."

Goetz and Sullivan lost their bearings, wandered over into the St. Joe country, and for two days were without food and almost destitute of water. They rambled in a circle, and finally came out on the South Fork of the Coeur d'Alene, Sullivan went on to the discovery, but Goetz returned to Murray in a rage, thinking O'Rourke had tried to deceive him by giving wrong directions. "But when I reached Murray I got word to come back to the strike, so back I went, and found out that Phil had made a mistake.

"Meanwhile Cooper & Peck had been over there looking at the strike. They found the first location notice that Kellogg had thrown aside, and they learned through the talk of Kellogg and O'Rourke that the two used Cooper & Peck's burro in making the location. That was enough for Cooper & Peck, and they commenced suit against the locators for a half interest in the property on account of their original grubstake. They didn't think of locating the extensions to the Bunker Hill, for O'Rourke had put up some fictitious posts to cover the ground. So when I got back there Sullivan and I located an extension, and we called it the Sullivan mine, in honor of John L. Sullivan, the pugilist. It was staked September 10, 1885, just ten days after the Bunker Hill was staked.

"When Cooper & Peck's suit for a grubstake was brought in the district court at Murray the jury gave a verdict against them. However, Judge Norman Buck, who presided, reversed the jury's verdict and held that the real discoverers of the Bunker Hill were Phil O'Rourke, Kellogg and the jackass, which was the property of Cooper & Peck. He gave them a quarter interest in the Sullivan

and a half interest in the Bunker Hill. It was shown in the trial that Messrs. Cooper & Peck only went good for a grubstake to Kellogg, amounting to $22.85. They had paid $2.40 of it and the balance is unpaid to this day. W. B. Heyburn, now senator from Idaho, and Major Woods of Wallace, Idaho, were counsel for Cooper & Peck. Our attorneys were Albert Allen, Judge Clagett and Frank Ganahl. The lawyers all got interests in the mine for their fees. We appealed the case to the supreme court of the state, but while it was pending there a deal was made to sell the mine to Sim Reed of Portland, Oregon. It was necessary to give him a clear title, so we compromised by paying Cooper & Peck $76,000.

"The sale was made in May, 1887, and it was put through by Colonel 'Jim' Wardner. Harry Baer and I, who were partners in all our mining operations, got $200,000 cash in one lump for our interests. Phil O'Rourke got over $200,000, Kellogg got $300,000, Con Sullivan got $75,000, and Alex Monk, a sort of side-partner of O'Rourke's, got $75,000."

Sim Reed of Portland sold the great property to D. O. Mills and a San Francisco syndicate. Mills entrusted the presidency and management to John Hays Hammond, and Hammond chose Victor Clement for his superintendent. A few years later Hammond was employed by Cecil Rhodes as chief engineer of his South African gold mines, and Clement went with the noted mining engineer to Johannesburg. The two became involved in British intrigues against the Boer government, were arrested, tried and convicted of high treason and sentenced to be shot. Powerful American and British interests intervened, and President Krueger commuted the sentence to a $300,000 fine against Hammond and $100,000 against Clement, on condition that they leave the country and never return. They were glad to escape with their lives.

Meanwhile other prospectors had been active in the hills and gulches around the present towns of Wallace, Burke and Mullan. A number of claims which subsequently were developed into great producing mines had been discovered prior to the finding of the Bunker Hill and Sullivan. To John Carton and Almeda Seymore, who discovered the Tiger lode on Canyon creek, May 2, 1884, belongs the distinction of finding the first silver-lead mine in that district. After they had revealed its possibilities by development work they bonded it to John M. Burke, and he in turn bonded it to S. S. Glidden of St. Paul, a pioneer merchant, mine developer and railroad builder of keen sagacity and enterprise. F. R. Culbertson became manager in 1885 and he and Mr. Glidden entered on a vigorous policy of mine development, cutting trails to Placer Center (now Wallace) and Thompson Falls, Montana. Mr. Glidden organized the Canyon Creek railroad company and later sold it to D. C. Corbin.

J. G. Hunter and F. A. Moore, Montana prospectors, found the Hunter mine, near Mullan, May 15, 1884. The famous Standard group, one mile from Burke, was discovered May 7, 1885, by Timothy McCarthy, Timothy Hynes, Frank Hanson and John H. Simmons. This rich property passed to the ownership of syndicate of Youngstown, Ohio, capitalists, and under the management of John A. Finch and A. B. Campbell, was long regarded as the richest producer in the Coeur d'Alene country.

In September, 1887, the Poorman claim, just across the gulch from the Tiger mine, and located the day after discovery of the Tiger, was sold to Marcus Daly,

SIMEON G. REED

Who bought the Bunker Hill and Sullivan Mines

Patrick Clark, B. C. Kingsbury and other Montana mining men, and under the active management of Mr. Clark became the first dividend payer in the Coeur d'Alenes.

George Goode located the Morning mine, near Mullan, in 1884. It subsequently passed to the ownership of Charles and Warren Hussey of Spokane.

From the beginning Spokane profited tremendously in the discovery and development of the Coeur d'Alenes. It became an important outfitting point in 1883-4. A large part of the money received from the sale of the Bunker Hill and Sullivan was immediately invested here by "Dutch Jake," Harry Baer and others, and from time to time the enterprising mine owners and managers either made this place their home or their base of operations. Among these were Finch and Campbell, D. C. Corbin, Patrick Clark, the Husseys, S. S. Glidden, F. R. Culbertson, Porter Brothers, "Jim" Wardner, John M. Burke, Charles Sweeny, F. Lewis Clark, the Greenoughs, and a host of others with the drifting of the years.

A history of the Coeur d'Alenes which omitted the drama of the great Hercules mine would be the play of "Hamlet" without the melancholy prince. A writer in the Spokesman-Review says that Harry L. Day and Fred Harper were the original locators. They left Wardner for Sunset Peak, where they intended prospecting. They did not have enough money to purchase a ticket to ride as far as Burke, and therefore had to walk over the hills. This was in the summer of 1889. Without meeting with success on Sunset, where there are now good mines, they decided to go to Burke, but were driven back by a heavy forest fire. After the fire died away they proceeded to the hill above Burke, and it was then they found rich float brought to view by the fire. They located the Hercules and the Fire Fly as they were driven back. Mr. Harper sold out a short time later to C. H. Reeves, his father-in-law, for $100.

"Mr. Reeves was a barber in Wallace. Mr. Day and Mr. Reeves barely did their assessment for the next few years. The property was located on the trail running to Sunset and hundreds of people passed over that way. Those who saw the two men trying to hold down their claims tried to discourage them, saying it was foolishness to work in such a formation. They were the laughing stock of the mining fraternity for years, but still they had confidence. Mr. Day did not know much about mining, but he was satisfied there was something there. Previous to locating the claim he was engaged in delivering milk on a pack-horse in Wardner from his father's ranch in Government gulch. The Day family came in from California. All the family worked to get sufficient money to carry on the work at the property. The principal money was given by Miss Ellen Day, who was teaching, and who contributed every cent of her small salary. She later married Edward Boyce, the noted labor leader. Mr. Reeves was forced to sell out his barber shop to obtain his share of the money used in prospecting the property.

"In 1895 August Paulsen, one of the noted characters in the group of owners, became interested in the property by getting a quarter interest for $500. Mr. Paulsen is a native of Denmark and worked for some time on a milk ranch near Spokane. Later he worked on a milk ranch near Wallace, for several years, as foreman for Markwell & Sons, and there is where he saved his salary of $40 per month to become interested in the property. To show what little he knew

about mining, his experience is worth recording. He was set to work in driving the prospect tunnel which had been run as crooked as a worm fence. At last, accidentally making an angle in the tunnel, he encountered the lead. He did not know what he had discovered, but thought the formation of no value and quit work. He left for Gem, where he met Mr. Day. He said to Mr. Day:

"'I have encountered a formation which appears very much like white ashes, and there is no use of doing any further work, as the property is not worth anything.'

"Mr Day immediately went to the property and what met his view astounded him. It was the Hercules vein.

"In the spring of 1896 S. Markwell and L. W. Hutton became interested in the property, giving $1,750 in cash and signing a contract with Mr. Reeves that when the property paid $2,000 in dividends they were each to pay Mr. Reeves $250. It is needless to say this money has been paid. Mr. Markwell and sons were the owners of a milk ranch west of the city. They came here from California in 1890. Mr. Hutton was a railroad engineer, coming from California. At the time he became interested, along with his wife, Mrs. May Arkwright Hutton, he had the Canyon run on the railway. At the time of the labor troubles he was forced to pull the men to Wardner at the time the mill was blown up. That was about the last he worked for the Northern Pacific.

"Damian Cardoner, a native of Spain, and the owner of a large mercantile store in Burke, became interested in the property in 1898 for $600. Other owners are H. F. Samuels, an attorney, and F. M. Rothrock, who was at one time a butcher, having an extensive meat business in Wallace. They each paid $3,000 for their interest, going in as late as 1899."

The Hercules has done its full share of contributing to the upbuilding of Spokane. Its most notable monuments here are the Paulsen and Hutton buildings.

It paid $375,348 profit in 1905, and $787,534 in 1906. By July, 1909, it had a dividend record of $3,600,000, and to date it has distributed about $5,000,000 among its fortunate owners.

A decade ago Charles Sweeny of Spokane became a dominant influence in the Coeur d'Alenes. For twenty years or more Sweeny had been drifting around over the Pacific coast, a veritable soldier of fortune. He came to Spokane in the early '80s and ran a general merchandise store. With F. Rockwood Moore he opened the Last Chance mine near Wardner in 1886, but profited little from the earlier fortunes of the camp. The panic of 1893 left him pretty well stranded, but the opening up of Rossland camp in 1895 gave him a little start, and back he went to the Coeur d'Alenes. With F. Lewis Clark, who had been receiver of the First National bank of Spokane, Sweeny acquired control of the old Last Chance, one of the assets of the broken bank, and a sharp advance in the price of lead put him well along on the high road to fortune. They organized the Empire State-Idaho Mining & Development company in 1898, and in 1903 merged it into the greater corporation which now owns a large part of the producing area of the Coeur d'Alenes—the Federal Mining & Smelting company. In August, that year, the Sweeny interests bought the Standard and Mammoth mines from the Finch & Campbell syndicate and incorporated the Federal, with $30,000,000 of capital stock, of which $20,000,000 was issued. They acquired the Puget Sound

Reduction company's smelter at Everett and the Monte Cristo mine, a property which long had been an elephant on the hands of the Rockefellers, and which continues an elephant to the present day. The Federal's first board of directors comprised John T. Gates, George Gould, John D. Rockefeller, Charles Sweeny, Edwin Packard, Richard Wilson, John A. Finch, George W. Young, C. D. Warren, E. J. Barney, Peter Bradley and Horace J. Knowles. Sweeny was made president. His profits in this flotation ran into the millions, and he invested heavily in Spokane business properties, and acquired control of the Exchange National bank. Later he gradually disposed of a majority of his Spokane interests, including his stock in the bank.

DIVIDEND RECORD OF COEUR D'ALENES

Bunker Hill & Sullivan	$11,121,000
Standard-Mammoth	8,500,000
Hercules	3,600,000
Hecla	1,810,000
Morning	2,000,000
Last Chance	4,500,000
Success	650,000
Snow Storm	780,000
Tiger-Poorman	1,250,000
Frisco	1,225,000
Gem	500,000
Silver King	250,000
Sierra Nevada	225,000
Pittsburg Lead	90,000
Total to July, 1909	$36,501,000

A number of other companies have paid dividends in smaller amounts, but the exact figures were not available to the Coeur d'Alene Mine Makers' association of Wallace. Dividends paid since 1909 have carried the total beyond $40,000,000.

Production of the Coeur d'Alenes from 1884 up to January 1, 1909

Year	Lead in Short Tons	Value of Lead	Silver, fine Ozs.	Value Silver	Gold, Ounces	Value Gold	Copper, Pounds	Value Copper	Zinc, Pounds	Value Zinc	Total Value Metal Products
1884.	.....	.....	.....	.....	12,500	$ 258,375	.....	.....	.....	.....	$ 258,375
1885.	.....	.....	.....	.....	18,220	376,607	.....	.....	.....	.....	376,607
1886.	1,500	$ 138,300	116,246	$ 115,664	8,823	182,371	.....	.....	.....	.....	436,335
1887.	5,980	538,200	340,000	332.520	7,367	152,276	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,022,996
1888.	8,000	705.600	554,000	520,760	10,250	211,867	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,438,227
1889.	17,500	1,333,500	1,095.265	1,025,168	8,433	174,310	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,532,987
1890.	27,500	2.392,500	1,499,663	1,574,646	8,000	165,360	.....	.....	.....	.....	4,132,508
1891.	33,000	2,857,800	1,825,765	1,813,856	10,000	206,700	.....	.....	.....	.....	4,868,356
1892.	27,839	2,266,094	1,195,904	1,045,220	11,000	227,370	.....	.....	.....	.....	3,538,684
1893.	29,563	2,424,166	1,963,561	1,529,614	14,748	304,841	.....	.....	.....	.....	4,258,621
1894.	30,000	1,968,000	2,343,314	1,485,661	17,531	362,365	.....	.....	.....	.....	3,618.026
1895.	31,000	2,008,800	2,471,300	1,626,115	18,439	381,134	.....	.....	.....	.....	4,016,049
1896.	37.250	2,212,650	3,163.657	2,132,304	17,369	359,017	.....	.....	.....	.....	4,703,971
1897.	57,777	4,159,944	3,756,212	2,264,996	16,404	339,070	.....	.....	.....	.....	6,764,010
1898.	56,339	4,225,425	3,521,982	2,070,925	13,011	268,937	.....	.....	.....	.....	6,565,287
1899.	50,006	4,440,533	2,737,218	1,645,068	8,602	177,803	.....	.....	.....	.....	6,263,404
1900.	81,535	7,207,694	5,261,417	3,262,078	5,754	118,935	.....	.....	.....	.....	10,588,707
1901.	68,953	6,026,492	4,339,296	2.603.577	4,915	101,593	.....	.....	.....	.....	8.731,662
1902.	74,739	6,091,228	5.033,928	2,657,914	4,761	98,410	.....	.....	.....	.....	8,847,552
1903.	103,691	8,772,258	5.471,620	2,954,674	7,651	158,146	.....	.....	.....	.....	11.885,078
1904.	107,560	9.271,672	6,141,426	3,512,895	7,000	144,960	2.000.000	$ 280,000	.....	.....	13,209,257
1905.	126,994	11,937,463	7,257,634	4,279,982	2.750	56,892	5,805.000	893,389	80,000	$ 4,704	17.272,380
1906.	125,825	14,243,402	7.903,487	5,251.867	3,244	67,060	6.856.324	1,236,699	1,400,000	86.660	20.885,688
1907.	114.965	12,232,233	7,317,962	4,780,092	3,435	71,001	7,134.724	1,474.034	9,071,836	527,074	19,084,434
1908.	102,753	8,631,258	6.531,890	3,451.451	4,105	84,850	8,990,306	1,188.518	.....	.....	13,356.078
Total	1,320,269	$116,084,212	81.842,747	$52.027,047	243,312	$5,050,830	30.786,354	$5,072,640	10,559,836	$ 618,438	$178,853.268

Considerable antimony was produced in 1906-7-8. Exact figures not at hand. Shortage in production for 1908 due to fact that big operators curtailed output, expecting to make larger profits at better metal prices.

The Murray Sun of February, 1887, an excellent authority on Coeur d'Alene history, contained the following item:

"The body of F. M. Davis, known to every one in the Coeur d'Alenes as 'Dream Davis,' has been discovered. He disappeared from Portland about two months ago. His body was identified, beyond doubt, in Los Angeles, California. He had spent all his money and committed suicide. Davis was not a miner; he was a man of the Gospel in his day. When the Coeur d'Alene excitement broke out in 1883 it preyed upon his mind and his vision, as he termed it, directed him to Dream Gulch. He laid down the Bible and the plow in the Palouse country and came up to the camp to realize his dream. Whether by accident or otherwise, he struck it and during the summer of 1884 made considerable money and in the fall sold out an interest in his ground. He cleared up about $10,000.00 and returned to the Palouse region. He afterwards bought a farm at Monmouth, Oregon."

Davis contended that in his dream or vision, which came to him three nights successively, he saw with vivid clearness a lonely gulch in the Coeur d'Alene mountains and a voice declared that in this gulch lay a store of golden wealth. Acting on this revelation, he went to the Coeur d'Alenes, noted and followed certain land-marks as he had seen them in his dream and found the gulch exactly as it had appeared in his vision.

CHAPTER XL

HOW CHENEY CAPTURED THE COUNTY SEAT

BY E. E. PERRY

SPOKANE insurgency developed in 1879 and J. N. Glover, who still lives in Spokane, was probably the original in that line. He and the several others that then constituted the population of Spokane Falls began to promulgate the doctrine that there was room for another county in eastern Washington.

Mr. Glover made the long trip from Spokane to Olympia in that year and reasoned with the legislature. It was something of a session, for nobody on the West Side could see the need of a new county in eastern Washington. They discussed it with Glover in Doane's old oyster house over pan roasts. They had liquid refreshments, after that they took cigars. These things cost money in pioneer days. Glover knows. He paid for them. He got back to Spokane perplexed with the mystery of how he would obtain sufficient salt pork for the coming winter, but he had Spokane county legally recreated with the county seat temporarily established at Spokane Falls. Where it would permanently be was left to the voters.

Several settlers, then present, were personally interested in seeing that county seat located at Spokane Falls, because they had come to stay and their future unrolled in the form of the valley, rocks and hills hereabout. Glover was pronounced in this opinion and he was supported by A. M. Cannon, J. J. Browne, Judge L. B. Nash, Col. D. P. Jenkins, Samuel Hyde and one or two others.

Against this bulwark the recently arrived town of Cheney hurled its claim. Cheney was favored of the Northern Pacific railroad; was, in fact, christened for one of the Northern Pacific directors, and in one way and another developed ominous symptoms. Also it had its friends out round in the remote bunch-grass. M. M. Cowley lived up at Cowley's Bridge then and was a Cheney partisan.

The election was held in November, 1880, without unusual casualties and the following officers elected: Michael Sullivan, sheriff; Samuel Hyde, prosecuting attorney; A. M. Cannon, treasurer; W. H. Bishop, auditor; Avery A. Smith, probate judge; Jerry Rockford, surveyor; Thomas Jennings, John Roberts and a man named Bacon, commissioners. The county seat location was held to be in doubt. The vote was canvassed in Spokane, of course, and a very painstaking canvassing board it was. On their first count the returns showed that Cheney had won by fourteen majority. But grave irregularities immediately developed in the balloting. In one precinct, the judge, lacking anybody else handy to do the job, swore

himself in. In another the polling officers had used longhand where they could have used figures, and in still another they used figures where they should have used longhand. These were errors that required much conscientious industry to rectify, but the work was done and when the total count had been officially readjusted, it appeared that Spokane had won by a majority of two or three.

Cheney displayed symptoms of petulant distrust and went into the territorial court with a complaint that still retains vigor of language. Preliminary to this they retained John B. Allen and Thomas H. Caton, two pioneer attorneys. Col. Jenkins, J. J. Browne and Judge L. B. Nash represented the injured and astonished town of Spokane Falls.

Circuit Judge Wingard heard the evidence and argument with men who carried hardware in their clothes filling the courtroom, and he concluded it might be well to have a recount. He omitted specifying a date for this.

Spokane submitted to the verdict with an air of patience which was not at all contagious, so far as Cheney folks were concerned. They were willing to rest their case on a recount, but they desired something definite in regard to the time of counting, a matter that appeared to worry Spokane Falls people not a bit. They had faith in the future.

Still Spokane Falls possessed the records and boasted a courthouse in the shape of a frame building at the corner of Main and Howard.

Dick Wright married Miss Piper and Spokane went to the wedding dance. The rigorous exertions of the campaign were over and social relaxation prevailed. A lone night watchman guarded the town, the lights beamed from the windows and the dance went on to the alluring croon of the fiddle.

W. H. Bishop, the auditor, and now bailiff in Judge Huneke's court, is a man of excellently preserved intelligence. His memory ranges back over thirty-six years of residence in this part of Washington. There is no more accurate recollection of the events of that period than his. And yet, Bishop cannot recall how it happened that he was on duty in the auditor's office that night at midnight, instead of being at the dance. The county was new and probably there was a great deal of extra work to be done on the books. Bishop was young and ambitious and also new to politics. At any rate he was on the job and by midnight he had the election returns all tabulated. All that was needed to make them official was the signatures of the auditor, probate judge and a justice of peace, to be attached when the ballot count was settled, of course.

In those days a deep gulch ran from where the Inland Empire Station now is to a point about where the Old National skyscraper casts its shadow across the townsite. A trail ran across the gulch toward the present site of the Hyde Building. This little matter of topography, is important. The trail was unnoticeable in the dark.

The county clock's hour hand was nearing one o'clock and Bishop might have been justified in seeking the livelier diversions of the wedding dance, but he conscientiously stuck to his post. Perhaps he had a premonition. He became almost convinced of it when he detected the muffled tramp of feet in the building. It was Bishop's duty to protect the county property, but in this crisis he had no time to resort to slaughter.

The muffled tramp came into the auditor's office, bringing with it Avery A.

NORTHERN PACIFIC DEPOT, 1883, LOOKING WEST FROM HOWARD

The old depot now stands on Second avenue, near Madison

SPOKANE STREET SCENE, 1885

Smith, probate judge; James Monroe Hatton, better known as Mike; John Sill, justice of the peace; Wm. Griswold, now of Seattle; Frank Spencer, newspaper man, now in California; Graves, also now in California, and, not positively but very probably, L. E. Kellogg.

Hatton was deputy sheriff. These visitors had guns on their persons and had business with the county auditor. By singular powers of observation they immediately noticed the tabulated returns Bishop had been working on. Judge Smith also noted that they still lacked his signature. Justice of Peace Still made a similar observation. There wasn't a very good light, either. Bishop was probably as vigilant in this matter as any of the others. Whatever happened, the returns were quickly in legal shape to be declared official and the declaration that Cheney had been legally voted the county seat was promulgated, while the caller over at the dance was getting one more couple for the quadrille.

The courthouse callers apparently had a definite object in view. Following the close of legal formalities they took possession of the county books and Auditor Bishop. They had gunny sacks on their feet and some reason for their haste. There was no confusion nor anything in the nature of a midnight disturbance.

Down that trail across the gulch went the books and with them went Bishop as became his duty as auditor. The procession ended in the primeval wilderness of Riverside and Post, where three wagons awaited in the gloom. These wagons suddenly absorbed the county government and started away in the specific direction of Cheney.

Right then occurred the only outbreak of the evening and the Cheney people can pride themselves that they did not make it. Spokane's solitary night watchman happened to hear sounds up in the woods somewhere. He discharged his duty and his revolver simultaneously in a couple of shots for general results. Then he subsided.

There was no reply from the then transient county seat. Cheney had brought its shooting irons along, but only as a last resort.

Dr. Morgan, driving in from somewhere, reported to the few Spokane people he met that he had seen men with guns and wagons going out of town, but no immediate attention was paid to this circumstance. Men with guns and wagons were rather common then at any hour of the night.

The next morning Spokane came down town as usual, which function consisted in merely coming out of doors. Some of the prominent citizens of the day had offices in the courthouse shack. They ascertained presently that the courthouse had undergone a change. Bishop was absent, for one thing, and it was found that the county books had also vanished. Further inquiry developed the adventure of the night watchman, the observation of Dr. Morgan and the proper conclusion as to what had become of the county seat. A caucus of old-timers ensued immediately.

They dispatched a scout down to Cheney to reconnoiter. The scout came back in a melancholy frame of mind. Cheney seemed to have the best of the argument. It was standing around the county books with guns in its hands. This was on March 21, 1880. The caucus adjourned.

As an incident of history Cheney stood around those books with guns for six weeks. It accumulated all the county officers, except Cannon, who declined to be

treasurer anywhere except in Spokane Falls. The first potent peace token was when he finally consented to deputize a man at Cheney, as the commissioners had about decided to see what they could do toward securing a reconstructed treasurer.

But Cheney was boldly and, as it afterward proved, untimely sardonic in triumph. Spokane had a show billed for its infrequent amusement in that line. Cheney also got up a fair, at which it installed a solitary wisp of woebegone barley, labeled, "From J. N. Glover's Place."

Meanwhile, the Spokane builders, confident in the advantage of their location, went on with the heavy work of laying a city's foundation, none the less trustful of the future. They kept at it until 1886, when another county seat election was held. There was no necessity of going after the books in wagons after that vote was counted. Anything in the nature of a recount was also superfluous.

CHAPTER XLI

RECOLLECTIONS OF FRANK DALLAM, J. D. SHERWOOD AND G. B. DENNIS

BRAVE DAYS OF NEARLY THIRTY YEARS AGO—DALLAM STARTS THE REVIEW—PRINTS FIRST NUMBER AT CHENEY—HENRY VILLARD'S VISIT—PAUL SCHULZE RECOMMENDS PAINT—HANK VAUGHN, THE DESPERADO, COMES TO TOWN—SCRUB RACES IN BROWNE'S ADDITION—APPEARANCE OF TOWN IN 1883—FIGHTING FIRE WITH A BUCKET LINE—PICTURESQUE STREET LIFE—SQUAW FIGHTS—PUBLIC SPIRIT BEFORE THE FIRE—MR. DENNIS AND HIS HIGH HAT—RECOLLECTIONS OF "BLIND GEORGE."

FRANK DALLAM, who came to Spokane from California in the winter of 1882-83, and a few months later issued the first number of the Review, caught instantly the free, hospitable and optimistic spirit of the town. One better fitted by temperament and training to edit a journal of the frontier the wide west could scarce have sent to Spokane. Life on the border, scorning conventionality and pulsing high with the spirit of hospitable democracy, Dallam loved with all the ardor of his genial nature. "The town," he has said, speaking of the brave days of nearly thirty years ago, "was made up of frame buildings, pretty well grouped about the falls, the conspicuousness of the material, devoid of paint, indicating recent erection. There was but one building on the north side, owned by Colonel D. P. Jenkins. A. M. Cannon and J. J. Browne lived at remote distances from the business center, in very modest houses. But the atmosphere of the place was intoxicating, and every indication of future greatness aroused a desire to grow up with the city. I made efforts to gain a foothold. The weekly Chronicle was in existence published by a man named Woodbury, but he would listen to no overtures. I met Wm. Kizer, who was conducting a delightful hostelry on a lot back of where the Spokane theater now stands, and A. M. Cannon, who was at the head of a large mercantile business, in a new, unfinished and what was then considered a very pretentious building. He had also just opened a banking house. This was on the lot now occupied by the marble bank building. I informed them gently of my mission, and as the Chronicle had decided leaning toward democracy, and I would not publish anything but a paper advocating republicanism, they were very solicitous in their efforts to induce me to locate in Spokane."

Dallam returned to California, but was back in May with his plant for the Review.

"But the first copy of the Review was not printed without heart-breaking trials

and tribulations. The aim had been to get out the initial copy early in May, but in the shipment of the material a portion of the hand press was lost in route, and could not be located for days. I was in a fever of impatience. I determined to wait no longer, for a few days more would carry me over into June, and I concluded to take the forms to Cheney, where there were two papers, and 'work' the issue at that place. Loading them on a spring wagon in the evening, I started out for the neighboring town, perfectly ignorant of the wagon road or of the lay of the country. That ignorance caused me more misery, for when daylight appeared I was near a small cabin, and knocked the people out to find 'where I was at.' It added no attractions to a lovely spring morning to learn that I was close to Spangle, almost in an opposite direction from Cheney.

"I reached my destination at last; and with much difficulty, as the bed of the Cheney press would hardly take the Review forms, the issue was printed and speedily circulated.

"If I was delighted with the prospect when Spokane was first seen under adverse conditions (in the depth of winter), words can not express my feelings of satisfaction when I arrived upon the scene to stay. The little city sat like a gem in a grand amphitheater, shrouded by pine-clad mountains, and then and there I fully realized the grand future of Spokane, a future that I am glad to have lived to see come about.

"Yet so far as the town was concerned at that time, it was rather a crude beauty, because there was a dearth of paint in evidence, and the house with color was the exception to the rule. Speaking of the rawness of the building aspect reminds me of the advice given to the citizens by Paul Schulze, then land agent for the railroad, when the Northern Pacific was completed. On that great occasion Henry Villard, then the Napoleon of railroad building, was due to visit Spokane with his retinue. The citizens got busy. Arches were constructed across the street; committees of arrangements and receptions flew about and became flustered, over-heated and excited. The only barouche in the city was secured to accommodate the dignitaries, and the people started in to wait for the coming of the magnates.

"As was usual in those days, something happened to delay the train. Villard arrived too late to see much of the town and the preparations made for his reception, but he and some of his party did take a short ride in the vehicle, and from the platform he and Mr. Schulze addressed the admiring and shouting commoners. The only thing about the speaking that I can remember was the suggestion made by Mr. Schulze that a little paint judiciously applied might contribute to the attractions of the place, and it struck me that the gentleman was a trifle sarcastic, which would not be surprising, as he was inclined to be mordacious in his intercourse with men.

"In those days lived Hank Vaughn, with a western reputation founded upon the scientific and expeditious use of a gun of the six-shot vintage. Hank had used this weapon with a degree of efficiency that had created for him a graveyard, and when Hank was out for a joyous festival, he was given carte blanche and no questions asked. During the preceding winter Hank favored Spokane with a visit, and while he gave no exhibition of shooting up a fellow citizen, because no one was inclined to doubt his ability, he gave the town a touch of high life that made history on the Rialto. He had to have a ride in that barouche, and proposed to do the driving. The fit took him at a time when his discretion was somewhat at fault, and he attempted

to drive into a barroom under the old Star lodging house. As the walk was a couple of feet above the road, and the horses going at some speed, the body and wheels of the hack parted company. Hank and the team were lined up at the bar, but in such confusion that the 'barkeep' was at a loss to fill the order. The 'barkeep' was one Jones, who had the thumb of his right hand shot off a year or so afterward by one of the famous, or infamous Earp brothers, while frantically reaching for his own gun. This happened off Howard street, and in an interview Earp informed me that he did not care to kill Jones, but by knocking off his hammer thumb he put a kibosh on proceedings that might have ended more seriously.

"There is little left in way of landmarks to remind one of old Spokane. The inequalities of the earth have been smoothed off; the falls have been shorn of their attractiveness; the trees that crowded down to the river have disappeared, and stately blocks of steel and stone have elbowed the frame structures out of the way. The village of a quarter of a century ago has been replaced by a magnificent metropolis.

"In May, 1883, the Review occupied a shell of a building at the rear of the lot east of the Spokane theater. The Episcopal church stood nearly where the great Review building stands today, and that was a vacant block. From the present Review building to J. J. Browne's residence was a straightaway racetrack for a half mile, where scrub races were run on the Fourth of July that year. Browne's addition existed in name only, there being no houses on it. There were trees and brush on the south side of the railroad track, almost to the rails. There were few if any houses east of the present Paulsen monument of steel and brick, and that site was occupied by James Glover's residence. Howard street and Riverside avenue had just been cut down to some kind of grade the fall before, and the houses lining that street were propped up on rock piles. The North side was a gravelly waste without a habitation. The calaboose, a small, dingy affair, stood on ground that is now covered by the Auditorium. The cemetery, sparsely populated, was at the extreme northwest end of Browne's addition. The smallest flag station along the lines of the various railroads can boast of a better depot than was in use in Spokane. There were few sidewalks except in the business portion, and they were rough, uneven and crude.

"Of the men in business at that time, many have answered the last summons; others have sought honors elsewhere, and a few are still residents of the city they aided in building, most of them, it is a pleasure to say, enjoying a well-earned competency.

"The Rev. H. T. Cowley was owner and publisher of the Chronicle, having purchased the paper from Mr. Woodbury, who would not entertain an offer four months before. It is a pleasure to state that throughout Mr. Cowley's ownership, the most amicable relations existed between the Chronicle and the Review. There was no unseemly rivalry, no personalities, and the papers worked along common lines in aiding in the upbuilding of the place. Mr. Cowley is now in California.

"S. Heath was postmaster and handed out the mail from a small building on the west of the Grand hotel, at the corner of Howard and Riverside. The mail was a rather insignificant affair at that time, being about enough to fill a cracker box. Mr. Heath hung on to his homestead, which is now an attractive residence portion of the city.

"J. J. Browne was practicing law, and had accumulated a homestead, a timber culture and a few other holdings that have made him rich.

"James N. Glover owned the better portion of the original townsite, and was offering bargains in town lots to newcomers that would make the eyes of purchasers of today bulge in astonishment.

"Louis Ziegler was conducting a hardware store in a fine building where the Ziegler block now stands. J. B. Blalock had a shoe store in a small building where the Exchange National bank building now stands. J. M. Grimmer conducted the Northern Pacific hotel, at the northeast corner of Howard and Main. J. B. Gray was proprietor of the California house, where the city hall now stands. Harry Hayward kept a men's furnishing store, with sporting goods, cigars and tobacco as a side line. He was located on the lot in the rear of the Grand hotel, facing Howard street. John Glover and Lane Gilliam had a livery stable on the lot across the street and just west of the California house.

"Among the lawyers practicing were S. C. Hyde, L. B. Nash, J. Kennedy Stout, E. H. Jamieson, E. J. Webster and J. S. Allen. Eugene B. Hyde was town marshal, and made a very efficient official. Charles McNab conducted a drugstore, at the southeast corner of Howard street and Riverside avenue. Charles Clough had a book and notion store on Howard street, and Henry French a candy and peanut stand across the street. Charlie Carson conducted a restaurant on Front street, in the rear of the California house.

"The men of that time I hold in kindest remembrance. Our ways separated long ago, and I have known little of them for a score of years; yet the recollections of those early days, and the people with whom I associated, will always be coupled with keenest pleasure, and whenever I chance to meet one of them, memory romps back to the time when Spokane was a flower, and all men seemed to be working hand in hand in a common cause."

Dallam's fortunes were linked with those of the paper he had founded until the summer of 1887. He then sold his remaining interest in the daily, and transferred his interests to Davenport, Lincoln county. From Davenport he moved to Loomis, in the Okanogan country, and later to Oroville, and that section has since been his home. He has owned and edited several weekly newspapers in Okanogan county. While in Davenport he served a term as receiver of the United States land office, and since going to Okanogan county has held the office of commissioner of the federal court.

1883

In October, 1883, the Chronicle claimed a population of 1,500 for Spokane. Six religious denominations were represented, five with places of worship. A census of the business interests showed two banks, three wholesale and retail general merchandise stores, three drugstores, three grocery and provision stores, one commission store, two millinery stores, two watchmakers and jewelers, three men's furnishing stores, four hardware, two furniture, three agricultural implement, three harness, three livery and express stables, three blacksmith shops, one machine shop, one carriage factory, two flouring mills, one saw, shingle and planing mill, one sash and door factory, four fruit and confectionery stores, two meat markets, one bakery, one soda water factory, one fruit nursery, one shoe store, two shoemaker shops, one

CORNER OF RIVERSIDE AND HOWARD IN THE EARLY '80s

SPOKANE IN 1887, FROM THE HILL NEAR THE HEAD OF HOWARD STREET

photograph gallery, two paint shops, four contractors and builders, one hide and fur depot, one gun and locksmith, three barber shops, two breweries, one wholesale liquor store, eight saloons, five hotels and three restaurants.

Transportation and communication were provided by one railroad, two express companies, three stage lines and two telegraphs.

The United States land office had just been moved to Spokane from Colfax.

Professionally the city had six law firms, eight physicians, one dentist, one college president, six teachers and two newspaper editors. There were six real-estate and insurance offices.

The new public school building, nearing completion, was regarded by the Chronicle "as an ornament to the town, to be pointed out to strangers with just pride." It was frame, two stories, forty by sixty-eight, with two schoolrooms on each floor.

"This is a good place," said the Chronicle, "for all active and wide awake business and professional men, for skilful mechanics, for capable housekeepers, and for industrious, courageous, intelligent farmers and laborers. It is no lazy man's paradise. If you want lands, health, labor, business, wealth, and to grow up with most favored conditions in the country, come to Spokane."

BY J. D. SHERWOOD

I landed in Spokane December 27th, 1883, coming west over the Northern Pacific railroad which had just been completed to the coast that summer.

At that time Spokane was a most interesting frontier town of about 1,500 population. It was in a state of wild excitement over the discovery of gold near Murray, in the Coeur d'Alenes. The place was full of prospectors buying supplies to be hauled over the mountains on sleds. The merchants were busy—town lots were selling—everybody active and expectant.

Not long after my arrival, I caught the western fever, filed on 160 acres near town, and decided to embark in the mercantile business which was started two months later under the style of "Sherwood & Dempsie."

With the exception of about twenty buildings on the north side, the entire town was embraced by the Northern Pacific tracks and the river from Division street on the east to Cedar street on the west. There were but few dwellings beyond these boundaries.

The business houses were centered on Howard street between Riverside Avenue and the river,—a few along Riverside to Post Street. The "California House" was the chief hotel, on the northeast corner of Front avenue and Howard street. Residences were scattered on East Riverside and Main—West on Sprague and First avenues, with large vacant spaces of prairie between.

The Post street bridge was the only river crossing from which a view of the falls in their natural beauty was had.

Browne's addition was then a pine forest which held the snow and afforded good sleighing for several winter months.

With the exception of a dozen two-story brick buildings, the business houses were rows of one-story frames. There were several destructive fires which always caused great excitement, as there were no water pipes laid until 1885.

I look back with considerable amusement at the first fire that occurred. Was

awakened early one morning by revolver shots fired in rapid succession (the usual fire alarm) announcing a fire on Main avenue near Howard street which consumed several buildings, including the postoffice. A line of men, the "bucket line" was hastily formed from the fire to the river. Buckets of water were passed from hand to hand which were either thrown on the fire or used to wet blankets hung on adjoining buildings to prevent the fire from spreading.

Nothing was funnier than this indiscriminate bucket line composed of men of every occupation from the banker to the laborer, each excitedly prodding his neighbor "to hurry up there," and slopping water all over themselves. When the fire was finally checked it was customary for the saloons to dispense free drinks to everybody—all celebrating the occasion in a grand spree.

Many reasons have been given for the rapid growth of Spokane. Its water power, its wheat and timber lands, its mines have been contributing factors but its geographical location as a trade center has been the important element in making it a metropolis.

Before the whites came, the Indians found Spokane Falls a convenient meeting place. All their trails crossed here. For similar reasons it has become a great railroad center.

In 1884 the street life was a proof of this. There were cowboys from the Big Bend who gave us interesting exhibitions of horse breaking and pony racing; miners loading their pack trains; Canadian boatmen from the upper Columbia buying merchandise to smuggle across the line; Chinamen selling fine gold washed from the sands of the Columbia; lumber-jacks and ranchers all buying and trading or "blowing in" their savings for a good time. I had the opportunity of meeting these people in a business way.

Shooting scrapes were not uncommon. I remember one night about ten o'clock hearing considerable hilarity in a saloon opposite. Looking in, I saw a man butting his friends with his head, apparently having great fun over it. A few minutes later he butted some surly cuss who pulled a gun and shot him dead. About this time the Indians murdered several whites. One summer afternoon, the town was enjoying a German picnic in the beautiful pine grove just below the falls (now West Riverside Addition); suddenly a messenger reported a man had been killed by Indians on the North Side near Post Street. A posse of volunteers was formed which started in hot pursuit. The picnic was then resumed without further interruption.

A policeman named Rusk was shot by Indians in his camp on Dead-man's creek, some fifteen miles north of town. He had left Spokane the same day bound for the Colville Valley on a mining trip. As he was a popular fellow, his death caused a great commotion.

A thing quite common then which always gathered crowds on the streets, was a squaw fight in which two squaws would go for each other tooth and nail, until their fierce hair-pulling contest was stopped by the police who lodged the Indian maidens in the "Skookum house," as the jail was then called.

At certain seasons of the year the Indians assembled in Spokane for their "powwows." Their faces painted yellow and red, attired in colored blankets, they presented a picturesque appearance. Their meeting place was the point above the falls where Front avenue ends. Here they would play cards for days and gamble away

all their chattels including their ponies and the blankets on their backs. The Indians were generally quiet and peaceful unless furnished with liquor which they were always eager to buy. To sell them whisky has always been a criminal offense but they often managed to buy lemon or vanilla extract from some unthinking grocer which contained enough alcohol to produce the same dangerous effect.

Old Garry, chief of the Spokanes, was frequently seen around town. He was a small sensible fellow, usually dressed in old clothes presented by his white friends, among whom he was very popular. Chief Joseph, the big warrior, often visited Spokane from his northern home, and was naturally the object of much curiosity on account of his historical career. He was certainly a handsome specimen of Indian.

A favorite bathing place for Indians, white men, and boys, was at a bend of the river near Elm street, which was then so far from town that bathing suits were not required.

From 1885 to 1889, the year of the big fire, the population increased from 2,000 to 15,000. The lead-silver mines in the Coeur d'Alenes, discovered in '85, the development of farm lands, railroad building, etc., established Spokane as an important jobbing center. The citizens then were most public-spirited. I was appointed secretary of a subscription committee to raise $250,000 bonus for the Seattle, Lake Shore & Eastern railroad company, in consideration of which the company agreed to build a railroad from Spokane to Puget Sound. It seemed an impossible task but this money was all subscribed in two weeks' time—a remarkable fact considering the size of the place. Equally large donations were made later to the Great Northern for entering Spokane and promising terminal rates; also to the Spokane & Northern. I cite these magnificent subscriptions not only because they were such great factors in city-making at that time when Spokane's future was trembling in the balance, but also as a tribute to the nerve and loyalty of its pioneers, many of whom lost their fortunes after the great fire of August 4th, 1889, or have passed away forever.

In the spring of '89, I started a five-story office building with an *elevator*—then the highest building in town, called the "Washington Building." It was hardly finished when destroyed in the big fire of August 4th. In 1891 I built the "Sherwood Building" on the same site of heavy arched construction to withstand another similar calamity. Had I built higher than three stories, the mortgagee probably would have taken it over with many other Riverside avenue structures.

Most of my time has been devoted to the real-estate business but I became interested in the electric light, street railway and water-power companies from their inception,—the properties now owned by the Washington Water Power Company.

J. D. Sherwood.

G. B. Dennis organized the Ross Park Electric Railway company in 1888, and that corporation built and opened to operation in 1889 the first electric railway in Spokane and one of the first in the west. The venture was unprofitable, and in addition to losses borne in operation, the company paid out a great deal for the grading of Front avenue through the rocks from Division street to the river, and built the bridge to cross the river. It was a bold undertaking, for there were few residents between Division street and the end of the line, four miles out across the open prairies, to Minnehaha park.

"We operated that line three years at an average loss of $3,000 a month," said Mr. Dennis, "and it being such a good thing, turned it over after the panic of 1893 to the Washington Water Power company which has operated it ever since.

"On May 5, 1885," added Mr. Dennis, "a Northern Pacific train pulled into Spokane. I was aboard that train. Of the 2,000 inhabitants, counting the Indians, there were at the depot about 200. The moment I appeared on the platform I was greeted with 'Shoot that hat,' very much to my embarrassment. I had on a high, brown Cashmere hat, the same shape as the silk hat, then the style in the east. Everybody on the platform had on a slouch hat. That same afternoon I hunted up a haberdasher, E. Dempsie, bought a slouch hat, and have had no desire to change shape or style since. Mr. Dempsie was the first man I met in Spokane."

W. S. George ("Blind George") who came to Spokane in 1883, has recorded an interesting description of the town: "Spokane had then about 1,500 inhabitants; most of the business was located on Howard Street, from the river to Riverside avenue. There was but one bridge across the river, over the south channel at Howard street to the Big island. The North side was reached by a ferry at the east end of the island about Division street. The California hotel, owned by William Gray, occupied the site of the present city hall. It was the largest and most pretentious hotel in this part of the country. The stage coach was the principal means of conveyance. There were stages running to Coeur d'Alene City, Colville, Fort Spokane, Medical Lake and the Big Bend country, and to Colfax, where connections were made to Moscow and Lewiston.

"Charles Sweeny and Loewenberg conducted a general merchandise store on the corner of Front and Howard, and the First National bank occupied another corner. Parker, proprietor of the O. K. barber shop, opened a place that fall in the east end of the California hotel.

"Cal Duncan, who was afterwards run over by a train and killed near Meacham, Oregon, opened the Pantheon saloon and billiard hall, the first place of its kind at that time in Spokane. They occupied rooms immediately south of what is at present the Coeur d'Alene bowling alley. Harry Hayward had a sporting-goods store in the same block, at the corner of the alley.

"On the west side of Howard, immediately back of the First National bank, was the Poodle Dog restaurant. The Senate saloon occupied the adjoining building.

"E. E. Johnson, who at that time was traveling auditor of the Northern Pacific and agent at Ainsworth, where a package of over $18,000 disappeared from the safe, and who was arrested, tried and acquitted at Walla Walla for the theft, bought the Senate saloon and cut quite a wide swath in the underworld of Spokane.

"Jack Squier was doing business in the store basement on Howard street, between Front and Main. George Darby's place occupied the northwest corner of Main and Howard; the N. P. hotel, the northeast corner. The Holley hardware store occupied the southwest corner of Main and Howard. The small story and a half frame building known as the Boston store occupied the southeast corner.

"The Blalock boot and shoe store occupied the northwest corner of Riverside and Howard. Three stores facing on Howard street, one of them occupied by Bell Brothers as a grocery, were on the present site of the Ziegler building. There was

a drugstore where the United Cigars store now stands (southeast corner of Riverside and Howard). L. C. Keats conducted a grocery store on the corner now occupied by the Traders National bank.

"There were a few small business houses on Riverside avenue, and one or two on Railroad avenue facing the track. Not more than a dozen buildings had been erected south of the Northern Pacific, and but two north of the river."

CHAPTER XLII

RAPID GROWTH OF THE YOUNG CITY, 1886 TO 1889

SLEIGH RIDES AND DANCES—NEW ARLINGTON HOTEL OPENED—EMMA ABBOTT'S COMPANY IN "BOHEMIAN GIRL"—SALE OF OLD DOMINION MINE—CONTEST FOR THE COURTHOUSE—STEAMER SPOKANE WRECKED—FAIR ASSOCIATION ORGANIZED—RAPID BUILDING OF RAILROADS—SALE OF BUNKER HILL AND SULLIVAN—REAL ESTATE BOOM—VARIETY THEATER OPENS—SPOKANE'S FIRST SOCIAL CLUB—BACHELOR'S BALL—HOW THE CITY GREW.

SOCIALLY the town was lively in the winter of 1886-7. A charity ball was a feature during the holidays, given in Joy's opera house, at Post street and Riverside, where now stands the Galena block. The ladies wore Mother Goose costumes. Local talent was rehearsing for "The Mikado," and had given "Pinafore" earlier in the year. "The Mikado" was scheduled for Christmas week, but the costumes failed to arrive in time. Kirtland K. Cutter painted the scenery. Herbert Bolster took the part of the Mikado, Walker L. Bean was Nankie-Poo, J. D. Sherwood Ko-Ko, Charles Vajen Poo-Bah, Ralph Clark Pish Tush, Miss Maria Taylor (Mrs. Harl J. Cook), Mrs. H. E. Houghton and Miss Grace Clark (later Mrs. Fred Harrington) were the three little maids from school. Mrs. D. M. Thompson sang Katisha. The performance was given with great *éclat* early in January, 1887, in Joy's opera house.

Rapid as had been its growth after discovery of the Coeur d'Alene mines, the little city by the Falls was destined to experience a more marvelous development in the period lying between 1886 and 1889. The school report for the term ended December 24, 1886, showed an enrollment of five hundred and three with an average attendance of three hundred and eighty. Seven teachers were employed and the pay roll aggregated $550 a month, including janitor's wages and rent for the use of some primary buildings.

Enthusiastic citizens claimed a population of five thousand.

Deep snows fell in the winter of 1886 and 1887, but the townspeople suffered no lack of entertainment. There were sleigh rides to neighboring towns, with dances at the other end, and dancing was the popular amusement in Spokane. They had a Waltz Club, with Ralph L. Clark, Dr. N. Fred Essig and Fred McBroom, as floor committee, but with due regard for the religious scruples of some of its members, no dances were held during Lent.

Other social events of the year, were the opening of the new Arlington hotel on the evening of March 1, and the appearance, about the same time, of Emma Ab-

bott's Opera Company, which made a one night stand in the "Bohemian Girl." Editor Dallam called it "Grand Opera" and poked a good deal of fun at the people of Walla Walla because their musical taste called for a lighter production by the same company. For weeks before the arrival of Emma Abbott, the town was on the *qui vive* and when the train arrived with the singer and her company, a great crowd was there to give them greeting. The new Arlington had not been opened and the arrival of the opera company severely taxed the town's hotel facilities.

F. M. Tull came that winter from Kansas, bought property and announced his intention of building a brick block, one hundred foot front and three stories high on the site then occupied by J. N. Glover's residence and now covered by the Paulsen building.

In February, Major Sidney D. Waters purchased from Elmer E. Alexander, his interest in the Old Dominion mine near Colville. The original owners of this mine were Al Benoist, Pat and Will Kearney and Alexander.

The Review of February 10 reported the return from Olympia, where the Judge had been acting as a member of the Supreme Court for several weeks, of Judge and Mrs. George Turner. The paper added, "He met with many congratulations at his home on his decision in the women's suffrage cases and probably is deeply cursed in other quarters." Under an active propaganda led by Mrs. Abigail Scott Duniway of Portland, the territorial legislature had passed an act conferring suffrage on women. The constitutionality of this act was challenged, and the issue being carried to the courts, the law was held to be unconstitutional in an opinion rendered by Judge Turner.

Notwithstanding the town was on the verge of a great boom, business men complained that winter of dull times, although the streets were crowded with teams and people.

Spokane had won the county seat from Cheney, and the permanent location of the courthouse was the big issue of the winter, with the north side pitted against the south side. A committee composed of E. J. Webster, J. E. Gandy, Cyrus Bradley and S. Heath offered to donate a site of seven lots, about one half of Block 103 at Front and Division streets. Only one other free offer came before the commissioners, that of Col. D. P. Jenkins, tendering Block 5 in his addition on the north side, which he valued at $5,000 and offering in addition to give the County $1,000 in money. A number of other propositions were submitted to the commissioners, but as they all involved a monetary consideration from the County, the contest narrowed down to the two free offers and that made by Col. Jenkins was accepted and the courthouse located upon its present site.

Labor Unions established a foothold this winter. Unions were organized by the carpenters, plasterers and brick layers.

Fire alarms were sounded by revolver shots, yells and the ringing of bells, and complaint was heard that the fire bell was improperly hung and could not be heard sufficient distance.

F. H. Mason & Company, having decided to engage in other business, were closing out their large stock of dry goods.

The Steamer Spokane, which had just been placed on the Coeur d'Alene river by Nelson Martin, was wrecked April 4, 1887, while descending on the swift current between Mission and Kingston. It struck a log drift, capsized and five of the twenty

SPOKANE IN 1888, AS SKETCHED BY PICKETT

passengers were drowned, including J. C. Hanna, city clerk of Spokane and Col. N. J. Higgins, a capitalist from Bangor, Maine. Nelson Martin, the owner, had a narrow escape. George T. Crane superintended the work of recovering the bodies.

There were doubters then of Spokane's future. "The question was put to us the other day," said Editor Dallam, "What is there here to build a great city? We answered 'the men.'" And a very good answer it was.

At the election in April, 1887, W. H. Taylor defeated E. B. Hyde for mayor.

In that month, too, organization of the Eastern Washington & Northern Idaho Fair Association, was completed with A. A. Newbery, president; J. N. Glover, vice-president; John Todd, secretary, and George K. Reed, treasurer. These, with A. M. Cannon, John McGrane, W. H. Taylor, H. G. Stimmel, L. H. Whitehouse, Peter Deuber, L. B. Nash, E. J. Webster and Mat Lieb, constituted the board of directors. The Association acquired extensive grounds east of north Monroe street and south of the hill, laid out a race course, erected a grand stand, fair buildings and other needed structures, and there in the autumn of 1887 and for several years thereafter, gave a very creditable fair and excellent racing. These grounds were subsequently sold to D. C. Corbin and by him platted as Corbin Park addition.

As summer drew on, transportation was in the air. Mr. Corbin was pushing construction on the Mission and Wardner Railroad and urged the Spokane business men to go after the trade of the Coeur d'Alenes. In the language of a local paper, "The eyes of the people of the West are turned upon the progress of the Manitoba road, (The Great Northern)." James Monaghan, D. M. Drumheller, J. N. Glover, C. B. King and Lewis McMorris incorporated the Kalispel Steam Navigation company to build and operate a steamboat line from Sandpoint down the Pend d'Oreille lake and river into Stevens county. The Northern Pacific was pushing its line across the Cascades. Undaunted by the destruction of the Steamer Spokane, Nelson Martin bought a thirty-six foot boat, built at Medical Lake and put it on the Spokane River to carry passengers and freight from Post Falls to the old Mission.

Mining interest centered around the Coeur d'Alenes, the Salmon River and Ruby districts in the Okanogan country, the Colville district and discoveries around Lake Pend d'Oreille. The biggest piece of mining news that the country had heard in a long while came in a verified report that S. G. Reed of Portland had bought the Bunker Hill and Sullivan mines, at a price reputed to be between $1,000,000 and $1,250,000. Jim Wardner was given credit for working up the big deal. According to the Daily Review, the purchase included, in addition to the Bunker Hill and Sullivan mines, the Peck and Cooper claims, which had been under litigation in the courts for a long time, also, the Sancho fraction, the Bunker Hill fraction, the concentrator and concentrator contract held by the Helena Concentrator company and J. F. Wardner; also a contract for extracting 33,500 tons of second class ore and 10,000 tons of first class ore, held by J. F. Wardner; the Milo Water right owned by Wardner and the South Forks Water right of 10,000 inches. "The purchase," said the Review, "throws a large sum of money into the hands of various residents, among whom are N. S. Kellogg, Con Sullivan, Phil O'Rourke, Alex Monk, Jacob Goetz (Dutch Jake), Harry Baer, Albert Allen and S. T. Hauser, owners; O. O. Peck and Dr. Cooper, litigants; W. W. Woods, W. B. Heyburn, W. F. Stoll, attorneys; while the others are Jas. F. Wardner, the Helena Concentrator, Col. A. M. Esler, Jack Fitzgerald, Robert Miller and C. S. Burke.

The Oddfellows had a celebration in April and a feature of the day was the ball game between the Sprague Club and the Review nine—score Review 29, Sprague 12.

C. S. Voorhees was delegate in Congress and the Review which differed from him politically had this to say: "Hon. Chas. S. Voorhees appeared in a carriage in front of the Arlington last evening and made a speech. He turned out to thank the band, but the chance was too good and he got in a few licks for next season in advance." The Review sarcastically added that Mr. Voorhees lifted his voice as though he thought his audience were on the hills a mile away.

Construction started on the gas plant this spring. Several franchises had been granted by the council in previous years, but all lapsed by default until the fall of 1886, when a franchise was given to eastern capitalists who bought ground on Stevens street between Railroad avenue and Second avenue and pushed the work vigorously in the spring of '87.

By May the real estate boom was under full swing and Editor Dallam warned the people against inflated prices for outside platting. "In many outlying localities lots are being held at figures entirely out of reason and the effect will be a positive detriment to the growth and development of Spokane Falls. The heavy property owner and the real-estate agent are the only parties benefited by these unreasonably high prices. The city, the mass of the people and all branches of merchandising and manufacturing will be positive sufferers thereby." At that time two hundred houses were under erection and the inflation of values that called out this editorial warning was mild and modest compared to the degrees that were to follow.

In August, a rifle club was organized with Judge George Turner, president; Mayor W. H. Taylor vice-president; Paul J. Strobach, secretary; A. J. Staus, treasurer and an executive committee of O. C. Squire, J. B. Simpson and A. J. Warren.

The first social club, the Carlton, had its inception in August, when a number of business and professional men met at Turner & Forster's law office and appointed Paul Strobach, A. J. Staus and Harl J. Cook to draw up articles of incorporation and T. C. Griffitts, H. T. Browne and N. Toklas, to solicit members.

In August, the city directory appeared with 2,300 names and on a calculation of three to each directory name, the town claimed a population of 6,900.

In November the school enrollment had increased to 687, and in December a variety theater appeared, leading the Review to say, "A variety theater may not add to the moral tone of a city, but it indicates that the place has grown to the size where a regular place of amusement is in demand. Other cities support theaters of this class and Spokane Falls will not remain in the rear of the procession."

During the holidays, a Bachelor's ball was given in Concordia Hall on Second avenue, with Frank Hemmenway, Lane C. Gilliam, J. K. Stout, H. Bolster and A. F. McBroom, committee on arrangements. Members of the refreshment committee were Paul F. Mohr, Ben Norman and K. K. Cutter. It was quite the society event of the winter.

To an unknown writer in the Daily Review of August 4, 1890, I am indebted for the following review:

The years from 1880 to 1886 had been preparatory. The business efforts of the people had been a school, in which they had learned the value of concerted ac-

Glover Block—First National Bank Building, southwest corner of Front and Howard streets, erected by J. N. Glover, in 1883. The bank occupied the corner. F. Rockwood Moore was president, Mr. Glover, vice president, Horace L. Cutter, cashier and F. K. McBroom, assistant cashier. Dr. Whitehouse was proprietor of the drug store. In a side room at the right was the barber shop of John B. Parker, proprietor of the O. K. shop. Mrs. George Brandt, dealer in pianos and the only music teacher here at that time, had rooms upstairs.

The twelve mule team, drawing a train of three wagons, belonged to George Mitchell, government freight contractor. The outfit was loading hardware at George T. Crane & Company's store, adjoining the Glover Block, for transportation to Fort Spokane (now abandoned) at the junction of the Spokane and Columbia rivers. The young man standing by the front wagon was Nelson Miles Sprague, quartermaster's agent and nephew of General Nelson A. Miles. The photograph was taken by J. D. Maxwell in September, 1883.

tion. The population by 1886 had reached 2,000, the town had accumulated a bank capital of about $200,000. It's resolute fight for the County Seat had attracted attention. From the spring of 1887 to August 4, 1889, a little more than two years, may be grouped together as a period of most wonderful activity, preparation for which had been made with a sagacity equal to its results.

The Spokane & Palouse Railroad had been projected and built ninety miles into the heart of the fertile Palouse district.

The Seattle, Lake Shore & Eastern had been projected and constructed westward forty miles into the Big Bend country.

The Spokane Falls & Idaho was built to a connection with water transportation on Coeur d'Alene lake, rapidly developing the Coeur d'Alene mining region.

The Washington Central Railroad was organized and had constructed nearly one hundred miles toward the Okanogan mines.

The Spokane Falls & Northern was projected to reach the Colville and Kootenai mining regions.

The Northern Pacific had, in the meantime, built its line through to Puget Sound.

The Union Pacific had built a railroad from the south to secure a share of the rich traffic of the Spokane country. How great that traffic had been may be realized by the fact that the different lines of railroad then received and discharged more than twenty thousand tons of freight monthly in Spokane. At the same time traffic had so increased that fully five thousand people reached Spokane Falls by the various lines every month.

In 1887 the first street railway was projected and built about four and one-half miles on Riverside avenue and through Cannon's addition, a belt line returning through Browne's addition, followed by the Motor line to Cook's Heights and the electric street railway line and the cable railway. In all about twenty miles of street car track in a city, which had scarcely 3,000 people two years before.

The banks of the city had risen in number from two to ten, the capital had grown to nearly $1,000,000, with deposits of over $2,000,000. Mercantile transactions had swelled in proportion, the material results of the country had been developed, the manufacture of lumber had grown till the output of the mills was valued at $150,000 per month. The flour mills had been enlarged and new ones built till the manufacture was 300 barrels a day. The manufacture of brick, the production of lime and the quarrying of the beautiful gray granite of the country had taken up large capital. Scores of fine business buildings had been built and occupied. Beautiful residences crowned the hills and points of vantage, where the owners could look out upon the permanent character of their work and view with pride the thousands of happy homes around them, for in this brief period, the city had grown in population to nearly twenty thousand souls. Then in the hour of splendid success, when, standing on the firm present they could look back on the waving line of small beginnings and the broader course of gathering strength, and forward to the future when their miners should wrench out the wealth of the mountains and their merchants should gather the produce of the hills and bring them here to be wrought up for the use of commerce in their own mills and furnaces,—the clang of the fire bell, the voice of calamity broke the stillness of an August evening.

CHAPTER XLIII

THE GREAT FIRE OF AUGUST 4, 1889

BLAZE STARTS NEAR OLD N. P. PASSENGER STATION—SEEMS A TRIFLING AFFAIR—WATER SUPPLY FAILS AND FLAMES SPREAD—PEOPLE BECOME PANIC STRICKEN—BUILDINGS BLOWN UP WITH GIANT POWDER—MIGHTY SEA OF FLAME ROLLS TOWARDS THE RIVER—TERRIFIED AND MOTLEY CROWD FLEES TO NORTH SIDE—THIRTY-TWO BLOCKS DESTROYED—CITY UNDER MARTIAL LAW—COURAGE QUICKLY DISPELS DESPAIR—RELIEF ROLLS IN—DONATIONS FAR EXCEED NEEDS OF DESTITUTE—ORGY OF GREED FOLLOWS—COUNCILMEN INDICTED FOR MISAPPROPRIATING SUPPLIES—OPEN CHARGES OF BRIBERY IN "HAM COUNCIL"—STEVE BAILEY ASSAULTS COUNCILMAN BETTIS.

SUNDAY, August 4, 1889, became memorable as the date of the "great fire." The flames originated in a row of frame buildings near the corner of Railroad avenue and Post street, just opposite the old Northern Pacific passenger station. There had been no rain for many weeks and fierce forest fires were burning in the Coeur d'Alenes. A dense cloud of smoke hung over the city, sometimes obscuring the sun. On the first anniversary of the conflagration the Review retold the story of that fiery evening:

The blaze seemed a trifling affair and a bystander watching it before the firemen arrived remarked: "Six men could check the fire with buckets, the firemen will have it under control in a few minutes." The fire department arrived promptly and worked well, but there was no water. Men ran from one hydrant to another, while others impatiently held the nozzles of the empty hose.

The flames increased, slowly burning their way from the roof of the two-story building to the lower story and gradually extended to the adjacent houses which almost filled an entire block.

Darkness came on and the assembled crowd moved back in amazement as the flames mounted higher to the sky. Mayor Furth galloped into the crowd on horseback, then galloped away to look after the water supply. The situation became alarming and whisperings were heard that the city was doomed. Word went round that Superintendent Jones, of the water works, was out of town and the man in charge of the pumping station was unacquainted with the machinery. The whole block of frame buildings was then ablaze and the flames had created a high wind. The Pacific Hotel stood near, then one of the handsomest structures in the city. Before water came, its front began to yield, the plate glass began to crackle, curling clouds of smoke crept through the openings and arrows of flame shot through the swirling smoke banks.

Then came the panic, for the people realized that no power could check the conflagration. Hundreds hurried away to save their own effects. Every available vehicle was brought into requisition and fabulous sums were offered for assistance in the salvage of valuables. In less time than it takes to relate the story, the dome of the Pacific fell with a crash and a whirlwind arose that speedily swept over the block adjoining northward. In a moment that block was ablaze.

The scene was both grand and appalling, but there was work to be done. Those who had gone to the telegraph office to inform friends that a fire was raging here, went again and found that building in flames. Shrieks of women and children commingled with the commanding tones of the teamsters, the firemen and thousands of other voices, all of which were drowned by the roar of the sea of fire.

People supposed at first that such buildings as the Hyde block, Eagle, Tull, Granite and the Frankfurt would prove a barrier, but even these went down like children's playhouses. On the destroyer swept until the river was reached. All the banks, all the hotels, the postoffice, the land office, all the large business houses were destroyed in less than four hours from the time the alarm sounded. Every pound of giant powder that could be obtained was used in the blowing up of buildings on corners and by this means much valuable property was saved.

At the river masses of burning shingles and even flaming timbers floated northward in the air, igniting the mills on the other side, but by great effort and the judicious use of the little dynamite that was left, the fire was conquered there. Several bridges were destroyed, but the Washington and Post street crossings were saved. Over these a terrified and motley stream of homeless people passed, seeking shelter under the pine trees and relief from the smoke and heat and din of the ruins. They were not heavily burdened, for there were few downtown dwellers who had time to save anything of value. Some had blankets, others pillows and a few carried bundles on their backs, but most of them were scantily attired and bankrupt of all personal effects. Among the latter were many theatrical and "sporting" people, who were in great distress, for they lost not only all they possessed, but their means of earning a livelihood was gone.

Before the midnight train on the Northern Pacific was due, a rush was made for the depot. A scene of turmoil and destruction was there presented. The tracks had been destroyed all the way from Monroe to Washington street; the telegraph wires and poles were down for a greater distance. Men and women from the telegraph office were at work, tapping the wires at both sides of the burned district to accommodate the thousands who were clamoring for means of communication with the outer world. The clanging of the church bells had ceased, but still there were shriekings of locomotives and hoarse shouts of men in the railroad yards, seeking to save the company's effects. Both passenger and freight depots were gone and blazing cars were hauled away to protect the long trains that stood on the side tracks.

Thirty-two blocks in the heart of the city had been destroyed. No vestige of their former grandeur remaining, save the blackened walls and smoldering wrecks in basements.

The conflagration was under control by nine o'clock and before midnight the city was placed under military laws. Ropes were stretched across the principal

STREET SCENE AFTER THE GREAT FIRE OF AUGUST 4, 1889

Riverside avenue between Lincoln and Post, looking north

streets and lines were plainly marked. Notices were issued forbidding intrusion upon the stricken territory. Badges were issued those who could show that business demanded their admittance, but others were strictly refused, for the city was filled with thieves.

Great alarm was felt lest there might be much suffering for want of provisions and appeals for aid went out over the wires. Subsequent facts afterwards demonstrated that this alarm was unfounded, for a few carloads of supplies, for which most of the people in need of them were amply able to pay, would have been sufficient, but the panic was so great that the officials were possibly justified in their calls for assistance and the response came promptly, bountifully and overwhelmingly. Money was not needed, yet thousands of dollars came by wire, by mail and by express. Tents came from Fort Sherman and Walla Walla and blankets, quilts and clothing from other sources sufficient to supply an army. Bacon was corded up like wood in a forest and hams were shipped in by the ton with whole carloads of canned goods. Pickles, preserves and other delicacies accumulated to such an extent that a large force of men were employed to receive them.

The actual loss in dollars and cents was never ascertained, owing to the great number of small dealers, mechanics, lodgers and others, who lost all and carried no insurance and made no report. Thirty representatives of insurance companies were sent to adjust the losses. They found over $6,000,000. Two deaths occurred during the fire and several persons were injured. Fortunately only the business district was burned and all the residences, the schools and the churches escaped.

When the sun came up the morning after a dismal scene was presented. Towering amid the smoke and above the glowing embers were the charred remains of stately structures. Thousands were scurrying hither and thither viewing the appalling scene. Exclamations were uttered that Spokane Falls had received its death blow. A dense smoke hung over the city and the sun wore an angry look. Despair was depicted upon many a face until a rallying voice, seemingly borne upon the breezes, swept over the throng. The effect was electrical. "It was a blessing in disguise," the people said, "and the city will rise again, stronger and better than ever before."

The mayor and president of the board of trade, called a meeting of citizens and the council jointly, and Superintendent Jones, of the water works, was permitted to resign. Committees were appointed to look after individual cases of distress. The fire limits were extended and assurance given that better protection would be afforded in the future. Additional fire apparatus was ordered by telegraph, authority was given to buy horses to draw the hose carts, an electric fire alarm was ordered. This reassured the men who had lost their fine structures and they began bidding against each other for choice locations. Before the day was ended three banks had purchased corners at Riverside and Howard at $1,000 per front foot and architects and builders were at work. Tents were erected for temporary use and all through the fall and winter thousands of men and teams were employed. The ruined walls were knocked down with dynamite and the rubbish cleared away. As soon as plans could be drawn and material obtained, grander structures were in process of construction.

Lavishly the big heart of the west responded to Spokane's cry of distress. Tents, bedding, clothing, food, rolled in upon the burned city, literally by the train-load—in quantities vastly beyond the needs of the homeless people. And out of that surfeit of relief came acts of greed and plunder that made Spokane hang in sheer shame the proud head which had remained unbent before the city's flaming disaster. From the overflowing relief depot goods were hauled in wagon load to official homes, and to homes of citizens beside, where plenty already ruled. These revelations excited a mighty outburst of public indignation, and in December, 1889, the grand jury indicted Councilmen Sidney D. Waters and Peter Deuber and Police Officer William Gillespie for misappropriating relief supplies. These cases dragged along in the courts for several years, but the indicted men were never brought to trial, for the alleged reason that the chief witnesses had left the country. But it was long a matter of notorious comment that a few prominent citizens, who had weakly yielded to the argument that the supplies were spoiling and might better be distributed in quantity among them, covertly intrigued to protect the indicted officials.

Some one dubbed the city council then in power the "ham council," a jovial reference to the generous stores of packing house products piled high in the cellars of some of the members, and the name stuck and passed into history. But the indicted councilmen held on. As B. E. Barinds expressed it, "Every tribunal before which the relief case boodlers have been called has found them guilty; yet they still walk the streets and administer the affairs of the city in its council chamber."

At a council meeting in April, 1890, Councilman F. A. Bettis declared that he had information that a member of the council had been offered $500 to vote for one of the candidates for the police judgeship. The contest lay between General A. P. Curry and C. B. Dunning, and after the council meeting Mr. Bettis informed the reporters that the bribe had *not* been offered in behalf of Mr. Dunning. Later Bettis gave names to Mayor Furth, and at the next meeting the mayor announced that Peter Deuber was the councilman alleged to have offered the bribe, and Councilman Davidson the man who had rejected the offer. Mr. Bettis further alleged that he himself had been offered $1,000 by Contractor V. N. Massey to vote for acceptance of the Adams street grade. As a result of an extended investigation, Peter Deuber was expelled from the council, May 7, on a charge of bribery. For expulsion, Bartlett, Covey, Traut; for suspension, Fellowes and Booge. F. H. Notbohm was elected as Deuber's successor.

At the council meeting of April 7, 1890, former Councilman Stephen S. Bailey, who had been permitted to address the body on a matter of personal privilege, dashed a glass of water in Councilman Bettis' face, "causing a wild scene of confusion which came very near breaking up the council in a row." In those days the council ran nearly all the affairs of the city, personally superintending the buying of supplies. Councilman Bettis had asserted that Mr. Bailey, when in the council, had paid $375 for a horse for the fire department, and the animal was not worth $25. Defending himself, Bailey declared with much spirit that he had acted throughout in good faith, and he challenged any one to bring a single charge of

INSURANCE ADJUSTERS AT WORK AFTER THE GREAT FIRE

RIVERSIDE AVENUE AFTER THE FIRE OF AUGUST 4, 1889
LOOKING EAST FROM MONROE STREET

dishonesty against him while he was a member of the council. He grew personal in his remarks against Bettis, who retorted hotly that Bailey knew that this horse and others he had bought were worthless. Then it was that Bailey, who had drawn a glass of water from the cooler, stepped across the room and dashed the contents in Bettis' face. Instantly the room was in an uproar; sides were taken, and challenges flew back and forth to come outside and fight it out. The police restored order and Bailey was arrested.

CHAPTER XLIV

EVENTS OF 1889 REVIEWED

WASHINGTON ADMITTED TO THE UNION—SPOKANE'S FIRST LEGISLATIVE DELEGATION—CITIZENS GIVE LAVISHLY TO PUBLIC ENTERPRISES—A BEAUTIFUL AND IRRIDESCENT DREAM—OUR BEGINNINGS IN ART—THE TOWN'S BANKERS—ITS SOCIAL "ATMOSPHERE" DESCRIBED BY "LADY ALBION"—RECEIVING DAYS ON THE HILL AND IN BROWNE'S ADDITION—REPORT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE—ERA OF RAILROAD BUILDING—TEN THOUSAND MEN IN SURROUNDING MINING CAMPS—ORCHARDS STARTED ON "THE GRAVEL"—RAPID EXTENSION OF STREET RAILWAYS—FIFTEEN PLACES OF WORSHIP—HARRY HAYWARD'S THEATRICAL ATTRACTIONS.

THE year 1889 brought Washington into the Union. Appropriately, President Cleveland signed the act providing for statehood on Washington's birthday, February 22, and under its provisions the voters of the territory elected seventy-five delegates who assembled in constitutional convention at Olympia, July 4.* They completed their labors August 22, and the constitution was ratified October 1 by a vote of 40,152 to 11,789.

By presidential proclamation the state came into the Union November 11, the new state officers were inaugurated Monday, November 18, and on the day following elected Watson C. Squire of Seattle and John B. Allen of Walla Walla to the United States senate. John L. Wilson† of Spokane had previously been elected as the young state's representative in congress. Elisha P. Ferry of Seattle was the state's first governor.

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*Judge J. Z. Moore of Spokane was elected temporary chairman, and John P. Hoyt of Seattle permanent chairman. John I. Booge of Spokane served as chief clerk. Eastern Washington counties were represented by the following delegates: Adams—D. Buchanan. Columbia—M. M. Godman, R. F. Sturdevant. Franklin—W. B. Gray. Garfield—S. G. Cosgrove. Kittitas—J. A. Shoudy, A. Mires, J. T. McDonald. Klickitat—R. O. Dunbar. Lincoln—H. W. Fairweather, B. B. Glasscock, Frank Dallam. Spokane—C. P. Coey, George Turner, J. Z. Moore, J. J. Browne, T. C. Griffitts, H. F. Suksdorf, Hiram E. Allen, Stevens—S. H. Manley, J. J. Travis. Whitman—J. P. T. McCloskey, C. H Warner, E. H. Sullivan, J. M. Reed, James Hungate, George Comegys. Walla Walla—Lewis Neace, D. J. Crowley, B. L. Sharpstein, N. G. Blalock. Yakima—W. F. Prosser.

†In February, 1881, John L. Wilson, then a resident of Montgomery county, Indiana, was appointed by President Arthur receiver in the U. S. land office at Colfax. When the land office was moved to Spokane he came with it. In 1889, as the republican nominee for representative in congress, he defeated Thomas C. Griffitts, democrat. He was reelected in 1891, and again in 1893, and at the legislative session of 1895-96 was elected to the United States senate for the broken term ending March 4, 1899.

Spokane's delegation to the first state legislature, elected in November, 1889: Senate—H. W. Fairweather, H. E. Houghton, E. B. Hyde, B. C. Van Houten. House—J. S. Brown, A. K. Clark, E. B. Dean, J. W. Feighan, J. E. Gandy, S. G. Grubbe.

Feighan was elected speaker of the house, thus weakening the senatorial prospects of George Turner and making easy victory for the Allen-Squire combination. S. C. Hyde of Spokane was also a senatorial aspirant, but withdrew in expectation of securing the appointment of United States district judge, an honor which later went to C. H. Hanford.

When the year was reviewed in its closing month, it was seen that 1889 had been prolific in event and progress. Sales of city property from December 1, 1888, to December 20, 1889, reached the amazing aggregate of $18,756,323. The railroads brought that year a grand tonnage of 49,733 and were paid about $2,000,000 in freight rates.

Seven banking houses had an aggregate capital of $857,660, and total bank deposits, exclusive of two savings banks, were $3,212,832. County and city assessment on real and personal property totaled $15,131,928. The year's ore shipments from the Coeur d'Alenes aggregated 72,000 tons, of an average value per ton of $60—a total yield in excess of $4,000,000.

The value of buildings constructed and under construction since the great fire of August 4 was given as $3,020,500. The year's lumber cut was 30,000,000 feet within the city. Total amount expended on public and corporation work, $2,510,450.

Some of our property owners and business men think they are hard hit these modern days in calls for public funds to carry forward the fuller exploitation of the country's resources. To such we offer in consolation the stupendous record of subscriptions in 1889:

To the Seattle, Lake Shore & Eastern, $175,000.

To the Spokane Falls & Northern, $100,000.

To colleges and seminaries, $230,000; to lodges, $36,000; to churches, $100,000.

A grand total of $641,000.

"In 1885," wrote Major Routhe in review, "we had 3,000 souls; in 1886, 4,000; in 1887, 7,000; in 1888, 13,500; in 1889 we have 25,000. This ratio will give us, at the end of 1890, 35,000; at the end of 1891, 50,000; in 1892, 65,000; in 1893 80,000; and at the close of 1894, 100,000."

It was a dream—beautiful, irridescent and alluring as the gates of paradise; but a dream. The gallant steamer Spokane had on a full head of steam, her firebox "chock full o' rosin and pine, and a nigger squattin' on the safety valve;" everybody dancing in the ladies' cabin, and between dances the men lined up four deep at the bar; but just around the bend were fatal reefs and shifting bars, and countless hidden "sawyers" waiting for their prey. "At the close of 1894," quoth kindly, genial, hopeful, noble old Major Routhe. Ah, that direful, dreadful year, 1894! Incomparably worse even than the fever and excitement of 1893, for hope's candle then had quite burned out for many a brave and worthy soul, and black despair had settled in its place.

But we interrupt the brave old major in his charming dream. "Some may smile at this counting of chickens," he went on to say, "but the eggs are here; now

who will dare to say they will not be hatched?" Right you were, major, after all. The eggs were here—the country's potential resources loomed even then, big and sure, and the 100,000 chickens have been hatched, and more; and you were spared to see the vision come real and true, before they laid you to rest, with the old sword of the Union by your side, in a soldier's grave within the shadow of the California mountains that look down upon the southern seas.

We had then our beginnings in art. "Miss Maria J. C. aBecket," observed the Review, "whose studio is in the Sherwood building, is one of the most interesting members of the artist colony. Miss aBecket has a natural gift for rifle shooting, and keeps her skill with very little practice, or none at all. She is an enthusiastic canoeist and camper also, and though nowadays she is too much absorbed in her art for recreation, can shoot a rapid like a hunter or a veteran guide. Few painters are more indefatigable. All through last winter she rose early, went to church, breakfasted, then painted without rest till a six o'clock dinner; resumed work after that and often remained in front of the easel till one or two o'clock in the morning." As the soulful cowboy would say, "that sure was some art."

In Spokane's banking world these men loomed large:

First National—President, James N. Glover; directors, Frank R. Moore, H. W. Fairweather, James Monaghan; cashier, Horace L. Cutter.

Spokane National—President, W. H. Taylor; vice-president, Charles Hussey; directors, W. H. Taylor, C. R. Burns, Fred. D. Chamberlain, H. L. Tilton, B. Loewenberg; cashier, Warren Hussey.

Traders' National—President, E. J. Brickell; vice-president, D. M. Drumheller; cashier, M. M. Cowley.

Exchange National—President, Jacob Hoover; directors, G. Lauman, J. E. Gandy, A. J. Ross, George W. Odell, Charles E. Kingman; cashier, E. J. Dyer.

Citizens' National—President, B. C. Van Houten; vice-president, John L. Wilson; cashier, J. F. McEwen.

Browne National—President, J. J. Browne; vice-president, F. Heine; cashier, Theo. Reed.

Washington Savings Bank—President, H. L. Tilton; vice-president, A. M. Cannon; cashier, K. J. L. Ross.

Spokane Savings Bank—President, Horace L. Cutter; vice-president, James Monaghan; cashier, J. L. Prickett.

Bank of Spokane Falls—President, A. M. Cannon; cashier, B. L. Bennett.

In addition to the foregoing, Strobach & Munter conducted a savings bank that was a close, limited corporation.

The business of the postoffice doubled in all departments after the fire. December 1, 1889, two carriers were added to the service and provided with horses and carts. T. B. Warren had been postmaster since September 8. On December 15 the postoffice was moved from its quarters in the old M. E. Church to the Granite block. Over 1,000 lock boxes were rented in December. The revenue above all expenses was $935 in October and $2,345 in November.

The records of the United States land office showed that in 1889 settlers filed on 302,682 acres; 596 homesteads were entered, 702 preemption filings were made

on 89,000 acres; final proofs were made on 62,000 acres; 190 cash entries covered 20,000 acres, and under the timber act 261 filings were made on 41,000 acres.

Of course the town had a social "atmosphere," and Mrs. W. A. Mears, who wrote under the *nom de plume* of "Lady Albion," gives it expression. "Water, earth and air unite to crown Spokane the ideal, the peerless queen of cities," says she in rhapsody. We are told that "the Hill is very aristocratic, and receives on Wednesdays, when carriages and coupes, hansoms and gurneys (those dreadful gurneys, happily now long extinct), climb the spacious streets and throng the wide avenues with their fair freight. (Now, oh, cruel hand of time, "fair, fat and fifty!") "The heavy portiere is lifted," continues "Lady Albion," "and the smiling visitor glides into the perfumed presence of the mistress of the mansion, where, clad in classic robe or dainty empire gown, she nestles mid downy pillows, silken soft. Coals glow in the brazier, and anon a gentle aroma floats through the room from the Russian samovar where the tea is brewing, while fingers like rose leaves stray softly, yet busily among the dainty cups."

"Mr. J. N. Glover, one time the sole owner of all Spokane, is just completing a home which will be a source of pride to all the town. Built of granite, it is baronial in the magnificence of the stately rooms, wide halls, broad stairways, great libraries and spacious conservatories.

"Right on the verge of the cliff the Northern Pacific has laid out a magnificent addition. Cliff avenue follows the natural windings of the landscape. Out of the center of this addition a thirty-acre park will be given to the city, and a huge boulder will form a natural reservoir for the water which will have to be pumped there for the city's use. This, I predict, will be the very choicest residence portion of town.

"West from the Hill rise softly swelling hills, covered with trees except where beautiful airy streets have been cut through them. Hundreds of lovely homes on these hills, with other hundreds of lovely homes running down to the level land and beyond, almost to the river, are known as Cannon's addition. A palatial home in the midst of perfectly kept and highly ornamented grounds is Mr. Cannon's residence. Where one home stands thousands will cluster on the hills, back, back to the south and west—homes of peace and plenty.

"Thursday is reception day in Browne's addition, and this center of wealth and fashion is just as gracious in its dispensation of pleasant hospitality as the Hill.

"The northern part of the city is building up wonderfully, and probably 10,000 people live on that side of the river. The cable road crosses the river at Monroe street, and goes out across the boulevard, and crosses the river again at Twickenham, a delightful suburb where many pretty homes have been built, and where the baseball park is located and the meetings of the gun club are held."

From perfumed hostesses and Russian samovars to noisy, utilitarian sawmills is somewhat of a flight, but we must make it. The output of Spokane's mills is given in dollars:

SAWMILLS

Spokane Mill Company	$1,100,000
G. P. Dart	60,000

REVIEW OFFICE, CORNER RIVERSIDE AND MONROE STREETS IN 1889

Frame shack in front was used as business office and editorial room. First Presbyterian church in the rear housed the mechanical department. Low frame on the left was the city hall and police station

Falls City Company	216,000
Chattaroy Lumber Company	135,000
Russell, Parker & Co	300,000
W. R. Marvin	120,000
Smith, King & Co	60,000
Sexton & Merryweather	149,000
Dart Bros	90,000

FLOUR MILLS

C. & C. Mills	$328,000
Echo Mills	250,000
Centennial Mills	265,000

Prof. David Bemiss, who afterwards retired to his farm near Marshall Junction, and who died several years after his retirement, was superintendent of the city schools. E. A. Routhe, J. B. Sargent, E. H. Bartlett, G. B. Dennis and Theodore Reed constituted the board of education. In evidence of growth it was pointed out that while, in 1883, one building of four rooms served the town's educational needs, "now five regular schoolhouses and five rented buildings are used for school purposes. Then the enrollment was less than 225; now the total enrollment for the year to December 6 is 1,756, and the average daily attendance 1,083." A new central high school of twelve rooms, to cost $75,000, was contemplated.

W. H. Taylor was president of the board of trade, and W. S. Norman, secretary. The annual report held out confident expectation of the early establishment of a woolen mill. The city had enjoyed within the year a commercial growth of 100 per cent, its population had increased from 15,000 to 25,000, and its freight payments from $125,000 a month to $250,000. The O. R. & N. was completed into Spokane in August. D. C. Corbin, with a promised bonus of $100,000, had built the Spokane Falls & Northern to Colville, eighty-eight miles north, and trains were running regularly. "Next spring," said the report, "communication by steamboat will be opened between the S. F. & N. and the Canadian Pacific, and Mr. Corbin has already taken steps to make an extension of his system which will ultimately end in giving to Spokane Falls direct railroad connection with the Canadian Pacific and in opening up the immense mining regions which lie to the east, north and west of this important artery of our growth. This road has long been the hope and aspiration of our citizens. Back in '84 a few of our citizens organized a corporation with the intention of building a road to the Columbia river. In 1888 a second corporation, with Mr. A. A. Newbery as president, again stepped into the breach and carried out surveys and made preparations for the work. This latter corporation interested Mr. Corbin in the undertaking, and to them belongs the credit and glory of its success.

"Railroad building west of the city also has progressed considerably. The Seattle, Lake Shore & Eastern company have completed their road to Davenport, a distance of five miles from its termination last year, while the Northern Pacific have pushed the Washington Central road some forty miles from Davenport into the Big Bend country. . . . On the twentieth of this month the

Coeur d'Alene branch of the O. R. & N. will be opened for passenger traffic, and trains will be put on between Spokane Falls and the Coeur d'Alenes, making the round trip each day.

"The boast which was made some seven years ago, when Walla Walla was a city of 3,000 people and Spokane Falls a hamlet of 500, that the day was coming when the wheat of the Walla Walla valley would be brought up to the mills on the falls of the Spokane river, manufactured into flour and carried back and sold in the market of its growth, is now more than a possibility.

"As near as can be ascertained, the total loss by the recent fire was in the neighborhood of $5,000,000. Of this sum 50 per cent was covered by insurance, making the net loss about $2,500,000. This loss, however, has been materially reduced in the enhancement of values which has taken place in the land by reason of the removal of improvements which had outgrown their usefulness.

"Since the fire the total number of buildings on which construction has been commenced in the fire limits is about 500, representing an expenditure of $4,211,000, of which about 15 or 20 per cent has now been expended. There are already under construction one mile and three-eighths of street frontage in the fire limits of Spokane Falls, in solid brick or stone, from three to seven stories high.

"The Spokane Falls & Northern has cost $1,250,000; the O. R. & N. spent a similar amount; the Northern Pacific, $300,000 or $400,000; the Seattle & Lake Shore, $150,000; the terminal company about the same; cable railroad company, $150,000; Ross Park Electric Railroad company, $125,000; Washington Water Power company, $125,000; Spokane Water Power company, $50,000; electric light company, $60,000; and the city on its water works, nearly $113,000. The city has now completed in the last nine months eleven miles of street grading, the total contract price being $197,450. The water works of the city have been greatly improved during the past year. Two Holley pumps have been added, giving a combined capacity of 6,000,000 gallons per diem, and 12,182 feet of water mains have been laid.

"Five new bridges have been built across the Spokane river in the past year: two by the Cable Railroad company, at a cost of $68,000; one by the city (the Washington street bridge), and two by the Ross Park Electric Railway company."

The city assessment in 1888 was $3,686,138; in 1889, $8,735,856. The territorial and county tax was $222,117.

It was stated by Vice-president Oakes of the Northern Pacific that more business for his company originated from Spokane Falls the previous fiscal year than from any other point on their 3,500 miles of line. The total number of passengers arriving in the city in the year ending November 30 was 50,091.

About 10,000 men were working in the mining camps surrounding Spokane—in the Coeur d'Alenes, the Pend d'Oreille, Metaline, Kootenai, Colville, Kettle River, Rock Creek, Okanogan and Chloride camps. There were completed in 1889 in the Coeur d'Alenes seven concentrators, four of them the growth of that year. The Coeur d'Alenes were then producing more than one-fifth of the entire lead consumption of the United States.

Three thousand horse power had been developed in Spokane, about a tenth of the net efficiency of the power of the Spokane river here. The board of trade was urging factories—linseed oil mills to manufacture, "from the flax which is

grown so abundantly in the Palouse country; a pulp and paper mill which would have the spruce and poplar groves of the Coeur d'Alenes and Spokane and Stevens counties for its supply; a box and barrel factory, carriage shops, tanning industry and a distillery." A distillery was subsequently built at Trent, nine miles up the valley, but was not a success.

E. E. Alexander, G. P. Dart, E. P. Gilbert, W. H. Marshall, Benjamin H. Lewis, E. P. Warren and a few others had started orchards on the gravel east of Spokane, and Mr. Alexander thought that Spokane gravel was "the natural home for grapes." "Beginning four and a half miles east of the Northern Pacific depot (then at Railroad and Monroe)," wrote Mr. Alexander, "we have arrived where will be the future homes, surrounded by fruits of all varieties suitable to the climate. W. H. Taylor's place is the first, with about five acres planted to trees which have had little care, having changed hands too often. The next must be mentioned, even though it does belong to the writer, who preempted only three years ago and planted four acres of a variety of fruit trees, some of which bore this season. Surface irrigation," warned Mr. Alexander, "is found by experience to be a damage to trees. And the way to irrigate from beneath is to keep the weeds down, stir the soil after every rain to prevent baking, and also mulch each tree, not too heavy or too close to the tree, as heating of the manure will dry out the soil as well as scald the tree."

The boast was made that "Spokane Falls has the very best electric street railway in America, with the most perfect and complete equipment of rolling stock." Sixteen and a half miles of street railway were in operation January 1, 1890.

The Ross Park electric line, the first in Spokane, had been in operation about six weeks. G. B. Dennis was president, and Charles L. Marshall secretary, and the chief stockholders were H. N. Belt, who later served two terms as mayor; G. B. Dennis, C. R. Burns, Cyrus Bradley, I. S. Kaufman, E. J. Webster, S. Heath and R. W. Forrest. The company had four miles of double tracks.

The Spokane Street Railway company, oldest in the city, had three and a half miles in operation, and were still using horse cars. H. Bolster was president, and C. Herbert Moore, afterwards to become mayor; secretary, and the list of stockholders included W. O. Nettleton, Henry Brook, Alfred S. Moore, Herbert Bolster, J. D. Sherwood, F. R. Moore and Horace L. Cutter.

The Spokane Cable Railway company had invested $250,000 in its plant. J. D. Sherwood was its president, Frank R. Moore vice-president, and C. Herbert Moore secretary. The cable line began at Monroe and First, ran north across the river to Boone, and then west and crossed the river at a point near Natatorium park, having its terminus on the present drill grounds of Fort Wright. Three miles of track were in operation.

The Spokane & Montrose Motor line, which subsequently became the nucleus of the present Graves system, had been built by Francis H. Cook, president and principal owner. It operated two miles of line, from Front avenue by way of Washington to Fifth, out Fifth to Saxon street, and then on through Cook's addition. It ran one car with a steam motor, but later the line was extended and more cars added.

There were fifteen places of worship—Catholic, Methodist, Presbyterian, Congregational, Baptist, Unitarian, Episcopalian, Methodist Episcopal South, German

Lutheran and Christian. The First Baptist church had a woman pastor, Rev. May C. Jones, who had just completed her second year of service. Rev. Jonathan Edwards had been pastor of the First Congregational church for about four years.

Theatrical attractions, under the management of Harry Hayward, were played in old Concordia hall, Second avenue west of Monroe. Manager Hayward announced that he had contracted for the following star features:

Frank Mayo, the Duff Opera company, Vernona Jarbeau, Goodyear, Cook & Dillon's minstrels, Joe Murphy in "Kerry Gow" and "Shaun Rhue," Maggie Mitchell, Sol. Smith Russell, Augustine Daly's company, Bill Nye and James Whitcomb Riley, Levy Concert company, Paul Kauvar, Aronson's New York Casino Opera company in "Erminie" and "Nadja," and the Nellie McHenry Comedy company.

"To be followed in rapid succession by Denman Thompson's New York success, 'The Old Homestead,' which has made the longest run ever perpetrated in New York city and Ullie Ackerstrom in 'Still Alarm,' the Webster-Brady company in 'She' and 'After Dark,' the great melodrama, 'The Stowaway,' the Emma Abbott Opera company, Frank Daniels in 'Little Puck,' and Donnelly & Girard in 'Natural Gas.'"

CHAPTER XLV

SPOKANE IN TENTS AND ON RUNNERS

SEVERE WINTER OF 1889-90—RAILROADS BLOCKED AND TRAINS SNOWED IN—SPOKANE AT A LOW EBB MORALLY—"DUTCH JAKE'S" FAMOUS GAMBLING TENT—KILLING OF "BIG MAC"—LAW AND ORDER LEAGUE ORGANIZED—GAMBLING HOUSES CLOSED, BUT REOPEN—MONROE STREET BRIDGE TROUBLES—TIDE LAND FIGHT—SPOKANE CLUB FOUNDED—CITY LIMITS EXTENDED—SPOKANE'S FIRST PROFESSIONAL BALL TEAM—CLOUGH ELECTED MAYOR—THE "SHANTYTOWN WAR"—CITIZENS DEFEND THEIR LOTS WITH RIFLE AND REVOLVER—FIRST MINING EXCHANGE—ORIGIN OF HOME FOR THE FRIENDLESS—CARPENTERS STRIKE AND CITIZENS RALLY TO COMPLETE EXPOSITION BUILDING—WILSON DEFEATS TURNER—AUDITORIUM THEATER OPENED.

PIONEERS will long recall the severe winter of 1889-90, intensified by the primitive tented structures which were hurriedly thrown up in the business district after the August fire. Heavy snows fell early, and the earth was hidden for three months or more. The temperature fell as low as twenty-three below. "All Spokane is on runners," observed an eastern visitor. "All the hacks, coupes, express wagons, lumber wagons and heavy trucks are fitted with runners, and a street scene is a queer incongruity. The effect is heightened by the number of handsome cutters of all the different graceful styles—the double sleighs of English and Parisian designs, and the stately and elegant Russian models." Even the gurneys went on runners that winter.

All the railroads were blockaded, and on the Central Washington branch train service was suspended for weeks. An O. R. & N. passenger train from Portland was caught in a deep cut between Tekoa and Latah, was abandoned by passengers and crew, and lay there for weeks, completely buried in snow and blocking all traffic on that line. In some towns on the Central Washington line the stocks of kerosene and candles gave out, and the citizens sat in darkness, or went early to bed to escape the gloom.

Morally Spokane was at low ebb. A score or more of gambling tents, with frontage on Riverside, Sprague and Main, were noisy with the raucous cries of the dealers, the click of "chips," and the confused babel of restless throngs. Of these resorts that conducted by Jacob Goetz ("Dutch Jake") and Harry Baer, on the north side of Riverside between Post and Lincoln, was easily the chief. Within its tented area of 50x150 it was no uncommon sight to see 1,000 men or more playing at a dozen games of chance, or dining at the excellent restaurant which the resort maintained. Literally one could there eat a steak and play at faro synchronously without moving from his seat.

In the snowy street before this tent, on the night of January 10, Harry Baer, as he claimed in self-defense, shot and mortally wounded a disreputable character known as "Big Mac" McCrossen. Baer was ejecting another man from the tent, McCrossen interfered, an altercation followed, and the pistol shot rang out on the frosty air. The wounded man ran a few steps and fell in the snow; was carried to the hospital, and died a half hour later. Testimony before the coroner's jury contended that McCrossen first struck Baer a stinging blow over the eye, and the jury found that "the killing was perfectly justifiable." Later Mr. Baer was tried in the superior court and acquitted.

Like a flash of lightning and a peal of thunder the fatal shot aroused the dormant moral conscience of the community. Press and pulpit called on the officers of the law to close the gambling games, and organization of a Law of Order League quickly followed. "Here we have a vice," declared the Review, "which cuts like a two-edged sword, wrecking the lives of all who tamper with it; a 'business' which has never produced a morsel of food or shred of raiment, or contributed a cent to the world's capital. And yet there are men who gravely assert that gambling is essential to the prosperity of a city. Nevermore will vice and lawlessness lift their heads so arrogantly as during the period following the great fire of last August. A flame of public opinion has been aroused that may be relied upon to protect the homes of Spokane and shield the sons and daughters of this fair young city."

By order of Mayor Fred. Furth, Chief of Police Joel F. Warren, on January 11, visited the gambling houses and notified the proprietors to close their games. That afternoon the Law and Order League had taken out warrants for the arrest of a number of gamblers, but when it was learned that the mayor had ordered the games closed they were not served.

Spokane, however, was not ready to maintain a firm stand against public gambling. In a little while the storm of public indignation passed over, and within a few weeks the games were again in operation, though in a more guarded and less offensive manner.

In congress Representative John L. Wilson introduced a bill for a $300,000 public building in Spokane. More than twenty years were to roll away before the expectant citizens should see the consummation of that measure.

In January the final papers of the treaty between the United States and the Coeur d'Alene Indians were signed at DeSmet mission on the reservation occupied by that tribe. The Indians were paid $250,000 for 220,000 acres. Ben Simpson of Alabama and George A. Shoup of Idaho were commissioners for the United States.

On recommendation of Senators Squire and Allen, the president, January 18, appointed Patrick Henry Winston of Spokane United States district attorney for Washington.

Even then the city had its Monroe street bridge troubles. The first structure was a cheap wooden bridge that cost $42,500. Of this sum the city was to pay $15,000, the Cable Railway company $12,500, and benefited property owners along the street the remaining $15,000. The city withheld its payment, regarding the bridge as unsafe and not built up to specifications. Thereupon the Cable company nailed up the entrances and attached signs bearing the legend, "Private

NORTH SIDE OF RIVERSIDE AVENUE, NEAR CORNER OF WALL STREET
JUST AFTER THE FIRE OF 1889

RUINS AFTER THE GREAT FIRE

Property; no Crossing." Later the bridge was strengthened to the satisfaction of the city and again opened to public use.

In the legislature the chief issue that winter was the tide land question. A bill was pending to permit owners of abutting shore lands to buy the state's tidelands under a preferential scheme that would return to the public only a small fraction of their real value. Under leadership of Attorney General W. C. Jones, eastern Washington protested sharply against the raid, and the Review gave vigorous support to the protestants. "The tide lands of the state of Washington," said that paper, "are worth millions of dollars. By express and explicit declaration of the constitution they belong to the people, and under honest control would be the means of reducing taxation and placing the finances of the state upon so firm a foundation that they would be the glory of the commonwealth. But there is danger, under a foul conspiracy, and with the aid of cheap and corrupt men, that this magnificent heritage of our fair young state will pass into the hands of an audacious clique at an outrageous fraction of its true value."

When the bill came up for passage in the house, it was first defeated by the almost solid adverse vote of Spokane and Whitman counties, only Clark and Grubbe of Spokane voting for it. A few days later the defeated grabbers rallied for a second effort and the bill was passed on reconsideration. Later it passed the senate and was approved by Governor Ferry of Seattle. Railroads and manufacturing interests have since bought much of these tidelands in the Seattle and Tacoma harbors at prices running as high as a thousand times greater than the prices received by the state. In some cases lands sold by the state for a few thousand dollars were resold within sixty days at prices forty times in excess of the meager prices received by the state.

The Spokane Club came into being this year, and took quarters in March in a building adjoining the Spokane hotel on First avenue. Its charter members were H. B. Nichols, W. H. Taylor, A. A. Newbery, J. L. Prickett, H. Bolster, J. W. Chapman, Warren Hussey, Fred. Chamberlain, B. C. VanHouten, T. J. Hay, F. R. Moore, H. W. Augustine, Ben Norman, T. E. Jefferson, F. Lewis Clark, Lane Gilliam, N. Fred. Essig, H. L. Wilson, C. R. Burns, Fred. Mason; these twenty subscribing each for $500 of the $10,000 capital stock. A. A. Newbery was the first president; W. H. Taylor, treasurer; H. B. Nichols, secretary; and H. Bolster, F. R. Moore, T. E. Jefferson, J. W. Chapman and C. R. Burns, vice-presidents.

The legislature created an additional superior judgeship for Spokane county, and Governor Ferry appointed J. M. Kinnaird. Poor Kinnaird! Little thought he or his friends that Fate held in store for him a black and tragic ending.

This spring the city limits were extended, from two miles to three and a half miles square, adding one mile on the north and a half on the south, one mile on the east and a half on the west.

Sunday morning, March 9, appeared the first number of the daily Spokesman.

Professional baseball in Spokane dates from March 10, when a stock company was organized with $10,000 capital, by J. D. Sherwood, T. E. Jefferson, F. R. Moore, H. Bolster, H. C. Holmes, H. L. Cutter, A. S. Moore and C. H. Moore. John S. Barnes came out from St. Paul to manage Spokane's first team, which

won the pennant in 1890, an achievement not to have repetiton until exactly twenty years thereafter.

Tom Jefferson was president; Mose Oppenheimer, first vice-president; Joe Hanauer, second vice-president; F. K. McBroom, treasurer; W. F. Kennedy, secretary. The club had membership in the Pacific Northwest Baseball League, with Portland, Seattle and Tacoma, which in turn was a member of the National League of America. Under the rules no club could expend more than $1,000 a month for players.

Spokane had that spring a season of grand opera, Emma Juch and company singing "Faust" and "Carmen" in old Concordia hall on Second avenue west of Monroe. "Never before," said the Review, "have the wealth, beauty and fashion of this fair young city turned out in such numbers."

For mayor, C. F. Clough ran against F. E. Curtis. The election fell on April 1, and Clough polled 791 votes, Curtis 371. J. S. Watson was elected city treasurer, P. F. Quinn city attorney, M. G. Harbord chief of police, J. Nestor city assessor, and E. C. Covey, E. J. Fellowes, E. H. Bartlett and A. Traut to the council.

Probably the most spectacular and exciting event of 1890 was the "Shantytown war," which grew out of a three-cornered contest over the immensely valuable tract lying between Mill and Division, west and east, and Sprague and the alley between Sixth and Seventh, north and south. This land had been settled on by Enoch, a sub-chief of the Spokanes, prior to the coming of the first white settlers. Enoch, in 1874, induced H. T. Cowley to come to Spokane as missionary and teacher, and gave him a part of his tract. The land fell within the grant of the Northern Pacific, which contested Enoch's claim. Cowley entered into contract with the railroad company to buy his portion, but the company subsequently repudiated the contract, and to clear its title bought Enoch off. L. H. Prather and others raised the legal point that Enoch could not legally transfer, and that when he abandoned the land it reverted to the public domain. On this theory they petitioned the secretary of the interior to convert the land into a public townsite, and made sufficient impression to lead Secretary Noble to designate a day for a public hearing. That started the "boomers" with a rush. All day April 16, and through the night as well, "Shantytown" presented a novel and a stirring sight. Hundreds of squatters were building shacks on their "claims," and in self-protection many citizens who had bought lots from the Northern Pacific hurriedly threw up shanties, to be "on the safe side." Among the lots jumped was one but recently bought by the Catholic church for $10,500. Otto Bringgold, living on his two lots at Fourth and Bernard, took a Winchester rifle and drove the jumpers from his place. For $12,500 the Congregational church had recently bought from the Northern Pacific the southeast corner of Fourth and Washington. These were jumped, and Rev. Jonathan Edwards, the pastor, was assaulted by the claimants.

Horace L. Cutter held his lot on Fifth, between Washington and Bernard, by building a shanty, and Fred McBroom fenced in his lot on Fourth. Two lots owned by G. B. Dennis on Fifth were jumped and shacks erected.

The following day citizens who had bought from the railroad rallied in force and demolished a large number of the shanties, and H. T. Cowley caused the arrest of a number of men who had jumped lots on his tract. Twenty special police-

men and a large number of sheriffs' deputies were kept on the scene to preserve law and order. Later Secretary Noble decided that as Enoch had never severed his tribal relations, he could not take land in severalty, thus disposing of the claims of the squatters. The contest between Mr. Cowley and the Northern Pacific dragged its weary way for nearly twenty years through the departments and the courts, with Cowley winning at every turn; and in the end the railroad was glad to make a settlement on the basis of yielding all except the right of way and lots it had deeded to others, in lieu of which it paid Mr. Cowley $25,000 in cash.

At its height Shantytown boasted of 400 shacks, but it faded away under the adverse decisions, and when B. E. Barinds, representing the property owners, leased forty acres of school section 16 in the east end, platted it as Mechanicsville, and offered the survivors free occupancy of a lot for one year, many of them moved out there and years later bought at low prices from the state.

Henry B. Clifford came to Spokane in the spring and worked up local sentiment for a smelter. Several public meetings were held, a right of way secured for a railroad down the Spokane river five miles, and Clifford, returning east, gave lectures and sold stock, enlisted the support of Robert G. Ingersoll, the famous agnostic, and finally built the smelter whose dismantled ruins still adorn a flat on the river shore just below Fairmount cemetery.

Early in May Spokane's first mining exchange was organized. Among the members were F. R. Wilcox, T. S. Griffith, L. C. Dillman, R. S. Oakley, R. H. Kemp, F. E. Goodall, J. Hanauer, Knox Johnson, Warren Hussey, H. M. Augustine, W. H. Taylor, F. R. Moore, B. E. Barinds, L. K. Armstrong, E. J. Brickell, B. H. Bennett, L. MacLean, Sam Silverman, S. Oppenheimer, J. W. Chapman, C. W. Ide and E. J. M. Hale. Warren Hussey was president, F. E. Goodall vice-president, and L. K. Armstrong secretary.

The New Home for the Friendless was dedicated May 22. It grew out of a "Mother Goose" charity ball, held in December, 1886. The idea originated with Miss Fannie Reamer, and Mrs. John Todd, Mrs. A. B. Wheeler, Mrs. Wm. Butterworth, Miss Kate Reamer and Miss Mollie Scott sold tickets. The ball was held in the old opera house, corner of Post and Riverside, the ladies appearing in "Mother Goose" costumes, and netted $145. On the evening of January 17, 1887, the ladies who gave the ball met at the residence of Mrs. Butterworth and organized the Ladies' Benevolent society: Mrs. John Todd, president; Miss Fannie Reamer, first vice-president; Mrs. A. B. Junken, second vice-president. The society was incorporated April 4, 1888. In February, 1889, J. J. Browne donated two lots in Central addition. Mrs. J. J. Browne, Mrs. T. E. Jefferson, Mrs. D. F. Wetzel, and Mrs. A. J. Ross were named a committee on plans. The fire relief committee donated $8,000, and the building was erected.

Fire, the night of July 23, burned the Monroe street bridge and a number of frame business structures on North Monroe. At the same time another fire broke out on Second avenue in the business district. The water supply failed, and for a while it seemed that the town was to suffer another sweeping conflagration. Fortunately the night was calm, and the two blazes slowly burned themselves out with a loss of $200,000. Agitation followed for a reservoir and a more adequate water supply.

Fire at Wallace, Idaho, July 28, consumed the entire business district, at a loss of half a million dollars.

Connection was made in August, by the Spokane Falls & Northern and a line of steamboats from Northport, with the main line of the Canadian Pacific at Revelstoke, and the first through passengers arrived in Spokane the 15th.

August 28 all the union carpenters employed by the Spokane Mill company went out on strike, and a week later the union men at work on the Auditorium building went out on a refusal to use material from the mill company. The strike soon became general among the carpenters, who protested against long hours and wages that were inadequate to the high cost of living. They had been working ten hours for three dollars, and demanded a reduction of one hour without any cut in the wage scale. Their demand was undoubtedly just and moderate, but unfortunately they alienated public sentiment by withdrawing their men from the building then under construction by the Spokane Industrial Exposition. This action, taken September 17, with the date of opening drawing near, menaced the success of an enterprise dear to the public heart. The directors promptly issued this appeal:

"All good citizens are requested to report at the exposition building tomorrow morning at 7 o'clock, with or without tools, to do whatever is within their power to aid in completion of the building."

By the appointed hour 350 citizens were on the site. Among the volunteers were A. M. Cannon, W. H. Taylor, A. A. Newbery, Paul Mohr, C. R. Burns, J. N. Glover, Walker L. Bean, A. P. Sawyer, Herbert Bolster, K. K. Cutter, Henry M. Hoyt, Herbert Nichols, Oskar Huber, Howard Mallon, E. J. Webster, Councilman Notbohm and sons, E. J. Hyde, R. S. Oakley, Fred. Mason, L. S. Roberts, W. S. McCrea, M. A. Phelps, Henry L. Wilson, F. Lewis Clark.

During the day a number of citizens took carpenters off their own buildings and put them at work on the exposition structure, and by night 200 skilled carpenters were at work alongside of a greater number of volunteers. A large group of well known women went out to the building and served luncheon to the workers. Among these were Mesdames A. M. Cannon, N. Fred. Essig, John L. Wilson, J. N. Glover, Alfred Moore, C. M. Patterson, Frank Moore, J. E. Gandy, H. L. Cutter, W. H. Taylor, Fred. Mason, Warren Hussey, I. S. Kaufman and P. H. Winston.

The building was finished on time, and the exposition opened October 1, with an estimated attendance of 12,000. W. H. Calkins was orator of the day. Musical attractions were a grand chorus by 150 singers of the Spokane Musical society, and patriotic airs by the Fourth Infantry band and that of the Second regiment, N. G. W. President F. Lewis Clark delivered the address of welcome, and remarks were made by Mayor C. F. Clough. General A. P. Curry, assisted by Lieutenant J. J. White, was chief marshal of the parade. Lane C. Gilliam was floor manager of a brilliant ball at night in the art gallery. The fair, which was managed by Charles W. Robinson, at an annual salary of $5,000, ran for more than a month, closing November 3. Officers, besides President Clark, were: W. H. Taylor, vice-president, who succeeded G. B. Dennis, resigned; John W. Goss, secretary; and an executive committee that included A. A. Newbery, A. M. Cannon, Jay P. Graves, L. C. Dillman, C. R. Burns and F. R. Moore. Other directors

FIRST MONROE STREET BRIDGE, OPENED IN 1889. LATER DESTROYED BY FIRE

SECOND MONROE STREET BRIDGE, BUILT IN THE EARLY '90s

NEW MONROE STREET BRIDGE, COMPLETED IN 1911 AT A COST OF FIVE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS. LONGEST CONCRETE ARCH IN THE UNITED STATES

were H. L. Tilton, H. N. Belt, John R. Reavis, J. J. Browne, H. L. Wilson, E. J. Brickell, J. N. Glover and W. H. Lynch.

The exposition was held on a block of ground donated by L. C. Dillman, between Riverside and Sprague, and six blocks east of Division. Out of a desire to make the fair permanent, the city government, in November, bought the building and grounds for $75,000. Fire, a few years later, destroyed the structure.

A spirited political contest for control of the republican organization was waged this year between John L. Wilson and Judge George Turner, and culminated at the primaries, September 6, which "resembled a general election in every respect," and brought out an astonishingly heavy vote. On the popular total vote Turner carried the city, winning in the First ward by 109 majority; but Wilson carried the three other wards by an aggregate majority of sixty-nine, and also won in a majority of the country precincts, which gave him control of the county convention. Total republican vote in the city, 1,478. At the state convention at Tacoma, September 25, Wilson was renominated for congress by acclamation.

A notable event of 1890 was the formal opening of the beautiful Auditorium theater, with a performance of "Nanon" by the Carleton Opera company. The building was packed from orchestra to the top gallery. In an opening address Col. P. H. Winston complimented Manager H. C. Hayward. Calls came from the audience for A. M. Cannon and J. J. Browne, the men whose enterprise and wealth had given the splendid theater to Spokane, and they responded with words of thanks.

In box A were Mr. and Mrs. A. M. Cannon and Mr. and Mrs. Francis Hemmenway; B, Mr. and Mrs. B. H. Bennett, Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Clark; C, Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Chapman; D, Mr. and Mrs. C. R. Burns, Dr. and Mrs. Lockhart; E, Miss Josie Cannon, Idelle Houghton, Miss Anderson, Mrs. Willet, Paul F. Mohr, L. Howser; F, Mr. and Mrs. J. J. Browne; G, Mayor C. F. Clough and Mrs. Clough; H, Mr. and Mrs. F. R. Moore, Mr. and Mrs. Alfred S. Moore.

In a theater party were Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Taylor, Dr. and Mrs. N. Fred. Essig, Mr. and Mrs. T. E. Jefferson, Dr. and Mrs. C. S. Penfield, Mrs. John L. Wilson, Henry L. Wilson. Others whose presence was noted were Mr. and Mrs. Henry L. Pittock from Portland, Mr. and Mrs. T. C. Griffitts, Mr. and Mrs. Jay P. Graves, Mr. and Mrs. Binkley, Mr. and Mrs. Taylor, Mr. and Mrs. R. S. Oakley, Mr. and Mrs. S. C. Hyde, Mr. and Mrs. P. H. Winston, Mr. and Mrs. C. B. Hopkins, Mr. and Mrs. F. M. Tull, Mr. and Mrs. J. F. Sloane, Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Greenberg, Mr. and Mrs. Walker L. Bean, Mr. and Mrs. Warren Hussey, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Hussey, Mr. and Mrs. George Dodson, Mr. and Mrs. Harl J. Cook, Mr. and Mrs. D. F. Wetzel, Mr. and Mrs. John Todd, Mr. and Mrs. H. L. Cutter, Mr. and Mrs. D. T. Ham, Mr. and Mrs. C. S. Voorhees, Mr. and Mrs. C. P. Oudin.

The ushers: George Dreher, J. C. Beidelman, Harry Vincent, W. S. McCrea, W. McCallum, J. R. Way, C. F. Webster, W. Canette, F. Kershaw, M. McDonald, F. Arnold.

At a special election September 27 the fifteen following citizens were elected to revise the city charter: Albert Allen, F. A. Bettis, C. R. Burns, A. M. Cannon, James Glispin, J. N. Glover, H. E. Houghton, D. P. Jenkins, I. S. Kaufman,

George H. Leonard, F. Mason, James Monaghan, A. Munter, Robert Russell, E. J. Webster.

Among other events of 1890 was the appointment of C. H. Hanford as federal judge. Other aspirants were S. C. Hyde and J. Z. Moore of Spokane, and W. H. Calkins of Tacoma.

Work started March 19 on the Review building.

Hotel Spokane opened April 23.

In May floods in the Coeur d'Alenes and extreme high water in the Spokane river.

Decision of the Northern Pacific to locate its new passenger station between Divison and Bernard.

Signing of the Idaho admission act, July 3, by President Harrison.

Destruction of the entire business district of Pullman, July 3, involving a loss of $200,000.

City council decided that all tents in the fire limits must be vacated and torn down by August 1.

Appointment of A. J. Shaw as postmaster, July 17, to succeed Tom B. Warren. Mr. Shaw took possession September 1.

Institution of El Katif temple, Nobles of the Mystic Shrine, July 31, by a large delegation from Mecca Temple, New York.

Suspension of the Spokane National, bank, December 17. W. H. Taylor, president; Warren Hussey, cashier.

Death of J. M. Adams, December 22. Had been register of the Spokane land office, and editor of the Morning Review from January 1, 1889, to October, 1889.

Starting of work on the Monroe street bridge. The piers were built by day labor, the bridge by contract.

In December the Spokane Street Railway company started work by putting in electric power and abolishing horses.

CHAPTER XLVI

NEW YEAR'S, 1891, SEES A NEW SPOKANE

INDIAN WAR THREATENED IN OKANOGAN COUNTRY—BRIBERY SENSATION AT OLYMPIA—CITY ELECTION—MAYOR, COUNCIL AND COMMISSIONERS CLASH—BOARD OF TRADE BECOMES CHAMBER OF COMMERCE—SALE OF MORNING MINE—STRANGE CASE OF HERMAN L. CHASE—BEGINNING OF ROSSLAND CAMP—DISCOVERY OF KASLO AND SLOCAN MINES—JAMES J. HILL'S FIRST VISIT—NEW HIGH SCHOOL OPENED—SPOKANE'S FIRST DERBY—REVIEW CELEBRATES IN ITS NEW BUILDING—SPIRITED SCHOOL ELECTION.

BY JANUARY 1, 1891, sixteen months after the great fire of 1889, a new and imposing business district had taken the place of that leveled by flame. It was closely estimated that $5,000,000 had gone into new buildings in 1890. The census of June had given Spokane nearly 20,000 population, but that count embraced only people living within the old city limits, two miles square. Population within the annexed territory gave a true total of nearly 25,000, and by January 1 the newspapers claimed 28,000.

Real estate transfers for 1890 were totaled at $18,000,000. The assessed valuation of city property was $18,790,000. The flour mills had a daily capacity of 700 barrels, and the year's lumber cut was 30,000,000 feet. Eleven banks had $5,000,000 on deposit. The year's postoffice receipts were $52,705, as against $19,612 in 1888. A census of the manufacturing interests showed 223 concerns, employing 2,584 hands. The railroads that year had carried in and out of Spokane 257,500 tons of freight. The telephone system had 410 subscribers, and thirty-four miles of street railway were in operation.

The city had nine public school buildings, valued at $425,000; forty-three teachers and 2,500 pupils. There were thirty churches.

As revealing the growth of a decade, the Review contrasted these figures with the showing of 1880, when the town had a population of 350, an assessed valuation of $50,000, real estate transfers of $25,000, a milling capacity of ten barrels daily, an annual lumber cut of 500,000 feet, and a payroll of twenty-five hands.

In January came news of a threatened Indian uprising in the Okanogan country. A freighter named Cole had been murdered by Indians, and in making arrests Deputy Sheriff Ives killed "Captain John." Stephen, a youth of 15, and cousin of Captain John, came in and surrendered on a promise that he should be tried by law. Twenty-five masked men went to the jail on the morning of January 8, seized the Indian boy, and hanged him to a tree half a mile below Ruby City.

This deeply grieved and angered the Indians on the Colville reservation, some of whom grew menacing. The unrest spread to neighboring tribes, and so far away as Yakima redmen were war dancing. The scattered settlements, alarmed at this showing, sent out appeals for protection, and the governor ordered Company G of Spokane in readiness to be dispatched to the front. At this juncture Adjutant-General A. P. Curry of Spokane, gathering around him a few experienced frontiersmen, went into the Nespelim country, held a conference with seventy of the leading Indians, and was successful in his effort to mollify them.

Thus passed the last Indian scare in the Spokane country.

At Olympia this winter the senatorial contest lay between Watson C. Squire, of Seattle, who sought reelection, and W. H. Calkins of Tacoma. In the house, January 20, Representative John L. Metcalf of Stevens stated that Harry A. Clarke of Spokane had offered him $500 to vote for Calkins. Friends of the Tacoma candidate promptly branded this as a Squire trick to discredit Calkins. The next day Squire was elected. A legislative investigation was ordered, and after a series of sensational hearings, the committee reported that Clarke had paid the bribe, but Metcalf had solicited it, and exonerated Calkins from knowledge of the transaction. By a vote of 41 to 33 the house refused to unseat Metcalf.

In the spring campaign three tickets went before the voters. On that of the Citizens Jacob Hoover appeared for mayor, I. C. Libby for comptroller, J. H. Eardley for treasurer, J. T. Hamilton for city attorney, and Robert Abernethy for assessor.

Another ticket was headed by Frank A. Bettis for mayor, and his running mates were: Comptroller, W. H. Carson; treasurer, J. S. Watson; attorney, J. J. Reagan; assessor, P. J. Donahoe.

On the People's ticket were: D. B. Fotheringham for mayor; Theodore Reed, comptroller; J. S. Watson, treasurer; P. F. Quinn, attorney; L. K. Boissonnault, assessor.

At the election, March 24, Fotheringham was elected mayor, Reed comptroller, Watson treasurer, Hamilton attorney, and Abernethy assessor.

The new charter, framed by a freeholders committee of 15 under the guiding hand of H. E. Houghton, was adopted by a large majority, and under its provisions fifteen councilmen were chosen:

First ward—Frank P. Cook, J. N. Barker, J. F. Spiger.

Second—George G. Ambs, Fred. Baldwin, Peter Graham.

Third—H. W. Greenberg, Paul J. Strobach, A. Traut.

Fourth—J. D. MacLean, W. O. Nettleton, M. Thomsen.

Fifth—C. L. Knox, A. D. Jones, H. N. Belt.

Fotheringham had 323 plurality, Reed 791, Watson, 543, Hamilton 74, and Abernethy 67. The official name of the city was changed from "Spokane Falls" to plain Spokane.

For city commissioners under the new charter the council accepted Mayor Fotheringham's nominations of James Monaghan and W. H. Wiscombe, but rejected that of Clarence Ide. Later the mayor and the council came together on G. G. Smith for the third commissioner. For chief of police the commissioners elected Peter Mertz, Wiscombe voting for W. W. Witherspoon, all three ignoring the mayor's

choice of Hal Cole. For corporation counsel the councilmen rejected the mayor's nominee, Albert Allen, but subsequently accepted H. E. Houghton.

At a special election, June 16, the electors voted, 1,519 to 79, for a bond issue of $1,200,000, to take up warrants, improve and extend the water system, build bridges at Monroe street and other crossings and make various needed public improvements.

In June Mayor Fotheringham directed the commissioners to instruct the chief of police to enforce the law closing saloons and variety theaters on Sunday. "If they want to kill the town, they are going at it just right," was Harry Baer's brief comment.

In July Captain Thomas W. Symons, U. S. engineer corps, employed by the city as consulting engineer, submitted a report. He advised a central power station, and if the supply should be taken from the river, the laying of an intake pipe to a point sufficiently extended up stream to avoid sewer contamination. His report, however, rather favored the gathering up of the large springs on the Selheim ranch on the Little Spokane. He urged the building of a reservoir.

Lack of harmony involved the mayor, council and commissioners in frequent clashes of authority. In October the mayor, with the support of thirteen of the fifteen councilmen, removed commissioners Smith and Wiscombe, and they were succeeded by H. W. Fairweather and B. C. Riblet. December 26 the council removed Commissioner Riblet, and three days later W. W. Witherspoon was appointed and confirmed.

This year the board of trade was reorganized as a chamber of commerce, and sent Robert Easson to New York and Chicago to urge upon high railroad officials the justice of Spokane's appeal for reduced freight rates. The trustees were confident, if the merchants would stand united, that a substantial reduction could be won. On the night of December 26 the chamber gave "the largest and most successful banquet that was ever carried out on the North Pacific coast." One hundred and fifty plates were laid at the hotel Spokane. President A. A. Newbery was toastmaster. George Turner spoke to "The State of Washington," Ex-United States Senator W. J. McConnell to "The State of Idaho," and Henry L. Wilson to "The City of Spokane." Other speakers were Robert Easson, Attorney-General W. C. Jones, Walter Hughson, S. R. Stern, Cyrus R. Burns, J. J. Browne and A. M. Cannon.

Herman L. Chase, receiver of the Spokane National, went east to sell the Morning mine in the Coeur d'Alenes, chief asset of the bank. Negotiations were pending over a greater part of the year, but in December came news that the mine was sold to a syndicate of New York and Milwaukee bankers, for $400,000. After the payment of a mortgage and other prior liens, enough was realized eventually to return the depositors nearly 100 cents on the dollar.

Receiver Chase was lauded for his able management of his trust, but subsequently, by a strange contradiction of character, became involved in two disreputable personal transactions. While his family was away from home he was arrested, on complaint of his domestic, for criminal assault. Evidence brought out at his trial in the superior court convinced the public mind that he was culpable, but under instructions from Judge Jesse Arthur, the jury returned a verdict of not guilty. A wave of indignation rolled over the city, and many well known women publicly

branded the trial as a farce and the verdict a gross miscarriage of justice. Out of this agitation came later a legislative investigation, and Judge Arthur narrowly escaped impeachment. Chase moved to Tacoma, and was there arrested, but subsequently acquitted on a charge of stealing the personal effects of an acquaintance.

In the summer of 1891 the Trail Creek mining district, later better known as Rossland camp, began to attract public attention. The first locations had been made in July, 1890, and in the latter part of November, the same year, a company of Spokane men—Oliver Durant, Alex. H. Tarbet, George M. Forster, I. N. Peyton, W. W. D. Turner, George Turner, W. M. Ridpath, Harry Stimmel and J. R. Taylor —contracted the Le Roi claim and put in winter supplies and men to develop it. By April, 1891, they had sunk an inclined shaft sixty feet, and made numerous open cuts in ore that ran 5 to 20 per cent copper, 3 to 10 ounces silver, and $48 to $470 gold. Trains on the Spokane Falls & Northern were taking many prospectors and mining men into the new eldorado. About that time D. C. Corbin, with the end of his railroad at Northport on the Columbia, was scanning the wild hills of the Kootenay country, with a dream that was scarcely yet a purpose, of extending his line to aid in the stupendous task of unlocking their mineral vaults. "Mark what I say," observed Mr. Corbin to a reporter, "that Trail creek district is coming to the front." To carry on development work, the Le Roi company offered a large block of treasury stock in June at 25 cents a share—a basis of $125,000 for the property, which struck most people as absurdly high.

In 1891 came discovery of the Kaslo and Slocan mining districts, and the location of a number of fabulously rich silver-lead mines that were to pour their dividends into the purses of several score of Spokane mining men and investors. News of these discoveries reached Spokane in August. Andy Jardine, who had penetrated that wilderness from Ainsworth, on Kootenay lake, returned with his pack saddle well loaded with promising appearing specimens. He quietly informed a few friends of his discovery, and that he had located a claim in there and called it the "Kastlo." Jim Van Hook and T. T. McLeod went in and located extensions, and when they returned to the lake, assays of their specimens ran 300 ounces in silver. A stampede into the new district quickly followed. By September 30 prospectors had pushed over the divide and were locating mines in the Slocan country. Under date of October 19 a dispatch from Ainsworth reported that Jack Evans of Nelson had made the biggest strike yet found around Slocan lake. The country was wild with excitement, and hundreds of prospectors and miners were leaving for the new district.

This year was made memorable, too, by the extension of the Manitoba, as the Great Northern then was known, over the Rocky mountains and towards the salt inland sea of Puget Sound. September 5 James J. Hill made his first visit of observation, taking carriage and driving over the town. A delegation of citizens, including J. J. Browne, I. S. Kaufman, Henry L. Wilson, John R. Reavis and J. B. Jones, Charlie Voorhees' law partner, called on the famous railroad captain, who promised to come again, and "made a most favorable impression on all who met him." Burns & Chapman, local railroad contractors, were building a large section of the new railroad across the Idaho Panhandle.

The Irish-American association was organized in February, with James Monaghan its first president.

The Spokane Athletic club had organized with Herbert Bolster for president,

MAIN FALLS IN THE SPOKANE RIVER, TAKEN AT HIGH-WATER STAGE

LOWER FALLS OF THE SPOKANE AS THEY APPEARED THIRTY YEARS AGO

and on the evening of February 23 threw open to the public its well equipped quarters, "the finest in the northwest."

F. Scrivir started a small match factory in March, with cordial local encouragement, but the product proved to be inferior, and the enterprise was not a success.

An entertainment given June 3, in Concordia hall, for the benefit of the Union library, netted $125. This worthy organization, fostered by a group of union labor leaders, was the nucleus of the present public library.

In April eastern Washington was on the *qui vive* over the approaching location of the State Agricultural college. George H. Black of Fairhaven, S. B. Conover of Port Townsend and A. H. Smith of Tacoma, appointed by Governor Laughton to choose a location, arrived in Spokane and were shown over Five Mile, Moran and Pleasant prairies. Pullman was chosen in preference to Yakima, Colfax, Spokane and other aspirants.

The Colville Indian commission closed the long pending treaty with the Indians at Marcus, May 23, the tribes ceding 1,500,000 acres. A great council at the mouth of the Nespelim was attended by Chiefs Joseph and Moses. Mark A. Fullerton of Colfax, James F. Payne of North Carolina, and W. H. H. Dufur of Oregon, were the commissioners.

The new high school was formally delivered, May 25, by the contractor to the board of education. Five hundred citizens attended the exercises in the auditorium of the new structure, which cost $102,222.

June 30 the first Spokane Derby was run on the old track, now covered by Corbin park, before a crowd of 3,000. The course was a mile and a half, and Kylo won the $600 purse; time 2:39 1-2, defeating Bonnie Gray, Malcolm and Terry.

Sarah Bernhardt and company appeared in "La Tosca" the evening of September 25. Society attended in full dress, but the audience was "chilly."

The funeral of E. J. Brickell, rated at his death as the wealthiest man in Spokane, was held from the Methodist Tabernacle Sunday afternoon, September 27. D. M. Drumheller, J. N. Glover, H. W. Fairweather, J. R. Marks, E. B. Hyde, Jacob Hoover, A. M. Cannon, J. J. Browne, J. J. L. Peel, M. M. Cowley, Martin Cooney and Charles M. Patterson were pallbearers. Music by Mrs. Harl J. Cook, soprano; Mrs. D. M. Thompson, alto; D. M. Thompson, tenor; LaRue Perrine, bass; Prof. Franz Mueller, organist. The funeral procession was the most imposing ever seen in the city.

With a public reception the Review opened its new building the evening of October 24, and it was estimated that 8,000 people attended. The reception committee included Mr. and Mrs. Joseph French Johnson, S. R. Flynn, Mr. and Mrs. A. M. Cannon, Judge and Mrs. H. E. Houghton, Miss Josephine Clark, Mr. and Mrs. J. E. Fenton, Mr. and Mrs. C. M. Fassett, Mr. and Mrs. N. W. Durham, Mrs. Kate Alexander, Mrs. N. L. Palmer, Miss Jessie Palmer, Miss Ada Coburn, H. C. Hayward, J. M. Kinnaird and F. C. Goodin.

School elections had been going by default, and emphatic criticism had been directed against the management of the city schools. This aroused deep interest in the election of November 7, and nearly 2,000 votes were cast. J. J. Browne, with 1,087 votes, and M. F. Mendenhall, 983, were elected. Charges had been made, and an investigation by a committee of two members of the board and three citizens found

that loose and careless methods had grown up in the construction of the new buildings and in dealing with contractors.

The county commissioners, at a meeting December 19, decided to build a new courthouse, and called for plans and specifications, and also for proposals for a new location.

CHAPTER XLVII

COEUR D'ALENE RIOTS OF 1892

TROUBLE PRECIPITATED BY ARRIVAL OF STRIKE-BREAKERS—IDAHO'S GOVERNOR ISSUES WARNING PROCLAMATION—DEADLY BATTLE ON CANYON CREEK, JULY 11—STRIKERS HOIST THE WHITE FLAG—BLOWING UP OF FRISCO MILL—MILITANT UNION FORCES MARCH ON WARDNER—CAPTURE TOWN AND CONCENTRATORS—SWEENY, CLEMENT AND MCAULEY COMPELLED TO SIGN AGREEMENT TO DISCHARGE NON-UNION FORCES—LARGE NUMBERS OF NON-UNION MEN RUN OUT OF THE COUNTRY—REIGN OF TERROR AT THE OLD MISSION—MARTIAL LAW DECLARED—FORERUNNER OF POPULISM—STATE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE OPENS AT PULLMAN—DEATH OF CHIEF GARRY—D. M. DRUMHELLER DEFEATS JAY P. GRAVES FOR MAYOR—FIRST THROUGH TRAIN OVER GREAT NORTHERN—PISTOL BATTLE IN PACIFIC HOTEL.

A BACKWARD glance on New Year's day, 1892, revealed a fair degree of constructive activity. Notwithstanding the subsidence of the feverish real estate craze, 1891 had seen begun and completed more than half a mile of new brick frontage; factories had been erected, the street car system extended, sewers laid, new bridges started, and many miles of streets graded and laid with sidewalk. The Northern Pacific and the Union Pacific had carried in and out of Spokane in 1901 more merchandise and produce than in any previous year of the city's history: Inbound freight, 191,153,182 pounds; outbound, 116,378,379.

Memorable events of 1892 were the coming of the Great Northern and fierce labor riots in the Coeur d'Alenes.

In the winter of 1891-92 owners of the large producing mines at Wardner and on Canyon creek closed down their properties, or greatly restricted the output, assigning as a reason the excessive freight rate levied by the railroads. Later it was seen that the trouble had labor complications, and by the end of March the tension was intense between the miners' unions in the Coeur d'Alenes and the Mine Owners association. Both sides made extended appeals to the public. The going scale of wages, maintained from the beginning of the mining industry in the South Fork country, was $3.50 for miners, $3 for carmen and shovelers. This scale the mine owners were willing to continue. The unions demanded a uniform scale of $3.50 for miners, carmen and shovelers. They had other grievances in respect to the company boarding-house and company store evil, and resented, too, the system of enforced collection of hospital dues, believing that the mine-owners were making a profit therefrom.

Extended negotiations proving unavailing, as neither side would yield, the Mine

owners association tried to break the deadlock in May by importing 100 strike-breakers from eastern states. A special train bearing the new men, heavily guarded by a large force of so-called Pinkerton deputies under command of Joel Warren of Spokane, was run over the Missoula branch of the Northern Pacific, and taken to the Union mine on the hillside high above the little valley of Canyon creek. Months of idleness had brought the inevitable discontent and bitterness that attend labor strikes in mining regions, and the appearance of the strike-breakers intensified the angry feelings of the unemployed.

On June 4 Governor Gorman B. Willey of Idaho issued a proclamation warning the strikers "that if lawlessness, threats, interference and intimidation still continue in Shoshone county, and if owners of properties are further interrupted and interfered with in the peaceful and lawful occupation and working of the same, and its citizens further molested and intimidated, I, as chief executive, will issue an order declaring the county of Shoshone in a state of insurrection, and will call to my aid all necessary military force, both state and national, to enforce the law and preserve the peace."

Early in June Patrick Clark, for the Poorman mine, and S. S. Glidden for the Tiger, reached an agreement with the union to resume work in those properties; all workmen underground to receive $3.50, the owners to "hire and discharge whomever we please without dictation from any man or organization."

July 11, 1892, is a day never to be forgotten in the Coeur d'Alene country, for on that day came open war between the opposing forces. Work had been partially resumed in a number of Canyon creek mines, and the owners had large forces of armed guards in their concentrators. The strikers, asserting that they had been first fired upon, attacked the Gem mine and mill in force, and a fierce rifle battle was waged for several hours. At 10 o'clock the besieged force in the Gem mill surrendered to the strikers, under promise that they should have all the rights of prisoners of war. They were promptly disarmed and put under guard, and later driven out of the country.

Meanwhile another fierce engagement had been fought around the Frisco mill, and the attacking forces, after losing several of their men, blew up the mill by sending a gigantic charge of dynamite down the flume. The defending force then ran up a white flag and surrendered. In these engagements five men were killed and eighteen or twenty wounded, the union forces suffering the heavier losses.

Inflamed by their success and their losses the militant union forces moved on Wardner, some twenty miles from the seat of war on Canyon creek. A special train, bearing 400 men from Wallace, Gem, Burke and Mullan, was met at the Wardner depot by many members of the local union, and under cover of darkness the besieging forces quickly surrounded the large concentrator of the Bunker Hill and Sullivan mines with an armed cordon of 600 men. An enormous quantity of dynamite was then deliberately placed under the buildings, and a fuse attached. All that night an armed patrol of the union men guarded the mills and the town of Wardner. At 11 o'clock the following morning, a committee of union men waited on Victor Clement, superintendent of the Bunker Hill and Sullivan, Charles Sweeny, managing the Last Chance, and George McAuley, of the Sierra Nevada. They announced that if the non-union men were not discharged within 24 hours, they would blow the

WALLACE, IDAHO—THE METROPOLIS OF THE COEUR D'ALENES

MULLAN, IDAHO, FROM THE WEST

MURRAY, IDAHO—FAMOUS OLD PLACER CAMP

BURKE, IDAHO—LOCATION OF TIGER AND POORMAN MINES

concentrators into fragments. Under duress the three managers, who were virtually prisoners of war, signed the stipulated agreement.

That afternoon 132 non-union miners and guards, guarded by twelve armed men, were driven aboard a train of boxcars and taken to the terminus of the narrow gauge railroad, at the Old Mission on the Coeur d'Alene river. While awaiting there the boat from Coeur d'Alene City, the refugees were startled by the appearance, in the gathering dusk, of eight armed men who were yelling like Indians. As the exiles scattered and ran in various directions, the ruffians fired upon them. Some were held up and robbed of their purses and watches. Others escaped by leaping into the Coeur d'Alene river and swimming to islands and marshy points; and yet others concealed themselves in the thickets and worked their way, through the darkness, down stream, later hailing the steamer on its down trip. Yet another squad were driven into Fourth of July canyon, historic route from the Old Mission to the Spokane valley.

Wildly exaggerated reports of the outrage, telling of wanton murder of a large number of the fugitives, reached Spokane; but investigation subsequently revealed little or no loss of life. Apparently the desperadoes, wishing to terrify the fugitives, stopped short of murder and fired over the heads of their frightened victims.

These fugitives were chiefly from Canyon creek and Wallace. The day after their expulsion from the Coeur d'Alene country, the union forces drove 300 non-union miners and their families out of Wardner. The women and children were placed in passenger coaches; the men were packed into eighteen boxcars, and the train took them over the O. R. & N. to Tekoa in the Palouse country.

After their victory the union forces delivered the Bunker Hill and Sullivan mill to three deputy sheriffs, calmly removed the two tons of dynamite from beneath the buildings, and Chairman O'Brien of the miners' executive committee assured Manager Clement that his property was uninjured, and the company would be reimbursed by the union for provisions taken from the cookhouse.

Governor Willey promptly placed Shoshone county under martial law, and militia and regulars were hurriedly mobilized from Fort Sherman, Fort Spokane, Walla Walla and Vancouver. Large numbers of the rioters fled into the hills, hiding in abandoned cabins and secretly receiving supplies from friends and sympathizers, but several hundred were arrested and imprisoned in a large stockade at Wardner. Under protection of the armed forces of the state of Idaho and the United States, most of the fugitive non-union miners returned and work was resumed in the Bunker Hill and Sullivan, the Sierra Nevada and other mines. Nineteen of the suspected ringleaders were taken to Boise and placed on trial in the United States court. Ten of these were discharged, and nine sentenced to six and eight months terms in jail.

Throughout the farming districts political unrest found expression in the Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union, forerunner of the advancing tidal wave of populism. This society organized at Cheney in 1891, held its second quarterly meeting at Marshall, and in January, 1892, met at the courthouse in Spokane.

January 13 the State Agricultural college and School of Science informally opened at Pullman, with forty-seven students and a faculty composed of George Lilley president, John O. Scobey, E. R. Lane, George H. Hitchcock, C. E. Munn, and Nancy L. Van Doren, preceptress. S. B. Conover was president of the board of regents.

The Odd Fellows, January 14, dedicated their new temple on First avenue, erected on a site they had bought in 1885.

Chief Garry of the Spokanes died in January, and his funeral, held from the First Presbyterian church, the 16th, was attended by many pioneers and nearly all the survivors of Garry's meager band. White people and Indians filed by the open coffin and took a last look upon the sleeping features of the old chief. His aged wife, completely blind, was led to the coffin, and as she passed her withered hands over the familiar features, and smoothed for the last time the long gray tresses, tears coursed down her wrinkled cheeks, a pathetic spectacle which moved many to tears. The aged chieftain sleeps in Greenwood.

For mayor at the spring election of 1892, the democracy nominated D. M. Drumheller, and the republicans advanced Jay P. Graves. Drumheller was elected by 255 majority.

The Spokane Bar association organized April 2: President, R. B. Blake; vice-president, J. B. Jones; secretary, S. P. Domer; treasurer, P. Wikoff.

Fire on May 23 consumed the plant of the Spokane Mill company, the Echo roller mills and several other buildings. Four men lost their lives, several others were injured, and a property loss of $300,000 was suffered.

The first through train over the Great Northern arrived May 27. It carried a single passenger coach and brought three through passengers from St. Paul, who were landed at the end of the Ross Park electric line and came into the city by street-car. Two days later connection was made with the O. R. & N., and trains ran regularly into the old Union depot.

This year raged the state flower controversy, and a group of Seattle ladies sent over some rhododendrons for exhibition in Spokane. "Away with the soulless stranger sent hither by the ladies of Seattle," protested the Review, "leave the clover to the cows (Ella Higginson wanted the clover blossom) and the camas to the squaws; and vote for some blossom that carries with its colors or its perfume all that is true, ennobling and refining. Such a blossom is the regal fleur-de-lis; such a flower is the wild rose, shy queen of the wilderness and the garden."

The "safety" bicycle was coming into extensive use, and to demonstrate its military usefulness, Sergeant Major Davis of Fort Sherman rode the round trip of seventy miles from Lake Coeur d'Alene to Spokane. He passed several hours in Spokane, transacting business for General Carlin, and was back at the fort before dusk.

Open gambling had been resumed, and in June two gamblers, Billy Fay and Jack Delmore met in a pistol duel at Main and Howard. They opened fire simultaneously and several shots were exchanged. Fay shot Delmore through the body, and the wounded man, fleeing, fell in the entrance to the Old National bank, then on Howard street, and died within an hour.

On the afternoon of July 12, William Masterson was shot and instantly killed in a room in the Pacific hotel, while attempting to rescue his son-in-law, Edward Harris, from an officer of the law. John Burke, a well known citizen of Spokane, assisted the desperado, and was severely wounded. Luke Rawls, a plucky deputy sheriff, was shot in the arm and shoulder while trying to hold his prisoner. Harris had been arrested in Montana for horse-stealing in the Palouse country, and the officer was taking him to Colfax for trial. Mrs. Harris was with her husband when

the pistol battle was fought in the hotel room, but escaped uninjured. Masterson had figured in many desperate encounters in the Inland Empire, and had killed four men.

Fire, July 25, destroyed half the business district of Oakesdale, with a property loss of $70,000.

S. C. Hyde entered the lists this year against John L. Wilson and the primaries in July were sharply contested. Wilson carried the county and Hyde gave up the struggle.

George Turner became an avowed and aggressive senatorial candidate against Senator John B. Allen of Walla Walla.

At a special city election in December, a project to buy an up-river water power site offered by F. Lewis Clark and others, and bond the city for waterworks extensions fell a little short of the necessary two thirds vote.

One of the picturesque characters around Spokane, winter of 1892-93, was Arthur Higgins, more widely known on lower Howard street as "Gold Dust Arthur." He posed as a prospector who had discovered a placer mine of fabulous richness, and for a few weeks sustained the character by spending his money with a lavish hand. Arthur soon reached the bottom of his flour barrel, and had recourse, then, to a "turn" on the stage of a local variety theater. While he lasted he made good "copy" for the newspaper boys.

CHAPTER XLVIII

YEAR OF TURMOIL, GLOOM AND DISASTER

MR. CANNON'S AFFAIRS BECOME INVOLVED—HIS BANK FAILS—OTHER BANKS CLOSE THEIR DOORS—MENACING DEMONSTRATIONS BY UNEMPLOYED—THREATS OF VIOLENCE—LAW AND ORDER LEAGUE FORMED—ASSISTANT POSTMASTER COMMITS SUICIDE—ALLEN AND TURNER SENATORIAL CONTEST—LEGISLATURE ADJOURNS WITHOUT ELECTING—BEGINNING OF BEET SUGAR INDUSTRY—RETRENCHMENT AT CITY HALL—WHEEL CLUB'S FIRST RUN—DESERTION AND DEATH OF COLGATE, GUIDE OF CARLIN PARTY—MAYOR POWELL STARTS HOME INDUSTRY SENTIMENT.

The sea of Fortune doth not ever flow;
She draws her favors to the lowest ebb;
Her tides have equal times to come and go;
Her loom doth weave the fine and coarsest web:
No joy so great but runneth to an end,
No hap so hard but may in time amend.

—*Robert Southwell.*

EIGHTEEN HUNDRED AND NINETY-THREE, year of gloom and disaster, of crashing banks and crippled industry, of riotous demonstrations and counter organization for law and order, will linger unto death in the memories of our pioneers.

The year dawned fair as a summer morn. Trade and industry had prospered through 1892, as reflected in a large increase in railway business—a total tonnage of 506,597,389 pounds, compared with 307,531,561 the year before. Apparently the financial flurries had blown away, and Spokane looked confidently forward to a prosperous year. The Great Northern was completed, and the public still cherished expectations of lower rates; in the rich Coeur d'Alenes mining had been resumed on extensive scale; another great mineral area had been discovered and opened to the north; heavy snowfall gave promise of abundant crops, and irrigation was gaining a foothold at various points in the Inland Empire.

In 1892 more than a million dollars had been expended on new buildings, including the city hall, the new Echo mills and the marble bank palace, erected by A. M. Cannon with a courage bordering on sheer audacity. Unfortunately for himself and the town, Mr. Cannon had cast his financial lines into pools too numerous and distant. Under the bold leadership of Paul Mohr, he had been lured into heavy investments in coal mines and a coking plant in the Cascade mountains, and a

portage railroad scheme around the rapids in the Columbia river above The Dalles. Mohr went east in a desperate effort to unload these elephants on New York investors, and Mr. Cannon, realizing his critical condition, eagerly scanned his agent's reports by mail and telegraph. With characteristic optimism, Mohr held out the lure of hope, but in the end he failed, and Mr. Cannon was driven to the humiliation of asking help from the local banks. After an examination of his affairs this was denied, and on the morning of June 5, 1893, the bank of Spokane Falls, organized in 1879 as the first banking institution north of Snake river, failed to open its doors for business.

This startling news created a tremendous sensation, and deep sympathy was expressed for the white-bearded and kindly-hearted old pioneer. To "inability to make collections and to realize upon a mass of valuable securities" he attributed his bank's suspension. "To the task and duty of paying every creditor in full, with interest to date of payment," ran his announcement to the public, "I pledge my efforts and my fortune. Of my friends and neighbors, my creditors and debtors, I now crave only that forbearance, indulgence and charity which the past may seem to have fairly won," an expectation that was never to have realization, for desperate times yet to come quite extinguished his private equities, and the bank's liabilities of $200,000 proved a total loss.

Twenty-four hours later the Washington National and the Washington Savings bank, institutions of close connection with Mr. Cannon, also suspended payment, and a hard run on the Citizens National forced that bank to close its doors and draw its curtains one hour before the time for closing. The Washington National had $250,000 capital and its principal shareholders were Mr. Cannon, H. L. Tilton and E. J. M. Hale. The Citizens National was capitalized at $150,000, and its chief stockholders were E. B. Hyde, A. A. Newbery, John L. Wilson and Henry L. Wilson.

July 6 the Washington National resumed business in quarters previously occupied by the broken Spokane National, at Riverside and Howard, which had stood vacant for two years.

These disasters subjected the remaining banks to heavy strain, and on July 26 the First National, after a steady run of fifty days, became insolvent and went into liquidation. J. N. Glover was its president, H. W. Fairweather vice-president, Horace L. Cutter cashier, and F. K. McBroom assistant cashier. It had $284,000 liabilities, and owed $230,000 to its depositors.

At a special election July 25, 1893, the voters, 1,303 to 293, ratified the council's project to buy the site of the present waterworks, develop power with a dam and lay the necessary mains from the city to the proposed pumping station. In November, on complaint of A. L. Davis, the city officials were temporarily restrained from building the system. This action excited an angry protest from the unemployed, and in public meetings, harangued by agitators, menacing utterances were directed against the courts, citizens who opposed the plan, and city officials. Alarmed by threats of personal violence Mr. Davis withdrew his name from the complaint.

In a speech at Auditorium hall W. A. Helm, the chief agitator, said: "If I should tell you to hang Simon Oppenheimer, you would say that was unlawful, so I won't tell you that. If I should tell you to give A. M. Cannon and A. L. Davis a coat of tar and feathers, you would say I was an incendiarist, so I don't tell you to do

that. Neither do I advise you to tear down the Review building. I am in favor of selecting 100 good men who will go to Mr. Davis and say, 'Withdraw your injunction and get out of this town, or we will tar and feather you and ride you on a rail down Riverside avenue.' I am in favor of doing everything to feed my starving wife, but mind you, I don't counsel violence."

"We warn the law-abiding people of Spokane," said the Review, "that they are facing conditions which always run ahead of riot, violence and bloodshed. We have heard sentiments cheered that should be hissed by patriotic men. We have heard the chief leader of yesterday's gathering boast that he had to use his influence to prevent his friends blowing up buildings."

The day following a public meeting of different character was held in Auditorium hall, on a call signed by George Turner, N. Fred. Essig, H. W. Fairweather, A. K. McBroom and J. T. Lockhart. Two hundred well known citizens attended, and Robert Easson presided.

The spirit of the assemblage was voiced in these resolutions:

"Resolved, That this meeting is unalterably in favor of the maintenance of law and order.

"Resolved, That this meeting unhesitatingly condemns the incendiary sentiments put forth by the speakers and the resolutions at the meeting of Wednesday night.

"Resolved, That each and every member of this meeting pledges himself to rally at call to the assistance of the civil authorities to prevent and suppress such demonstration in future.

"Resolved, That this meeting is hereby organized as a Law and Order League.

"Resolved, That if, as the result of the recent lawless and incendiary conditions in our midst, any destruction of property or injury to person ensue, we pledge ourselves not to desist until the ringleaders and promoters of said lawless and incendiary conduct be brought to justice.

"Resolved, That we demand of the city government and the lawful authorities of our country the arrest, indictment and punishment of all persons guilty of language in a public meeting of an incendiary character, or tending to provoke riot and disturbance of public or private property."

These resolutions, framed by George Turner, E. Dempsie, J. P. M. Richards, M. M. Cowley and H. L. Wilson were unanimously adopted.

A committee of fifteen was appointed to confer with the mayor and other city officials. It comprised Barney Barinds, George M. Forster, Gus Seiffert, Chauncey G. Betts, A. R. Johnson, C. F. Clough, D. Holzman, James Monaghan, H. W. Fairweather, Adolph Munter, A. W. Doland, B. Gard Ewing, F. H. Mason, R. R. Grote and Fred. Chamberlain.

Commenting further on the riotous demonstration the Review editorially said: "Who can doubt that Spokane is now grappling with anarchy of a dangerous form? Avowed and audacious efforts have been made to intimidate the courts. A suitor at the bar of justice has been intimidated and required, at peril of his life, to withdraw his suit. A mob of 200 men has gathered on the steps of a newspaper office and served notice that the paper's course must be shaped to the liking of anarchistic leaders, or the building would be razed to the ground. From the rostrum and a

score of street corners open threats have been made of using dynamite and blowing up buildings."

A few days later the injunction suit of A. L. Davis was withdrawn, on motion of Frank Graves, counsel for plaintiff—"not because it was without merit," explained Mr. Graves, "but because Mr. Davis had been intimidated into a promise that he would withdraw the suit, and desired to keep his word."

The Law and Order League exerted a wholesome restraining influence, and put a prompt quietus on riotous demonstrations and incendiary utterances.

At the beginning of 1893 the enrollment in the city schools had grown to 2,702, as against 1,565 two years before, with fifty-eight teachers as compared with twenty-two. The Union library, with quarters in the Auditorium building, had 2,000 volumes, and received some support from the city government.

New Year's day, 1893, Chief Mertz ordered the closing of all keno games, on the ground that they were too noisy a form of gambling. The keno men asserted that the order was instigated by the faro gamblers, and in April were permitted to resume business. Early in the spring the council ordered the closing of the variety theaters on Sunday, but Judge Miller of the police court held that the order was invalid.

More than 300 citizens petitioned for a bridge at Cedar street, but J. N. Glover, I. S. Kaufman, H. L. Tilton and others, opposing the bridge as a needless extravagance, secured a restraining order forbidding the county commissioners to receive or open bids.

At a point thirteen miles below the summit, on the western slope of the Cascades, the last spike was driven in the Great Northern, January 6, 1893. Two tunnels were uncompleted, and for some time the company ran trains over a picturesque switchback.

George A. Silvey, assistant postmaster under Arthur J. Shaw, committed suicide February 9 by firing a bullet through his brain. Inspection of his accounts revealed a shortage of about $7,000 which he had cunningly concealed from Postmaster Shaw. Women and gambling were his undoing.

In February Austin Corbin, E. J. Roberts, Wm. H. Sampson, George K. Reed, George M. Forster and S. L. Burbridge bought the War Eagle mine at Rossland from its locators, Joe Morris and Joe Bourgeois.

Perhaps the most spectacular and stubbornly fought political battle in the state's history was the senatorial contest, winter of 1892-3, between John B. Allen, of Walla Walla, who sought reelection, and George Turner of Spokane. Allen had the aggressive support of the historic "King county ring," dominated then by L. S. J. Hunt who owned the Post-Intelligencer. Numerically Allen had the larger support, but not sufficient to elect or to hold a binding and effective caucus. The Turner supporters refused to enter a caucus unless the Allen men would assent to a secret ballot, alleging that many legislators were voting for Allen under the cracking of the boss's whip who would support Turner if allowed to express their real desire. The legislature adjourned March 8, with the deadlock unbroken, the final ballot giving Turner 23, Allen 49—57 necessary to a choice.

"The senatorial contest closed today," said Turner in a statement to the public, "without result and without any change in the ballot. We have vindicated freedom of thought and action, and have emancipated the republican party from the control

of an imperious and domineering political ring. Spokane receives just commendation for her heroic part in this glorious work. She will be listened to and her just wishes respected for the future." Governor John H. McGraw promptly appointed Allen to the vacant seat, but the senate, after a long debate, held that the legislature having failed to elect, the governor could not appoint.

Col. E. H. Morrison of Fairfield, Spokane county, had long been conducting tests in the growing of sugar beets and had demonstrated with the aid of extensive analyses at the State college at Pullman that beets grown in the Palouse country contained a high sugar content of exceptional purity. John R. Reavis long secretary of the Spokane chamber of commerce, went to Olympia that winter and induced the legislature to encourage development of the beet sugar industry by offering a bounty up to $50,000—one half to go to the growers of beets, and the other half to the manufacturer.

Joel Warren of Spokane, indicted for leading into Idaho a body of armed men from other states at the time of the Coeur d'Alene riots, went to Rathdrum in March to stand trial. He was acquitted, and on the 28th of March the cases against a number of the strikers, on trial in the same court, were dismissed.

Miss Effie Clark, daughter of the Rev. Nelson Clark, a pioneer minister of Spokane, while attending Northwestern University near Chicago, was fatally shot April 1 by E. Ross Smith, a rejected suitor, also a student there from Spokane, who followed his mad act by committing suicide.

Vigorous agitation was waged in April, 1893, for retrenchment at the city hall. The street department was costing the city about $50,000 a year, with teamsters at $3.50 a day, and laborers $1.75. The engineer's office cost about $14,000 a year. The finance committee of the council advised a sweeping reduction in salaries, from mayor to policemen and firemen.

The long standing "boodle" cases against Deuber, Waters and Gillespie were dismissed April 13, on motion of Prosecuting Attorney J. E. Fenton.

Several years before the original city limits were extended, a Dr. Morgan went out on the grassy prairie north of the river and founded a rival town which he called Denver. When the city of Spokane, sprawling out in that direction, swallowed up its ambitious rival, Dr. Morgan contested in the courts the act of annexation. He brought suit this year to restrain the city from collecting taxes in his burg, over which he claimed to preside as mayor. Dr. Morgan lost, and Denver winked out as an individual entity.

A republican city convention in April nominated E. L. Powell for mayor. Fred. E. Baldwin was the democratic nominee. Powell won by more than 700 majority, and with the exception of one councilman, the republicans swept the city.

A notable entertainment this year was the public contest at the Auditorium April 29, to select a singer to represent eastern Washington in a great song festival at the world's fair in Chicago. The aspirants were Miss Bernadine Sargent, Miss Margaret Stewart, Miss Anna C. Turner, Miss Mattie C. Sharpe and Mrs. Fred. B. Grinnell of Spokane, and Miss Estelle Berry of Walla Walla. Dr. C. S. Penfield, Eugenne Fellowes and Prof. Fred Hoppe, the committee, awarded the honor to Miss Sargent, then only 17 years of age. The contest awoke extraordinary interest, and hundreds were unable to gain entrance to the theater.

The Spokane Wheel club made its first run, Sunday, May 14, to Cowley's bridge,

eighteen miles east. In the party were Robert Glen, M. A. Cisna, Joseph Henry, Robert Burruss, H. T. Burruss, W. F. Hazlett, E. A. Palmer, Al. Ware, N. W. Neimes, H. O. Russell, H. C. Randall, H. M. Ryan, I. Cornthwaite, J. E. Wallace, O. Kratzger, E. Brewer, and H. W. Hall.

On Decoration day was run the first bicycle road race. James A. Drain, who later became adjutant-general of Washington, won the medal—time, 33:3. George Rusk, second, in 33:29, won a silver cup. The course was ten miles.

Vice-President Adlai Stevenson was in Spokane the afternoon and evening of July 29, and addressed a large open air meeting near the hotel Spokane.

A new city directory in August contained 13,267 names, an increase of 1,928, indicating that the city had grown right through panic times. The publishers estimated that Spokane had a population of 36,484.

The Northern Pacific went into the hands of receivers August 15.

Councilmen Peter Graham and Peter Steep, of the Second ward, were arrested August 15, accused of accepting bribes from a contractor who had a claim pending for extras. Their trial in the superior court brought a verdict of not guilty, but Graham was removed from the council and Steep resigned. E. N. Corey and W. W. Waltman succeeded them.

A city indebtedness of $1,415,422 was revealed by a statement of November 1: Old water bonds, $120,000; water bonds of 1891, due in 1911, $500,000; general municipal bonds, $700,000; accrued interest, $18,683; outstanding warrants, $74,504.

The city had then an annual payroll of $124,795 (its present payroll is nearly as great in a single month). The police force, with twenty-four men, were paid $24,500; the fire department, forty-five men, $40,380; water department, eight men, $8,760; streets, $17,583; city engineer's office, $6,240; health department, $2,412.

At the November school election, George H. Whittle and Charles L. Knapp were elected directors. Of the 2,000 votes polled fully one half were cast by women.

A hunting party headed by William E. Carlin, son of General Carlin who was long in command at Fort Sherman, became snowbound in the autumn of 1893 in the wild country drained by the headwaters of the Clearwater river. Military expeditions went to their rescue, and a party under Lieutenant Elliott found them November 22 as they were slowly working their way down one of the forks of the Clearwater, greatly exhausted from lack of food and buffeting the ice-cold waters. George Colgate, their guide, of Post Falls, had developed dropsy, and him they had abandoned on the trail, soon after starting from their hunting encampment. This conduct was stigmatized by many as cowardly and in gross violation of the unwritten law of the wilderness. Members of the party defended themselves by contending that Colgate was in a dying condition, and could not by any possibility have been helped out to the settlements; that to linger with him would have quickly exhausted their scanty supply of food and imperilled the lives of all; and weighing these facts, they reluctantly abandoned him to his fate. Nearly a year later the scattered remains of poor Colgate were found by a searching party. He had crawled on hands and knees a long distance from the spot where his alarmed companions had left him the year before.

Prices ruled low in the fall of 1893: Wheat in bulk at the city mills, 36 cents;

flour, $3 per barrel; breakfast bacon, 10 to 11 cents; hams, 11 to 18; creamery butter, 33 to 34; Cheney full cream cheese 12 1-2; potatoes, 50 to 55 cents per hundred; dressed turkey, 15; young chickens, per dozen, $2.50 to $3; venison, retail, 10 to 12; pheasants, 35; wild geese, 65 to 70.

Notwithstanding the hard times, the city showed some growth in 1893. A number of new homes were built, and attendance in the city schools December 1 was 3,326, as against 2,880 on the corresponding date in 1892. And the holidays brought a better spirit all around—a more hopeful and even cheery view. At Christmas time Mayor Powell issued an informal proclamation, inviting citizens to subscribe to a pledge to patronize home industry, "and in the employment of labor and the purchase of merchandise always to give the preference to resident citizens." To Mayor Powell, I believe, belongs the distinction and the credit of sounding a keynote in a growing campaign that was to help immensely in the rehabilitation of the depressed industries of Spokane and its neighboring country.

CHAPTER XLIX

YEAR OF COXEY ARMY AND GREAT A. R. U. STRIKE

COXEYITES ASTIR IN SPOKANE COUNTRY—NIGHT TIME ORATORY AT THE HAYMARKET—HEADQUARTERS IN OLD M. E. CHURCH—"COLONEL" DOLPHIN IN DISGRACE—GREAT STRIKE PARALYZES TRAFFIC ON RAILROADS—RIOT AT NORTHERN PACIFIC STATION—DEPUTIES FIRE OVER CROWD—FIVE HUNDRED CITIZENS SWORN IN TO PRESERVE ORDER—DISORDERS AT SPRAGUE—RISE OF THE "SHOTGUN LEAGUE"—POPULISTS ELECT MAYOR—STORMY REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION—SPOKANE'S FIRST FRUIT FAIR—FIRST CARLOAD OF APPLES SHIPPED—TWO MORE BANK FAILURES—CITY IN DARKNESS—LOW COST OF LIVING—AMATEURS SING LIGHT OPERA.

AS AFTERMATH of the panic year of 1893, with its long train of financial ruin, industrial depression and lamentable distress among the country's wage-earners—Spokane wrestled in 1894 with the Coxey army evanescence and the more tragic disorders of the country-wide strike of the American Railway Union, under leadership of Eugene V. Debs.

The Coxeyites were early astir in the Spokane country. By middle of April their motley clans had gathered here in number. For forum they appropriated the old "Haymarket" on Sprague and some vacant lots on North Monroe, and for headquarters and barracks, contrived to gain possession of the old Methodist church at Sprague and Bernard, left vacant when the postoffice moved to new quarters in the Granite block. At nightly meetings impassioned orators of the "proletariat" rang changes on the Coxey slogan, "On to Washington." For most part they were an inoffensive mixture of wandering workingmen down on their luck, with a liberal sprinkling of the genus hobo, and for inspiration they had a good deal of rugged native oratory from a class that dearly loves to mount an express wagon or a large dry goods box, and by the flare of the night-blooming gasoline flambeau turn loose a high-keyed voice on the vesper air. A parade through the business streets preceded the "feast of oratory and flow of soul," and on their oriflamme the "army" bore high aloft the motto, "Going to Washington to See Grover."

A commissary committee went daily from store to store and house to house, to gather up contributions of edibles from generous sympathizers or indulgent citizens. At headquarters quite a show of military organization was maintained. Men were brought in as "recruits," enlisted and fed. Rollcall came daily at 9 a. m., followed by ninety minutes of drill work—keeping step, facing, dressing ranks and saluting. A second rollcall was held at 4 in the afternoon. By April 20 about 150 men were fed in the old brick church, with "Colonel" Dolphin in command.

Aside from repeated attempts to seize trains, in their effort to speed on to Washington, the "army" gave the authorities little trouble. To guard the property of the railroads in Spokane, fifty-three deputies were sworn in by the United States marshal. Flint-hearted city and county officials refused to provide transportation. April 30 four companies of United States troops came from Fort Sherman and went into camp in the eastern outskirts.

The army put it up to "Colonel" Dolphin to provide transportation, and after a month of inaction and failure, with repeated promises that were never fulfilled, the ranks grew discontented. In his desperation Dolphin announced on the morning of May 7, that a train had been provided over the Great Northern, and gave orders for the men to roll their blankets and march out to Hillyard. As they filed out of the old church, 125 "Commonwealers" from Seattle filed in and appropriated their abandoned quarters. Instead of the expected train at Hillyard, the Coxeyites found sixty sheriff's deputies, guarding the shops and roundhouses with Winchesters. Sullen and disappointed, they went into camp in a cold, drenching rainstorm. Three days later "Colonel" Dolphin and "Major" Stevenson were tried by a committee from the trades council and deposed from command. It was alleged that Dolphin, with all the funds in the scanty treasury, had bought a ticket for himself and tried to leave the country. He was seized as he emerged from the ticket office and put under a protecting guard, as threats had been made to lynch him.

By this time the "army" was strung along the Northern Pacific, all the way from Seattle to the Montana border. Sixty-five Coxeyites, arrested at Yakima for assaulting deputies and interfering with the movement of trains, were run into Spokane in three box cars, and then taken back to Seattle for trial before the United States court. The Spokane companies were now scattered eastward, but to take their places 350 "Commonwealers" had drifted in from Seattle, and 100 more from Tacoma. Sympathizers here gave public entertainments for their benefit. Unsuccessful attempts were made to seize trains at Tekoa and Hillyard. They gradually drifted away, and Spokane shed no tears when the last "soldier" vanished on the eastern horizon.

Their purpose was to march in forceful demonstration on Washington, and there demand the free and unlimited coinage of silver, an issue of $1,000,000,000 in greenbacks, and large appropriations for government irrigation.

In the closing days of June came the great strike of the American Railway Union, paralyzing traffic on western railroads. July 5 the first train in ten days on the Northern Pacific came in from the west with a non-union crew—sixteen coaches under heavy guard of armed deputies. A crowd of 3,000 gathered at the Northern Pacific station, held back from the right of way by rope lines and a police detachment. As the train drew in the crowd surged over the lines, and the more disorderly members began to push cars on the side-tracks. Mayor Belt made a speech, counselling order and advising the men to go to their homes, and with a squad of policemen Chief Mertz pushed the pressing crowd back from the right of way. United States Marshal Vinson and thirty deputies took possession of the roundhouse, and the crowd rushed in on them with curses and execrations. Stones began to fly, and the deputies fired over the heads of the mob, wounding a bystander. Yelling "Kill the deputies!" "Hang them!" "Lynch them!" the en-

raged crowd fell back. At this critical moment Chief of Police Mertz effected a compromise, the crowd and the deputies to retire and the police to guard the roundhouse.

Company G of Spokane, at Tacoma July 7, was disarmed and placed under arrest for refusal to ride on a train manned by a non-union crew. Subsequently a court of inquiry was held in Spokane, and on its report Governor McGraw discharged First Lieutenant Arthur R. Brooks, Second Lieutenant E. T. Brown, and thirty-four privates, leaving only fifteen members in the company, with no officers.

Under the leadership of a committee composed of George Turner, Dr. N. Fred. Essig, Adolph Munter, Col. N. E. Linsley, C. B. Dunning, J. W. Binkley, S. T. Arthur, Thomas C. Griffitts and George M. Forster, 250 representative citizens of Spokane volunteered their aid to Sheriff Pugh to preserve law and order, and were sworn in as sheriff's deputies. Their number grew within a few days to 500.

The night of July 8 brought violent disorder at Sprague. A special train from the west, bearing several companies of militia, crashed into some box cars derailed across the track by rioters. At the same time rioters had fired a long trestle east of Sprague, and they ran an oil car to a trestle west of town, which they fired, cutting off the approaches east and west. Federal troops, brought in the next day from the west, restored order.

In Spokane eleven men were arrested for complicity in the riot at the Northern Pacific depot, and taken to Seattle for trial before Judge Hanford. Seven were convicted and sentenced to eight months' imprisonment in jail at Seattle and Tacoma.

Before the first of August the great strike collapsed, and the disheartened men came back on terms dictated by the railroads.

This year a secret political organization called the "Freemen's Silver Protective Association" gained a strong foothold throughout the farming districts of the Inland Empire. Some called it the "Shotgun League," and charged it with dark and mysterious deeds. About that time a farmer named Gloystein, in the Palouse country, disappeared from his family and his home. He had been known to criticise the "League," and it was suspected of his murder or abduction, a suspicion without foundation in fact, for Sheriff Pugh found the man several months later working on an Oregon ranch.

Politically, 1894 brought much that was of interest. The Republican Union, a secret Spokane society better known as "Little Tammany," waxed strong and exerted much influence in city and county affairs.

On the evening of April 16 the first populist municipal convention in Spokane nominated H. N. Belt for mayor, George Mudgett for treasurer, Howard L. Weed for comptroller, and a full council ticket.

The republican convention, April 18, nominated A. J. Shaw, the Wilson candidate for mayor, over E. Dempsie, the Turner candidate. The ticket was completed by nominating M. D. Smith for comptroller and W. H. Wiscombe for treasurer. Belt was elected Mayor over Shaw by 178 majority; Weed, comptroller, by 738, and Wiscombe, treasurer, by 136.

Perhaps the stormiest convention ever held by the republicans of Washington state was that which convened in the Spokane Auditorium, September 19. A

battle royal was fought out there between King county and Spokane, and when it was over, victory was written on the banner of Spokane. The contest was over the financial plank in the platform. The committee, unable to agree, and closely divided, decided to toss the issue before the whole convention for settlement. King county, with an almost solid delegation led by Andrew F. Burleigh, C. F. Fishback and Sam. Piles, proposed the resolution following:

"The republican party of Washington believes in sound and honest money, and to the end that we may have a sound and stable currency, we declare ourselves in favor of bimetallism. We commend the wise and patriotic utterances of the republican national convention of 1892 in the national platform. We believe that platform means just what it says upon this question; and we instruct our senators and representatives in congress to favor such legislation as shall secure the absolute equality in debt-paying power of every dollar of the money of the country, whether of gold, silver or currency."

Judge R. B. Blake of the Spokane delegation offered the following:

"The republican party, from tradition and interest, favors bimetallism, and we believe that true bimetallism can be accomplished only through the free coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one. We further favor discriminating tariffs against all countries maintaining the single gold standard."

After several hours of impassioned debate, the resolution offered by King county was adopted late in the afternoon, 274 to 210. But at the night session, before an audience that filled the large theater to standing room capacity, Spokane moved and won a reconsideration, and brought forward a substitute resolution:

"Resolved, That we are in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of silver produced by mines of the United States, at the ratio of sixteen to one."

Fishback, Burleigh and Piles led the speaking against the substitute. Judge Turner closed for the silver forces, before an audience that was on its feet, wildly cheering his impassioned protest against the "crack of the ringmaster's whip from Seattle." In tense excitement the vote was taken, and when it was seen that the Spokane substitute had prevailed, 266 to 219, the cheering was heard many blocks away.

For representatives in congress the convention nominated S. C. Hyde of Spokane (John L. Wilson having announced his candidacy for the senate) and W. H. Doolittle of Tacoma.

The democratic state convention at North Yakima nominated B. F. Heuston of Tacoma and Judge N. T. Caton of Lincoln county for congress, and expressed an unqualified demand for the free and unlimited coinage of silver, sixteen to one.

The republicans carried the state in November. In Spokane county the result was divided, the populists taking sheriff, treasurer, two commissioners, school superintendent, a state senator and three representatives, and the republicans, auditor, prosecuting attorney, assessor, clerk, surveyor and five representatives in the legislature.

The school election, November 3, brought out a vote of 4,000. D. H. Dwight and Dr. G. T. Penn were elected. Other candidates were George W. Belt, Mrs. A. V. Wilson, H. L. Kennan and Col. Patrick Henry Winston.

Spokane's first fruit fair was held October 24 to 27, in a vacant agricultural implement warehouse on east Riverside avenue, and revealed a display of fine

fruits and other products of the farm that surprised, delighted and encouraged the thousands who attended. One hundred and fifty exhibitors competed for prizes offered by a committee comprising Dr. J. E. Gandy, O. B. Nelson, R. S. Oakley, J. L. Smith, John R. Reavis, E. P. Gilbert and H. Bolster. At the opening exercises J. W. Binkley, president of the Board of Immigration, under whose auspices the fair was held, introduced Mayor Belt, who formally declared the fair open to the public of Spokane and surrounding country. Music was provided by the Borchert Ladies' orchestra of five players. Admission was a dime, and 2,527 paid admissions were recorded the opening day.

"The magnificence, beauty and superiority of the exhibits are remarkable," commented the Evening Chronicle. "No one thought that it would be such a big show. People who have lived in this country all their lives, and who thought they knew the capabilities of the soil in every way, have received a new education, and will go home with greater faith than ever in the latent richness of Washington."

The fame and beauty of the exhibition were spread abroad by the first day visitors, and greater throngs followed. Total paid admissions in the four days exceeded 14,000. Whitman county donated its entire exhibit to the Board of Immigration for advertising purposes, and the exhibitors returned to their homes greatly pleased by the enthusiasm of the crowds and the hospitable spirit of Spokane.

In January, 1894, local mills engaged in a price war, and some brands of flour went as low as $2.25 a barrel, or 65 cents a hundred.

Judge J. M. Kinnaird disappeared the evening of February 13. Later it was learned that in a fit of despondency he had leaped to his death from one of the city bridges.

Attendance at the high school this year had grown to 220, as compared with twelve in 1888.

The first carload of apples ever shipped from Spokane to an eastern market went out over the Union Pacific, March 31. They were of the Ben Davis variety, from Wm. Hunter's orchard on Moran prairie.

A report by the finance committee of the council showed that within the preceding two years $177,000 had been paid out on the Monroe street bridge, $30,000 at Howard street, $47,000 at Division street, $64,000 for the city hall site, and $90,000 for the city hall building.

May brought unprecedented high water in the Spokane, passing the previous high water mark of 1890. Peaceful Valley was flooded, parts of Dennis and Bradley's addition resembled a lake, and eight bridges were washed away or severely damaged. By June 1 the only crossings left for wagon traffic between the western city limits and Lake Coeur d'Alene were at Post and Monroe streets.

This year brought the building of the new courthouse.

All Saints Episcopal parish was merged in June in a cathedral system. A new corporation, the Bishop and Chapter of All Saints, was formed with ten trustees—Bishop Lemuel H. Wells, the Rev. W. M. Lane, Jacob Hoover, Eugene Klein, Frederick Phair, R. M. Russell, J. J. Graham, C. L. Springer, W. D. Vincent, A. H. Posten—and the property of the parish was deeded to it. Rector Lane became dean, and the vestry was changed for a chapter of seven—four chosen by

the bishop and three by the congregation. Women communicants were given the right to vote for chaptermen.

Operation of the Monroe street cable line was suspended July 22. Lack of patronage and loss of money were given in explanation.

A light opera called "Arlone," music by F. E. Hoppe, libretto by John J. Reagan, was sung at the Auditorium on the evening of October 19 by home talent.

Arlone	Miss Bernadine Sargent
Leona	Miss Margaret Stewart
Clarence	Charles T. Vajen
Algernon	A. Y. Crowell
Dr. Forbes	Herbert Moore
Jennie	Miss Grace Ewing
Marie	Miss Lulu Johnson

It was tuneful and bright and the company were enthusiactically applauded.

Adolph Selheim, a well known pioneer character who then owned Selheim springs ranch on the Little Spokane, which afterwards became the property of Jay P. Graves, shot and fatally wounded Wm. Smith in a saloon on Front avenue.

In November came the end of the bank failures. The Citizens National, which had been allowed to reopen the previous year, again closed its doors on the 22d, and the same day the Browne National suspended payments, with liabilities of $101,000. President J. J. Browne had liquidated nearly all the deposits, and the institution was in such excellent condition that he was allowed to administer the trust himself, and subsequently paid out all obligations in full.

At midnight, November 30, the electric light company turned off the current from all the street lights, and the city was plunged into darkness. The contract had expired, and the council and company could not agree on conditions for renewal. The city had maintained 200 arc lights, but out of regard for economy decided to cut the number to fifty. After a few nights of Stygian darkness, an agreement was reached on a basis of $475 monthly for fifty arcs.

A movement was under way in November to secure a United States army post for Spokane. At a special session the council decided to offer free water, and to raise a fund for preliminary expenses, local talent gave a concert at the Auditorium which was attended by 1,500 enthusiastic "boosters." Committees were hard at work raising the needed $40,000 for the site.

Near the close of 1894 loyal citizens derived much gratification from the fact that the real estate record for eleven months totaled $4,175,949, while that of Portland, for the same period, was but $4,298,161, although Portland claimed to have a population more than twice as great as Spokane's.

We had low cost of living then. By December, 1894, prices had fallen to bedrock: Flour, $1.90 to $2 per barrel; timothy hay, $8; bacon, 9 to 11 cents; hams, 11 to 13 cents; dairy butter, 15 cents; creamery, 26 to 28 cents; potatoes, 40 to 50 cents per hundred; spring chickens, $2 to $2.25 per dozen; dressed chickens, 10 cents per pound; dressed turkeys, 10 to 12½ cents; prairie chickens, $1.50 per dozen; grouse, 25 cents; venison, 8 cents; pheasants, 15 to 18 cents.

Gilbert and Sullivan's light opera "Patience" was sung the night of Decem-

ber 13 by the Mozart club: Miss Alice May Harrah as Patience; Mrs. D. C. Joslyn, Lady Saphyr; Miss Mattie Sharpe, Lady Argela; Mrs. John H. Stone, Lady Jane; Miss Mabel Kester, Lady Ella; Dr. C. S. Penfield, as Bunthorne and E. K. Erwin, George J. Reiner, LaRue Perrine and A. B. Keeler in other roles.

To "purify politics, get a better class of citizens into office, and secure the passage and enforcement of good laws," a Good Government club was organized December 27. President, Rev. Wm. Davies; vice-president, J. A. Williams; secretary, Adolph Nelson; treasurer, Dr. C. S. Kalb, and the following trustees: J. Grier Long, Charles L. MacKenzie, W. A. Huneke, Henry E. Miller and W. W. Belden.

CHAPTER L

HOW SPOKANE WON THE ARMY POST

BY E. E. PERRY

SPOKANE had a Christmas tree on the last night of 1894, a Christmas tree that all of the city's population that could crowd into the Auditorium theater attended. The story of this affair tells the story of the Spokane of today better than any other incident. From that Christmas tree the city plucked Fort Wright, national prestige and renewed faith in its own enterprise and resources that has steadily increased since.

Midsummer of 1894 was the midwinter of hard times in the northwest. Coming here and getting started in a new home had put a heavy strain on the finances of most of the city's population at that time. The people were unacquainted with each other and the country. Local conditions were as shifty and unstable then as they are now fixed and reliable. Upon that situation had fallen the frost of national panic, and the bread and butter issue became vital for the magnate and mortar mixer alike.

But there were men in Spokane then, as now, who had the faculty of sitting tight through a pinch and always looking forward. These men maintained a Spokane bureau of immigration, although most of the immigration of that day traveled by freight train and beseeched somebody for a bite to eat as soon as it struck town. Looking out beyond the sluggish uncertainty of their time the bureau noted that the government was considering the project of establishing another army post in the northwest. The bureau learned that the consideration for the post would amount to 1,000 acres of suitable land and free water. That much ascertained the bureau put A. A. Newbery on the train for Washington, D. C., with instructions to capture the prospective fort. The bureau chipped in out of its individual pockets—and it required numerous pockets—to pay the expenses of the trip.

SPOKANE RESOLVES TO POSSESS THE FORT

Newbery put in six weeks on the expedition and a mass meeting in the Auditorium heard his report when he returned. He brought assurance that the new fort could be located in Spokane if the city would donate 1,000 acres and water. A matter of quick but correct arithmetic brought the question down to the raising of $40,000, of which $15,000 must be in cash and the balance in land that could be negotiated. This was based on the theory that the bulk of the fort site would be donated, a theory which proved entirely reliable. Of several locations offered

the present fort grounds, or Twickenham park, as it was then called, was favored by General Otis, who had made an inspection trip previously.

The problem of land donations was not complex—there was plenty of it unoccupied then—but the realization of $15,000 cash, when the majority of Spokane citizens were highly appreciative of 15 cents, was another matter entirely. Yet that mass meeting accepted the proposition with no more hesitation than it was in the habit of accepting whatever it could get to eat, voted to produce the cash, and then walked home, because the street car company displayed a persistent desire to collect fare.

The campaign was placed in the hands of a general committee, consisting of A. A. Newbery, J. W. Binkley, F. Lewis Clark, J. P. Carritte, Herbert Bolster, Judge J. Z. Moore, Charles F. Clough, E. J. Webster, J. C. Byrd, W. R. Newport, H. B. Nichols, J. F. Sloan, Robert Easson, W. S. Norman, A. J. Shaw, A. P. Sawyer, Howard Peel, Jacob Schiller, S. Rosenhaupt, A. J. Ross, Frank P. Hogan, J. W. Chapman and Cyrus Happy. They named an auditing committee and the Spokane & Eastern Trust company was made trustee of the fund to come, exactly as if everybody thought there was still any money in the country.

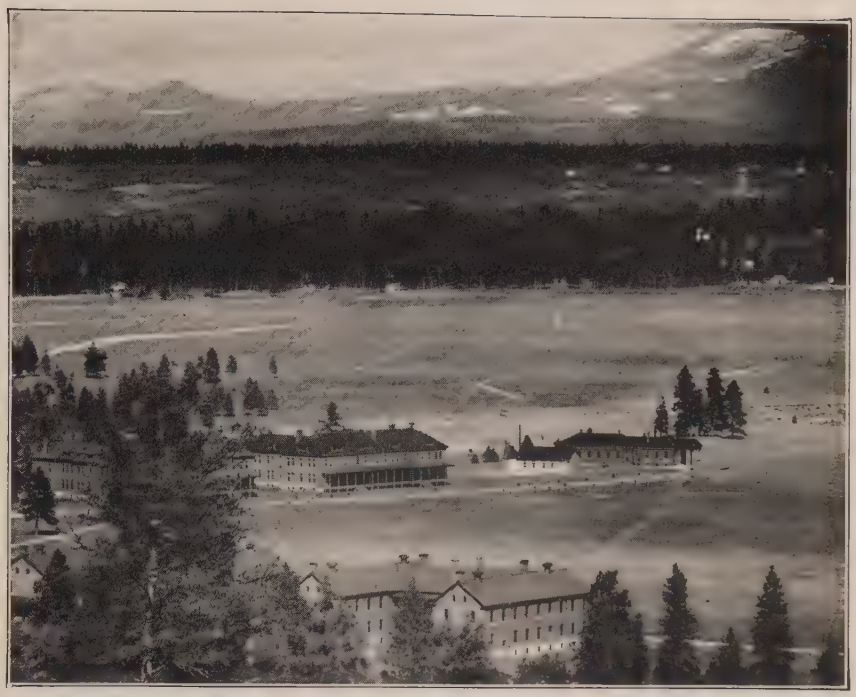
EVERYTHING IN SIGHT EXCEPT HARD CASH

The preliminaries had been financed out of private contributions by individuals, but the limit to this had been reached dismally sudden. Right here is where Spokane was finally welded into compact progressiveness. The town became earnestly eager to give anything it could to secure the fort, and from this willingness evolved the novelty of a booster Christmas tree.

Straight donations of any consequence to the fund were of discouraging infrequency, although every citizen that could respond, did so. Through their manager, W. S. Norman, the Falls City Land company, and the land department of the Washington Water Power company donated 125 acres of land. Binkley & Taylor contributed $1,000 in cash and $8,000 worth of land. Donations of $500 each were made by Holley, Mason, Marks & Co., Rosenhaupt Bros., and Doc Brown, who ran the Owl gambling house and who declared he would double the ante if it was necessary. F. Lewis Clark gave $2,000, H. B. Nichols and A. P. Wolverton $1,000 and $500 respectively, in real estate; J. W. Chapman, 40 acres near the proposed site, and Chamberlin Bros., $500 worth of land. This was good, as far as it went, but it still fell lamentably short of $15,000 cash.

WOMEN START REAL MONEY CAMPAIGN

Then the women began to take a hand and a fort concert was presently announced, with a home talent program it would be hard to surpass now. It contained such numbers as the "Ballade du Roi de Thule et Air Des Bijoux," from "Faust," sung by Mrs. A. H. Otis; Strelezki's "Waltz Song," by Miss Bernadine Sargent; Shelly's "Love's Sorrows," by Miss Mattie Sharpe; Gounod's "La Regina di Saba," by Miss Alice May Harrah, and selections from Mendelssohn's operas, played on the violin by Miss Luella Hoppe. The concert closed with a splendid rendition of classic music by the Mozart club's sixty members. The concert netted $1,200, all clear.



FORT GEORGE WRIGHT, SPOKANE

OLD FORT SPOKANE, AT THE CONFLUENCE OF THE COLUMBIA AND SPOKANE RIVERS

This was early in December. The committee worked along through the dreary winter weather and the drearier business prospects with indifferent success, although something was constantly dribbling in. Army officers and war department officials were constantly urging speedy action. The committee met one noon and decided that it must be personally represented again at Washington, D. C. It asked Newbery when he could be ready to start. Newbery was at the depot with his grip a couple of hours later.

Meanwhile 400 acres more land was needed for the fort site. Dan Drumheller, Frank P. Hogan, J. W. Chapman and several others had syndicated to buy this land from the Northern Pacific. They had half paid for it and they cheerfully donated their interests. Newbery stopped at St. Paul long enough to open prolific negotiations for a Northern Pacific contribution on the balance.

But time was dragging on and the needed cash was not coming in. The location of the fort here meant the expenditure of something like $500,000 by the government for buildings, and the stationing of several hundred men, all drawing steady pay. A soldier's salary was nothing to be scorned in those days. H. M. Richards and A. W. Doland had both had experience with army post towns and they worked unceasingly for it here.

CHRISTMAS TREE TOOK ROOT AND GREW

When it seemed that every means of raising cash had been exhausted somebody suggested the fort Christmas tree. Mrs. Alice Houghton was one of the first promoters of it, but nobody was far behind when the plan became understood. Briefly, the scheme was to have everybody donate anything they could, use these donations for presents and give them out according to the numbers corresponding to tickets sold. The distribution was to be made from a huge Christmas tree on the Auditorium stage.

The list of donated presents that came pouring in is something to smile over at first, and after that it begins to nearly resemble the family pewter melted up to supply patriots' bullets. One woman, with a desire to do something, and nothing much to do with, finally got together the ingredients of a mince pie and offered that. Somebody with more live stock than cash, offered a colt. Teachers gave music and painting lessons, and so the list ran down through rheumatism medicine, curling irons, harmonica, dental and surgical work, a month's board, a month's shaves, photographic and plumbing work, paint, pickles, cigarette tobacco, electric baths, skating rink tickets—you could scarcely name a thing on sale that was not to be found listed for the fort Christmas tree. The country districts joined in, one man at Chattaroy sending two-bits and regrets that it was all he had. It wasn't a poverty social affair, by any means, however, for gold watches, a bicycle, expensive dishes, furs and a costly shotgun were also contributed. The same spirit prevailed with everybody and everybody gave what they could and more than they could really afford. It was the strangest and most varied Christmas tree assortment ever gotten together. Nothing was rejected.

EVERYBODY HAD TICKETS FOR SALE

Tickets of admission to the tree, carrying chances on the presents, were sold at $1. You couldn't meet a councilman, policeman or any other able-bodied citizen

who wouldn't have a bunch of tickets to sell, and who wouldn't sell you one if you had a dollar in your clothes. Men and women who now ride about town in latest model automobiles, walked then and sold Christmas tree tickets along the route. The Spokane club set aside Saturdays as days when all members who indulged in innocent little games played for tickets. Social circles played euchre for ticket prizes.

The project grew at such a rate that the committee was unable to prepare the tree before the night of December 31. When the Auditorium doors were opened at 7 o'clock a crowd surged in that taxed Harry Hayward's ingenuity, and Harry never was what might be called a green stripling. Robert Easson, J. W. Wentworth, A. C. Ware, E. M. Shaw and John Leghorn, as floor committee, put in an evening's work that is not yet forgotten.

The crowd was fairly rollicking in the universal sentiment of booster unity. It was the fort now or never. If there wasn't a loose dollar left in town what was the odds? Everybody was in the same boat.

The curtain rose on "Billy" Wyard costumed as the old year. In a little opening sketch he called for the new year, and Miss Virginia Winston responded. She summoned Santa Claus, in the person of W. H. MacFarlan and Santa Claus gave the signal that disclosed the Christmas tree, thirty feet high and gleaming with electric lights. The committee was also up there with two big churns full of coupons that called for presents. Judge Blake and John W. Graham were unanimously selected to draw the tickets. J. R. Taylor sat as judge over the proceedings, and the fun began.

GOT A BULL PUP FROM SANTA CLAUS

The first prize pulled out was a pound of tea and it was sent up to a man in the gallery. Later came a bull pup and then a case of beer. The city papers had offered subscriptions for presents and the circulation manager of one drew his own paper for a year. F. Lewis Clark drew a turkey, Herbert Bolster got a pair of spectacles and several subscriptions, while other members of the committees, who had all bought tickets, carried home potatoes and pictures. Postmaster Mallon had bought forty tickets. Out of that he got a woman's hat and two pictures. Miss Bottorff won the $125 shotgun on a ticket that had been given to her, and the 3-year-old son of B. L. Gordon got the $15 kodak. R. D. Westfall took the gold watch; Sid Rosenhaupt drew the $100 bicycle, and an immigrant who had just got in from Idaho walked off with the $40 dinner set. George Adams, who had dreamed that a certain ticket would win the gold watch and had bribed a schoolboy to part with it for $2, won a 25-cent harmonica. So the list ran, ridiculously amusing in many instances, and yet very likely some of those presents are prized relics in Spokane homes today.

FORT WAS ON THE CHRISTMAS TREE

The cash receipts Christmas tree netted $4,500 in cash and this assured the fort's location so far as Spokane's part of the work was concerned. There was red tape at Washington to be unwound, but Newbery was on the job. The acquirement of property still necessary went steadily on and some more cash was

needed, but it came readily. The uproarious jollity of the Christmas tree had thawed finances theretofore frozen up solidly. The fort came in due time and with it came the prestige of furnishing the cash and land in a time when request for any sort of public contribution assumed the guise of a particularly irritating form of joke. And the finishing touch was put on through a wholesale offering of Christmas presents running from a $125 shotgun down to a 25-cent harmonica and a mince pie.

CHAPTER LI

REVIEW OF HISTORICAL EVENTS OF 1895

JOHN L. WILSON ELECTED UNITED STATES SENATOR—SCHISM IN FIRST M. E. CHURCH—FUTILE ATTEMPT TO IMPEACH JUDGE ARTHUR—LOCAL TALENT PRODUCES HOME-MADE OPERA—WAR ON BOX-RUSTLING—DEATH OF A. M. CANNON—BELT REELECTED MAYOR—SIMON OPPENHEIMER CUTS A WIDE SWATH—THEODORE CUSHING KILLS THOMAS KING—SUCCESSFUL SOCIETY CIRCUS—COLONEL WINSTON MEETS A HIGHWAYMAN—COUNCIL THREATENS MAYOR WITH IMPEACHMENT—FRUIT FAIR A BRILLIANT SUCCESS—DEATH OF F. ROCKWOOD MOORE—BETTER TIMES FOR SPOKANE.

CONSPICUOUS in events of 1895 were the development of Rossland camp to the dividend stage; the Wilson-Ankeny senatorial contest, involving for a brief period Judge George Turner, but ending, after a surprising recovery from seeming defeat, in the election of John L. Wilson, and the death of A. M. Cannon.

On the opening ballot at Olympia, in January, the republican strength divided between Wilson, with twenty-nine votes, Levi Ankeny, who received twenty-seven and John B. Allen, who found fourteen supporters. The second day came a break in Wilson's support, and the ninth ballot left him with a corporal's guard of seven. At this critical moment nineteen legislative friends and admirers of Turner, who had been voting in various other camps, broke to him, and a determined effort was made to stampede the legislature in his favor, but without success, for Wilson rallied next day to twenty-eight, and the Turner following dropped to six. Recognizing the futility of further effort, Turner withdrew, and Wilson was elected February 1, the result of a caucus the night before.

Taking the year's happenings in chronological order, we find J. M. Comstock, R. B. Paterson, C. H. Weeks and J. L. Paine filing articles January 2 incorporating the Spokane Dry Goods company.

Dissatisfaction with the pastor, Rev. David N. McInturff, of the First Methodist Episcopal church, led a large part of the membership to withdraw, and at a meeting at the residence of Henry Brook, the evening of January 14, steps were taken to organize Vincent church. Among those who attended were Mr. and Mrs. S. Heath, Mr. and Mrs. Brook and two daughters, Mr. and Mrs. W. D. Parks, Nelson Clark and family, D. S. Prescott and family, W. S. McCrea, I. S. Kaufman, Frank Kizer and family, J. H. Bishop and family and Judge R. B. Blake and family. The Rev. M. H. Marvin became the first pastor of the new church.

Increasing dissatisfaction with the conduct, judicial and personal, of Judge

Jesse Arthur of the superior court, developed in February into an organized movement for impeachment. At the request of J. R. Lambly, Representative Tull of Spokane introduced a resolution in the house for an official investigation. Judge Arthur was charged with malfeasance and misconduct in the trial of Herman L. Chase, excessive and habitual use of morphine, falling asleep on the bench while cases were on trial, and wilful absence from his judicial duties. The resolution was adopted and a legislative committee held extended hearings at Spokane and Colville, and submitted majority and minority reports. February 22, by a vote of forty-seven to twenty-one, the house adopted the majority report against impeachment, which, though finding Arthur negligent in regard to the Stevens county grand jury, and culpable in permitting instructions to go to the Chase jury that were contrary to law, nevertheless recommended, in view of "extenuating circumstances," that "the house take no further action."

Property holders, feeling the pinch of taxation in hard times, clamored long and loud for retrenchment at the city hall and courthouse. This discontent took concrete form in the fall of 1894, in the organization of the Taxpayers' League, with A. W. Doland chairman, and B. E. Barinds' secretary. This aggressive organization investigated the building of the new courthouse, and took a firm stand for better and more economical government. Yielding to this pressure, the city council reduced the police force in February, 1895, to the chief, one captain, twenty patrolmen and three special officers—a cut of five regular and eight special officers.

Chairman Henry L. Wilson reported, February 26, that excepting two pieces, all the land necessary for the army post had been acquired. The work of closing up the details was carried on by Chairman Wilson, Henry M. Richards, S. Rosenhaupt, Howell Peel, J. P. Carritte and A. P. Sawyer.

This spring vertical writing was adopted in the first three grades of the Spokane schools.

The Helm bill to reduce grain and produce rates had passed the house, sixty to eight, but was in danger of defeat by the senate. A mass meeting was held in the council chamber, the evening of March 5, to support it, and favoring speeches were made by Frank Graves and Judge R. B. Blake. W. S. Norman spoke in opposition. The bill was beaten in the senate, twenty-one to thirteen, Ide and VanHouten of Spokane voting against it.

Prof. Franz Mueller turned his hand this spring to the composition of a light opera, with Reginald F. Mead assisting as librettist. They named it "The White Fawn," a romance of the wide, wild west, with Indians, cowboys and refined young ladies disporting on the stage, and sang it the night of March 29 before an appreciative audience at the Auditorium. Mrs. Harl J. Cook took the title role.

The Ministerial Association waged aggressive warfare on the box-rustling variety theaters, and the council passed a prohibitory ordinance which Mayor Belt promptly vetoed, for which he was roundly denounced the following Sunday from many of the Spokane pulpits. Sitting in his pew in Westminster Congregational, the mayor listened to a scathing arraignment from his pastor, the Rev. F. B. Cherington.

In April came news of the death, at a hotel in New York, of the kindly but broken-hearted old pioneer, A. M. Cannon. In a desperate endeavor to retrieve his

shattered fortunes, Mr. Cannon had traveled through some of the South American countries, looking vainly for an inviting opening. From that journey he returned to New York, despondent and ill. "His history since 1878," said the Chronicle, then owned and conducted by J. J. Browne, "needs no repetition to the people of Spokane. The establishment of the Bank of Spokane Falls in 1879; the starting of a sawmill in the same year; the formation of the Spokane Mill company; the building of the Spokane & Palouse railroad; the construction of the grand Auditorium, and fifty other enterprises which were originated or assisted by his versatile energy, will bear permanent testimony to the genius of this man."

The body was brought home for its long last rest in Greenwood, and a most solemn and impressive funeral service was conducted by the Rev. T. G. Watson, April 14, in the First Presbyterian church. "He stood erect before the world," said the pioneer preacher, "and with touching courage and a faith divine avowed his purpose of beginning anew the struggle for fortune. It is a noble example, one we may take with us into our homes and daily lives."

In the April municipal campaign three tickets appeared. The republican convention, April 13, nominated C. B. Hopkins for mayor, George A. Liebes for comptroller, and A. G. Ansell for treasurer.

A Citizens' convention nominated Walter France for mayor, A. J. Smith for comptroller, and J. L. Smith for treasurer.

Nominees of the populist convention were H. N. Belt for mayor, Charles L. McKenzie for comptroller, and Hal Gredin for treasurer.

A total of 3,875 votes was polled, and Belt was elected mayor by a plurality of 291 over Hopkins, who received 1,227 votes, France coming in third with 1,130. Liebes and Ansell, republicans, were elected comptroller and treasurer. The populists elected C. Bungay and D. K. Oliver to the council, and the republicans Jacob Schiller, W. H. Acuff, and C. B. Dunning.

For several months in 1895 Simon Oppenheimer was quite the "biggest man in Spokane." People paused in awe of him as he passed along the street, and bankers stood deferentially around when he discussed finance and the great achievements he had in store for Spokane. For Simon had accomplished the wonder of going over to Holland and tearing off $300,000 of real money for investment here. He had bonded the property of the old Spokane Mill company and sold the bonds to the Amsterdamsch Trustees Kantoor. With this money he started out to build the present Phoenix sawmill, and a large flouring mill on the north bank of the river. These were properties of the Northwest Milling and Power company. The sawmill was completed in September, and started industry with an elaborate ceremonial. John L. Wilson orated, Mrs. H. Oppenheimer broke a bottle of champagne, the whistles blew and the overjoyed populace cheered.

Simon had another corporation up his sleeve—the Consumers' Light & Power company—that was going to enter into vigorous competiton with the Washington Water Power company, and in July the council fell all over itself in its eagerness to grant him a fifty-year franchise to set poles and string wires in the city streets.

That was about as far as Simon Oppenheimer ever got with his great work of rejuvenating the languid industries of Spokane. Before the year was ended he had expended the $300,000 and borrowed at the local banks besides, and in March following, on application of the Exchange National, J. N. Glover was appointed re-

ceiver of the company. Mr. Glover found a badly tangled mass of books and accounts. Oppenheimer left the country and went to South America.

Theodore Cushing, who built the Cushing block, now occupied by the Spokane & Eastern Trust company, having lost it under foreclosure, retired to a ranch on the Little Spokane. There, on May 14, after an altercation over wages, he shot and killed Thomas King, a farm hand in his service. He pleaded self-defense, but after an extended trial which excited deep public interest, was convicted of murder in the second degree and sentenced to a term in the penitentiary.

By midsummer the depths of the financial depression had been sounded, and the city's business and industries were thrilling with the renaissance. By July bank clearings had risen to $325,000 a week, an increase of fifty per cent over the corresponding period in 1894, the largest percentage of increase of all the cities in the United States.

A "society circus," out at Natatorium park in July, scored a local hit. A. J. Ross, in regulation attire, was ringmaster, and W. S. McCrea, George Reiner, Eddie Kohlhauff and "Bob" and Ed. Quinn made merry as clowns. But quite the chief attraction was a bareback riding act by the dashing Mrs. S. G. Allen, wife of a prominent member of the local bar.

An enlivening incident that summer was Colonel Patrick Henry Winston's encounter with a highwayman and loss of a silver dollar.

"He asked me," said Mr. Winston, reporting the affair, "if that was all I had, and I assured him, upon my honor, that it was all. Strangely, he took my word for it, so I must conclude that he was a stranger, for who else would take the word of the average citizen of Spokane for truth and veracity? As I was about to part company with the fellow, I suddenly remembered that I had a cigar with me, and asked him to accept it, which he did. I then lighted a match with him and told him to smoke with me. He said, 'Well, you take it d—d cool for a man who is being robbed.' I replied that there was nothing to excite a man to be robbed in Spokane in some manner or other. 'Now if I was robbing you, and thought I was about to get something, I would be so d—d excited that I could not stand still.' As I saw there was no prospect of getting anything of value from the fellow, I politely excused myself and left him."

Fire at Sprague, August 3, burned the Northern Pacific shops and the greater part of the town, and caused a loss of more than a million dollars. The company decided not to rebuild in Sprague, but to transfer its extensive shops and roundhouses to Spokane.

The railroad from Kaslo into the Slocan country was built this year.

John Considine, who subsequently attained eminence in the vaudeville world, was running a box-rustling variety theater on lower Howard street, and while contesting the validity of the state barmaid act was arrested. In the end the courts sustained the law.

The Nez Perce Indians having ceded a part of their reservation, large payments were made to them this summer by the government, and Lewiston bankers and business men profited briskly by Indian trade. The valuable ceded lands were opened to settlement, and by November 3,500 settlers had taken homes.

The year was notable for sharp clashes of authority between Mayor Belt and the council. In September the council removed Police Chief Mertz, who publicly attributed his removal to hostile influence of the A. P. A. That anti-Catholic organization, he asserted, had six members in the council. The council directed Captain Coverly to assume command of the force, and the mayor ordered William McKernan to serve as acting chief. This led to a sharp division in the force, some of the men reporting to the mayor's man, and others siding with the council's appointee. Taking advantage of a provision of the charter, Mayor Belt declared an emergency and assumed command of the police department. The issue was carried to the courts, where the mayor's position was sustained. Meanwhile the council had passed an impeaching ordinance and shook it over the mayor's head, but seemingly fell short of sufficient courage to make good its threats.

This year brought the first attempt to irrigate the lands of the Spokane valley. In September the Washington & Idaho irrigation company incorporated, with a purpose to take water from Hayden and Newman lakes. George S. Palmer was president of the company; H. M. Moseley, secretary, and Charles W. Clark, treasurer. F. E. Elmendorf was manager.

In June the Spokane Immigration Bureau appointed Howell M. Peel, R. E. M. Strickland and I. S. Kaufman a committee to assist Secretary Bolster in planning for another fruit fair. September 30 to October 9 were chosen for the dates, and a large tented structure, 124x156, was erected, fronting on Sprague avenue, at the corner of Mill. At the opening exercises speeches were made by J. W. Binkley, Governor W. J. McConnell of Idaho, and Mayor Belt. For music we had the Fourth cavalry band from Walla Walla. The railroads made special excursion rates of one cent a mile from all points in the Inland Empire, and these and the fame of the fair drew in unprecedented throngs of visitors. It was conservatively estimated that on the second day the Northern Pacific brought in 2,500 excursionists on its Spokane & Palouse branch—thirty-five coaches filled to the aisles and platforms, and hundreds were unable to board the trains as they came up through the Palouse country. Three hundred visitors came from Walla Walla, and the Big Bend country, Stevens county, Lewiston, the Coeur d'Alenes and other northern Idaho towns sent in their thousands. The total paid attendance exceeded 40,000.

In October the new courthouse was nearing completion. The cornerstone of the normal school building was laid at Cheney, October 14, with the Masonic ritual. With the autumnal rains came renewed agitation for the paving of Riverside.

F. Rockwood Moore, one of the best known of Spokane's early pioneers, died November 21. He came in 1878, and the next year engaged in railroad contracting and the general merchandise business. At his funeral Lane C. Gilliam, Charles Sweeny, J. N. Glover, Ben Norman, Henry Brook and R. D. Sherwood were pallbearers. His grave is in Greenwood.

The new water works were nearing completion. The contract was let to Rolla A. Jones at $340,000, but in a statement to the council Comptroller Liebes estimated that the cost would exceed that figure by $75,000.

D. B. Fotheringham had the courthouse contract at $247,600, but extras brought the final cost up to $276,266.

By the end of 1895 prices had started upward, and in the Palouse country wheat was commanding 40 cents, a price which then seemed to spell prosperity for the farming sections, for the cost of production was lower than ever before or since.

Four banks—the Exchange, Traders, Old National and Spokane & Eastern Trust—had $1,350,321 on deposit. "Rarely has there been a happier holiday season in Spokane," cheerily said the Chronicle.

CHAPTER LII

SPOKANE REVIVED BY MINERAL WEALTH

COEUR D'ALENES, ROSSLAND AND SLOCAN ROLL IN RICH DIVIDENDS—MAKING OF THE GREAT LE ROI—"WILDCATTERS" FLOURISH—REPUBLIC CAMP ATTRACTS ATTENTION—POLITICAL UPHEAVAL OF 1896—INFLUENTIAL REPUBLICANS BOLT—FUSION OF DEMOCRATS, POPULISTS AND SILVER REPUBLICANS—SPECTACULAR CAMPAIGN—FUSION FORCES SWEEP STATE AND COUNTY—CAUSES OF THE UPHEAVAL—MAKING WAR ON GROUND SQUIRRELS—GOOD WORK FOR FORT WRIGHT BY CONGRESSMAN HYDE—L. H. PLATTOR KILLED BY HENRY SEIFFERT—FRUIT FAIR ENLARGED.

NEW YEAR of 1896 brought renewed hope and confidence. "Spokane" (I wrote in January) "stands on the threshold of a new career. It is not a boast to say that the outlook, as we stand in the dawn of a new year, is better than ever for further progress and substantial development. With the planting here of national government interests, the establishment of new productive industries, and the rapid growth of mining interests, Spokane's future is assured." And again: "New York, Philadelphia, Boston and Chicago have become great cities through the genius of the American people and development of wild resources. The same influences will build great cities by these western shores, and those cities will be the places which now possess the railroads, the water power and the harbors."

From the treasure vaults of the Coeur d'Alenes and Rossland, and from snowy, silvery Slocan came swelling streams of new wealth, and everybody caught the infection and fell to dabbling in mines. Under the management of Patrick Clark, the War Eagle led off with the first Rossland dividend, summer of 1895, and in October, 1896, had $187,500 to its credit. The great Le Roi quickly followed suit, and made an even better record; and by the autumn of '96 Byron White's Slocan Star had distributed in dividends an even quarter of a million dollars.

At the annual Le Roi election this year W. W. D. Turner was made president, D. W. Henley vice-president, L. F. Williams secretary, and J. M. Armstrong treasurer. These, with George Turner, W. J. Harris, Frank H. Graves, E. D. Sanders and W. M. Ridpath, constituted the board of directors. George Turner, W. J. Harris and W. M. Ridpath were a managing committee. Under a contract with the Le Roi people, F. Aug. Heinze was building a smelter at the mouth of Trail creek, but the company was making heavy and constant shipments to Montana and the coast. From the bottom of the shaft it shipped one lot of forty tons in January that sampled $520 a ton. The stock was selling around $1.50. The fates had decreed that this property should fall into the hands of men of pluck and

persistence. They hammered away on the hard diorite, assessed themselves to carry on development, kept drilling away through panic times, built roads into the wild mountains, and after four years of persistent effort made a showing that caused the "experts" to revise their former discouraging judgment. They shipped ore, and the returns began to pay for development and machinery; and then they worked along for another two years, the marvelous ore bodies disclosed themselves, and the mine began to distribute handsome dividends among its owners.

In March the Bunker Hill and Sullivan, Standard, Hunter, Morning, Helena and Frisco, Emma and Last Chance, Tiger and Poorman, Stemwinder and the Gem, all in the Coeur d'Alenes, were yielding 11,000 tons of silver-lead concentrates a month.

With all this rich mineral development came the inevitable crop of "wild-catters" and mine "salters." C. P. Oudin had bought the Monitor claim, near Rossland, and when he discovered that deception had been practiced, sued Charles and Mabel Crossman. Special Judge J. R. McBride sustained the allegations, ordered the contract rescinded and the return of $1,000 to plaintiff.

"It needs to be said, over and over again," remarked the Spokesman-Review, "that it is folly to put money into mines or stocks which have not back of them a sound title, good business management and skilled superintendency. By a mere 'fluke' one might make a profit by disregarding these tests, but the odds are as a hundred to one that money so invested would be worse than wasted. Spokane has no resources to squander in that fashion. It is desired that her marvelous mineral wealth be developed, but loose methods and blind flounderings will not bring development to the industry, nor wealth to the city. They will rather impoverish individuals, check the rising tide of prosperity, and chill the present desirable interest in mining."

The president having signed, on February 20, the bill extending operation of the mineral laws to the north half of the Colville reservation, hundreds of prospectors swarmed into that district. Republic camp, then known as Eureka, was attracting attention in May. About 100 locations had been made there, and among the Spokane owners were Patrick Clark, Tommy Ryan, Phil Creasor, John Considine and A. W. Strong.

Up Slocan way that year S. S. Bailey sold the Payne group at a reputed price of $125,000, and Col. S. M. Wharton, J. M. Harris and E. J. Kelly were taking ore of fabulous richness from the Reco. They shipped four carloads in December that netted $20,798. A previous shipment of two carloads returned $18,000 profit.

Politically, 1896 brought a mighty upheaval. The Wilson organization controlled the republican county convention in April, and instructed the delegation to the state convention to support Henry L. Wilson for delegate to the national convention. A secret anti-Catholic society, the American Protective association, was now in the heyday of its power, and Cyrus Happy and Alonzo M. Murphey asserted that it had controlled the primaries and convention. Judge Welty, one of the founders of the A. P. A. in Spokane, gave out in an interview the statement that "Senator John L. Wilson's official acts have met with the approval of the order generally, and in recognition of his course in the senate, I account for the action of the order here today in supporting his brother for delegate."

Spokane's public school system had fallen under the sway of this organization,

MOUTH OF THE OKANOGAN RIVER

VIEW OF ROSSLAND, B. C.

REPUBLIC CAMP SCENE IN EARLY DAYS

FIVE-HUNDRED FOOT LEVEL OF THE LE ROI MINE AT ROSSLAND

VIEW OF CHEWELAH, WASHINGTON. FIRST SCHOOL NORTH OF SNAKE RIVER WAS STARTED HERE

and two young ladies, the only Catholic teachers in the public schools, were discharged. It was later revealed that the printed application forms included a religious test, one question asking the applicant's church affiliation.

In state convention at Everett, the republicans instructed for McKinley and the gold standard and declared against free coinage of silver. Henry L. Wilson was elected one of the delegates to the national convention.

At the republican national convention in St. Louis, a group of silver republicans, under leadership of Senator Henry M. Teller of Colorado, marched out from convention hall when the platform was adopted. Under date of June 22 this telegram was sent from Spokane:

"Hon. H. M. Teller, or Fred. Dubois, and their associates, St. Louis: The undersigned republicans admire your course and endorse your action, and stand ready to follow your leadership. We pledge you the state of Washington. We state further that the republicans of this state are misrepresented in the national convention on the financial question. Signed: George Turner, W. C. Jones, J. R. McBride, Cyrus Happy, Patrick Clark, B. C. Kingsbury, W. O'Brien, Albert Allen, D. W. Henley, L. F. Williams, Louis Ziegler, Charles H. Wolf, J. H. McBroom, Frank H. Graves, W. M. Ridpath, J. M. Armstrong, C. H. Thompson, Henry M. Hoyt."

Fusion was effected in state and county by populists, democrats and silver republicans. The fusion state convention at Ellensburg nominated John R. Rogers for governor, W. C. Jones of Spokane, and James Hamilton Lewis of Tacoma, for congress, and Col. Patrick Henry Winston of Spokane for attorney-general.

In state convention the republicans nominated P. C. Sullivan for governor, and S. C. Hyde of Spokane, and Wm. H. Doolittle of Tacoma, for congress.

The campaign was the most spirited and spectacular in the state's history. In Spokane great torchlight processions filled Riverside avenue at night, republicans and fusionists vieing in extraordinary efforts to put their voters in line. The regular republicans made a gallant effort, but it was clearly foreseen that the tide had set hopelessly strong against them. At the election the fusion forces swept county and state. In Spokane they elected every man on the county and legislative tickets, and a similar result was recorded in a number of other east side counties. Bryan carried Spokane county by 3,000 plurality; Rogers, Jones and Lewis by about 2,800.

The Spokesman-Review attributed the result in this state to "a shameful and wholesale control of legislation by corporate influences, wasteful extravagance, the frittering away of the public domain, scandalous scenes attending senatorial elections, want of dignity in high official life, the elevation of mediocrity, penitentiary scandals, tide land and harbor land raids, manipulation of state funds in the interest of favored banks, and gigantic overriding of the plain provisions of the constitution fixing a limit to state indebtedness."

A county seat contest in Lincoln county resulted in the removal of the courthouse from Sprague to Davenport.

OTHER EVENTS OF 1896

An early day pest in the grain-growing sections of the Inland Empire was the ground squirrel. It bred in incredible numbers, burrowing upon sod lands,

and coming out in springtime to feed on the tender shoots of the young wheat. Farmers were driven to desperation, and some lost all or nearly all their crops. Numerous were the agencies of destruction then employed—poisoned wheat, deadly fumes generated by dropping chemicals into the burrows, twenty-two caliber rifles and finally the State Agricultural college went at the problem scientifically and worked out a deadly virus, inoculating with it large numbers of the rodents and turning them loose to carry the infection far and near.

Under a state law this year the county commissioners were paying a bounty on ground squirrel tails—one cent in March, half a cent in April and May. In a single month the commissioners paid bounty on 40,000 tails. On March 31 the entire office force was engaged in the fascinating and highly intellectual avocation of counting tails, and when twilight fell had enumerated that day a grand total of 26,510.

Congress made this year the first appropriation for Fort George Wright, and Representative S. C. Hyde came home from the capital with a fine feather in his cap. "Uncle Joe" Cannon, chairman of the committee on appropriations, was trying to make a record for economy, and the committee threw out this item. Mr. Hyde appealed to Speaker Reed, won his promise of recognition, and when the sundry civil bill was reached in the house, offered an amendment to appropriate for Fort Wright $75,000 of the $300,000 carried by the bill for new buildings at army posts. He reviewed before the house the story of Spokane's sacrifice for the army post and the flag, but Chairman Cannon was flinty-hearted and carried his opposition to the floor. Grosvenor of Ohio supported Hyde, and despite Mr. Cannon's appeal to the members to stand by their committee's report, Hyde's amendment carried by a good majority. In conference the item was trimmed to $50,000.

L. H. Plattor, prominent attorney and democratic politician, was fatally shot by Henry Seiffert, in the corridor of the county courthouse, August 2. The two men had come from Judge Arthur's courtroom, where a motion for appointment of a special administrator for the Rudolph Gorkow estate was under consideration. Plattor, who represented some of the beneficiaries of the will, had made remarks by Seiffert construed as a reflection on his character. Angry words passed, Plattor struck Seiffert with his cane, and Seiffert drew a revolver and fired the fatal shot. Plattor was the democratic nominee in 1889 for lieutenant-governor, and in 1892 for presidential elector on the democratic ticket. Both men were prominent in the order of Elks. Seiffert was tried and acquitted.

A new city directory in August carried 12,500 names, an increase of 10 per cent. The city's population was estimated at 35,280.

Greatly enlarged, with a midway, a rock-drilling contest and a poultry show, this year's fruit fair was sheltered in a big tent adjacent to the Auditorium, October 6 to 18. Total paid admissions, 56,031.

CHAPTER LIII

REVIEW OF HISTORICAL EVENTS OF 1897

GEORGE TURNER ELECTED TO THE SENATE—DR. OLMSTED DEFEATS DR. MAC LEAN FOR MAYOR—H. L. WILSON MINISTER TO CHILE—SALE OF WAR EAGLE MINE—DEVELOPMENT OF REPUBLIC—GRANBY'S BEGINNINGS—MRS. ARCHER'S PRIZE POEM—DEATH OF "DEATH ON THE TRAIL"—LORD SHOLTO DOUGLAS ARRIVES—TRIBULATIONS OF VERY REV. DR. DEAN RICHMOND BABBITT—TOWN WIDE OPEN AGAIN—ROSE CARNIVAL AND PARADE—PROSPERITY'S BANNERS WELL ADVANCED.

GEORGE TURNER'S election by a fusion legislature in January, 1897, gave Spokane both United States senators, as John L. Wilson was then a resident of the town. When the legislature convened it was seen that the senatorial contest was in deep doubt. While the fusion forces had a large majority on joint ballot, the populists evinced a disinclination to affiliate with the democrats and the silver republicans. They had senatorial aspirants of their own, and a further complication appeared in the persistent desire of Senator Watson C. Squire to be returned to the senate. After some delays and extensive negotiations, the fusion members were gotten together in caucus, night of January 28, and Turner made the caucus nominee, in spite of a bolt by twenty supporters of Squire. His election followed on joint ballot the day after the caucus, all the democrats, all the silver republicans and forty of the fifty-eight populists voting for him. Senator Turner was given a non-partisan public greeting when he returned from Olympia to his home. A large reception committee included J. J. Browne, Judge W. E. Richardson, R. B. Blake, A. W. Doland, General A. P. Curry, George Belt, Sheriff C. C. Dempsey, Mayor H. N. Belt, Cyrus Happy, George Mudgett, Dr. Grubbe, R. W. Nuzum, B. E. Barinds, D. C. Newman, Dr. J. D. MacLean, L. Bertonneau, Henry Seiffert, C. S. Rutter, E. Dempsie, N. W. Durham, Charles Leary, Louis Ziegler, J. W. Daniel, Dr. N. Fred. Essig, F. P. Hogan, B. N. Carrier, L. H. Prather, A. P. Wolverton, Ben. Norman, J. A. Schiller, M. Oppenheimer, D. W. Henley, E. T. Steele.

At the municipal election the Citizens' ticket elected all its nominees excepting councilmen from the Fifth ward, where J. S. Phillips and A. W. McMorran, people's party nominees, were successful. For mayor, Dr. E. D. Olmsted defeated Dr. J. D. MacLean by a majority of 744, in a total vote of 3,330. For comptroller, George Liebes defeated Floyd M. Daggett, and W. S. McCrea became treasurer by 490 votes over F. J. J. Quirk. C. S. Rutter and W. F. Mitchem were elected to the council from the First ward, J. N. Glover and J. T. Omo from the

Second, J. M. Comstock and J. A. Schiller from the Third, and J. D. Hinkle and W. H. Acuff from the Fourth.

In June Henry L. Wilson, brother of Senator John L. Wilson, was appointed minister to Chile. He came to Spokane in 1886, and was editorial writer for a while on Frank Dallam's Daily Review. Leaving journalism to embark in the real estate business, Mr. Wilson quickly amassed a fortune of $200,000, but it was swept from his grasp in the panic of 1893.

Early in January F. Lewis Clark and Charles Sweeny, then partners, announced their purpose to tear down the old Commercial hotel building at Riverside and Lincoln, and the old frame building adjoining on the west and erect a modern store and office building. The city had leased a part of the ground several years before, and erected a cheap two-story city hall and police station. The famous, or infamous, "ham" council met there after the fire of 1889.

By the sale of the War Eagle mine in January, nearly three-quarters of a million dollars of new capital was poured into Spokane. The sale was negotiated in Toronto by Patrick Clark, president of the company, to the Gooderham-Blackstock syndicate of Canadian investors. The mine had then paid $187,500 in dividends, so in round numbers that little strip of Red Mountain yielded nearly a million dollars towards the enrichment of Spokane.

Ratification of Mr. Clark's deal was vigorously contested by the Corbin interests. The Gooderham syndicate tendered $770,000 cash, but a competing syndicate represented by Frank T. Post offered $900,000 for the mine, $200,000 in cash, the remainder in deferred payments. The Clark-Finch party were supported by a majority of the voted shares, over the opposition led by Austin Corbin and E. J. Roberts. Subsequent developments proved the wisdom of the cash sale. The developed ore bodies had been almost exhausted, and the new owners were soon confronted with the necessity of making expensive and extensive search for new reserves.

Eureka (Republic) developed this year into a lively camp. In October it boasted fifty log and canvas houses, and had five stores, three blacksmith shops, two barber shops, four restaurants, two hotels, two fruit and cigar stores, two meat markets, three livery stables, three bakeries, three assay offices, a tailor, a shoemaker, a doctor, a lawyer, a jeweler who also sold patent medicines two saloons—and gambling in full blast. A cemetery was started when a woman was mysteriously strangled by an unknown assassin.

Jay P. Graves returned from Montreal in May, successful organizer of a company of Canadian and Spokane investors to take over and develop the Old Ironsides mine in the Boundary district. S. E. Rigg was president, Mr. Graves vice-president and James Penfield secretary. A. L. White was also identified with the enterprise. Such was the beginning of Granby.

An incident of early summer was the publication by the Review of a number of poems on the Spokane river. To stimulate interest in Spokane's scenic setting, that journal offered a small cash prize, to be awarded by Rev. O. J. Fairfield and J. Kennedy Stout. In their judgment, which was sustained by public opinion, the honor was clearly won by Mrs. Sara F. Archer, a teacher in the public schools. In beauty of expression, charm of imagery and haunting melody this poem has yet to be equaled by local effort:

O, beautiful river, sweep into the west,
With the shadow of hemlock and fir on thy breast;
With the glint of the green in thy cool, crystal wave,
Thou hast stolen from hills that thy swift waters lave.

In the lake, hill-encircled, thy rushing rills meet,
Down, down from the heights come their hurrying feet.
From the heart of the mountain thy bright torrent drains,
Thy sources are deep in the dim Coeur d'Alenes.

Convulsions volcanic thy stern bed have made,
In basalt and granite thy couch has been laid;
'Tis veined with the onyx and broidered with gold,
And into its gorges thy liquid life rolled.

High over thy head croons the sentinel pine:
Deep into thy bosom the watchful stars shine;
The tamaracks gaze on thy foam-covered face,
And shivering, stand in the breath of thy race.

Columbia thunders; its echoes invite.
Deep answers to deep in the cataract's might.
Speed on to thy nuptials, exulting in pride,
And the peerless Spokane is Columbia's bride.

A picturesque figure, seen often on the city's streets in the '90s was John W. Proctor, more generally known as "Death on the Trail." Proctor stood six feet six, and wore habitually the attire of the frontier. He had drifted to the Spokane country from Dakota, where he was the original locator of the town of Bismarck, and had seen service as a scout with the United States troops in the Black Hills and for General Custer in the Sioux war. His home was on the river bank in Peaceful valley, and as he never posed as a desperado or tough man, he had many friends and admirers. He found occupation as guide to hunting parties and at prospecting for mineral. He met his death, New Year's day, 1897, by falling from a rocky cliff near Hope, Idaho.

Another remarkable character at this time, though of different type, was Lord Sholto Douglas, a real scion of British nobility, son of the Marquis of Queensberry, who preferred the lights of lower Howard street to his native heath. While knocking around over the Pacific coast he became enamored of a variety actress, and impulsively led her to the altar and thus conferred upon her the title of Lady Douglas.

Perhaps the most militant parson that ever shook the dust of Spokane from his shoes was the Very Reverend Dr. Dean Richmond Babbitt, who held for a year or so the high position of dean of All Saints Episcopal cathedral. Dr. Babbitt was scholarly and possessed many charming personal traits, but the chapter of All Saints found him "temperamentally difficult," as indeed he well knew how to be when crossed in purpose or ruffled in his dignity. In September, this year, the chapter voted to dispense with his services, whereupon he girded up his armor and carried the warfare into the ecclesiastical and legal courts, holding that his

attempted removal was in violation of his rights. The dean refused to vacate his study in the church, and left there on guard his assistant, the Rev. John Manning. In an effort to regain possession, Vestrymen R. L. Rutter, R. M. Russell, George S. Brooke and W. D. Vincent went there on the night of October 13 and demanded possession, which, refused, they felt justified in resorting to force. The dean's assistant resisted eviction, and afterwards complained that in the scuffle his assailants stifled his cries by gagging him with a handkerchief. Dr. Babbitt made much of this incident, but in the end lost his cause before the bishop and in the courts as well. Barred from the cathedral, he held independent services for a while in Elks temple.

This summer the town was wider open than it had been before, since the reconstruction period of 1889-90. Emboldened by lax enforcement of the laws, and apparent apathetic public sentiment, the proprietors of the box-rustling variety theaters, to stimulate attendance, adopted the advertising plan of parading the streets on pleasant afternoons. Behind their bands came the performers and a host of box-rustlers in carriages, a spectacle that aroused much indignation and excited a sharp demand on Mayor Olmsted's administration for reform. "While I am not a puritan," said the mayor, "I am convinced that vice and immorality have put on too brazen a front in Spokane. We have started out to close the dance halls and variety theaters, believing that they are a detriment to the town and a menace to public morals." Regarding gambling, the mayor said: "It is an evil, and I await the verdict of the people and the will of the law-making power. I will say this, however: if the gambling games are to continue in Spokane, they must be run out of sight; there must be no cinch games; they must be under constant police control, and pay a considerable revenue to the city." Enforcement of the law closed the dance halls and variety theaters, but the Coeur d'Alene and the Comique reopened in September, with a promise to abandon box-rustling.

In June we had a rose carnival and parade. Miss Jessie Galusha was crowned queen of roses by the mayor, in public exercises at Natatorium park. Miss Florence Greene was maid of honor, Alice Irvine crown-bearer, and as flower girls came Elsie Crane, Ruth Penfield, and Frances Loring. Ladies in waiting were Marie Luhn, Jessie McTavish, Garrett Glidden, Blonde Nash, Lucille Nash, Gertrude Sweeny, Mary Sexton, Kate Marshall, Edna Campbell and Miss Luhn. As outriders on prancing steeds, B. E. Barinds, T. E. Jefferson, Guy Essig, John C. Onderdonk, E. M. Shaw, Harry Vincent, Jirah Moseley, James Penfield, Roy Clark and Howard Dennis galloped here and there.

To carry on the fruit fair a fund of $5,300 was raised by public subscription by a committee comprising John A. Finch, J. W. Wentworth, O. L. Rankin, J. M. Comstock, J. Goldstein, W. H. Cowles, Howell Peel, R. B. Paterson, Fred. Mason, S. Rosenhaupt, A. W. Doland, Frank Grote, E. Dempsie, and J. A. Schiller. Under the management of H. Bolster the fair scored another success, with 68,000 paid admissions at 15 cents, and a balance after all bills were paid of $1,624. John A. Finch was president, and W. H. Cowles, J. M. Comstock and H. M. Richards the board of control.

Prosperity's banners were now well advanced, and the year brought much construction. In October, buildings completed this year or under construction aggregated $1,280,000. Fine residences were started by D. C. and Austin Corbin,

John A. Finch, A. B. Campbell and many others; and the Jesuits expended $100,000 on their new Gonzaga college, and built besides twenty-four rental cottages on their tract, at a cost of $50,000.

The new directory in June indicated a ten per cent increase in population.

At a meeting in October of the Spokane Lumber association the fact developed that for the first time in seven years the supply of dry lumber was exhausted in the territory between Montana and the Cascades, and Oregon and the Canadian Pacific railroad. Prices were accordingly advanced.

The death in August of Horace E. Houghton deprived Spokane of one of its brightest and ablest minds. Mr. Houghton was a pioneer of 1884. He served three terms as city attorney, and was elected to the state senate in 1889 and again in 1896.

CHAPTER LIV

SALE OF LE ROI MINE TO BRITISH COMPANY

WHITTAKER WRIGHT, LONDON PROMOTER, OVERREACHES HIMSELF—PEYTON INTERESTS SELL CONTROL—TURNER INTERESTS OBJECT—CONTESTS CARRIED TO THE COURTS—JAY P. GRAVES MAKES A FORTUNE—TRAGEDY OF THE GREAT EASTERN FIRE—DEATH OF FRANK GANAHL, FAMOUS PIONEER LAWYER—W. L. JONES AND F. C. CUSHMAN ELECTED TO CONGRESS—FIFTH ANNUAL FRUIT FAIR—NORTHERN PACIFIC SELLS LOW PRICED LANDS.

THE town overbuilt after the fire of 1889, and many owners of large business blocks having lost their properties under mortgage foreclosure, a wary spirit lingered far into the '90s. In 1898 the business district stood substantially as it had risen from the ashes and debris eight years before, and the Auditorium, Review, Granite, First National (now the Exchange National), Hyde, Rookery, Fernwell, Lindell, Van Valkenberg, Great Eastern, Traders, Ziegler, Jamieson, Holley-Mason-Marks and Hotel Spokane buildings were still the chief business structures of the town. Spokane could exhibit then eleven five-story buildings, seven of four stories, and thirty-four three-story. But commerce had grown, and twenty-three firms were engaged in the jobbing business. Bank clearings had risen from the low mark of $15,000,000 in 1894 to $33,000,000 in 1897, and for 1898 were near the $40,000,000 mark. Postoffice receipts had advanced from $41,000 in the year ending June 30, 1895, to $70,000 for the year ended June 30, 1898.

A summary taken that year showed forty-two miles of street railway, fifty-six church bodies, and a creditable array of social organizations, including the Spokane club, the Country club, with fifty members and grounds at Liberty Park, the Spokane Wheel club, the Spokane Amateur Athletic club, with more than 400 members, Sorosis and Cultus clubs for women, Gonzaga Athletic association, Spokane Junior Athletic club, German Turnverein, Spokane Rod and Gun club, a Ladies' Riding and Fencing club, and the Matinee Musical.

Among the buildings started or completed this year were Gonzaga college, $100,000; Fourth avenue school, $46,000; Liberty park school, $12,000; Peyton building (the burned Great Eastern restored), $46,000; Crescent store, $30,000; Buckley building, Riverside and Post, $22,000; Blake building, Riverside between Post and Lincoln, $12,000; Jones & Dillingham building on First, $20,000; Frankfort block, Howard and Main, $15,000.

Many fine residences were constructed in 1898, the list including Austin Cor-

bin's at a cost of $33,000; A. B. Campbell's, $30,000; Patrick Clark's, $40,000; D. C. Corbin's, $17,000; J. D. Sherwood's, $10,000; W. E. Cullen's, $9,000; and F. T. Post's, $8,000. In building, a dollar then went nearly as far as two dollars will go today.

Riverside avenue was paved this year, though not without great effort, for many property-holders were over-cautious.

After a spectacular contest, the Le Roi mine passed to the control of a British company. Early in January the British America corporation, a London company organized by Whittaker Wright, an American who had gone across the water a few years before and hypnotized a large part of the British investing public, put out a prospectus which asserted that the company had either bought or taken option on ten British Columbia mines, and featured the Le Roi as "the premier mine of British Columbia." Local officers of the Le Roi promptly challenged that assertion. They said the British company had no option on their mine; that they had merely quoted Wright a price, the negotiations bound neither side, and the Le Roi company was free to sell to another bidder, or to retain the property itself. For his directors Wright had a number of the great names of England, including Lord Loch and the Marquis of Dufferin, who thus found themselves involved in a shady transaction—in permitting the use of their names for solicitation of stock subscriptions upon what appeared to be false representations, a thing British law and British public sentiment hold in sharp condemnation. It looked as though Whittaker Wright had overreached himself and brought about conditions which placed him at the mercy of a little group of astute gentlemen in Spokane.

The Peyton interests wanted to sell to the B. A. C., at $6 a share, $3,000,000 for mine and smelter. This offer George Turner and W. M. Ridpath resisted with vigor, but at a meeting in May of five of the nine directors, all favorable to the transfer, they voted to accept the London offer. At a meeting attended by all nine directors, these five voted to ratify the preliminary agreement. Stockholders who assented to this deal, with the number of shares held by each were:

I. N. Peyton	70,000
J. G. English	21,524
W. A. Peyton	16,500
C. L. English	12,341
L. D. Glass	4,000
J. T. English	2,198
L. F. Williams	12,000
J. M. Armstrong	17,000
D. W. Henley	20,000
Valentine Peyton	71,086

These, with a number of minor holdings, constituted a majority of the capital stock.

Under Canadian law it was necessary for the directors to meet in Rossland and ratify the Spokane action, but before that meeting could be held the contestants carried the issue into the British Columbia courts. After several months of litigation, an agreement was reached with the Turner-Ridpath minority on a basis of about $8 a share; and thereupon the Peyton majority interest, that had sold

for $6, set up a demand for the difference, holding that the British buyers had promised them as much additional as might be paid for the Turner interests. This demand the B. A. C. successfully resisted in the British Columbia courts.

In December, '98, Jay P. Graves organized a company at Montreal to build a smelter for treatment of ores from the Old Ironsides and Knob Hill mines in the Boundary Creek district. On the Montreal market Old Ironsides was selling at $1.40, Knob Hill at 75 cents. Eighteen months previously Old Ironsides was hawked around Spokane at five cents. Mr. Graves owned a quarter in each mine, and his interests were then rated at $500,000. His good fortune was the sensation of the Spokane mining world, for four years before, the panic and resulting depression had stripped him bare and left him worse than "broke," with a heavy incubus of overhanging debts.

In January, this year, occurred the Great Eastern fire, most disastrous in loss of life in the city's history. Flames broke out about midnight, apparently in the basement of John W. Graham & Co.'s store, and quickly the hallways above were filled with suffocating clouds of smoke. The upper floors were occupied as apartments, and a number of the roomers fell suffocated in the halls in a vain effort to escape. Within a few minutes the elevator was disabled, escape was cut off from the stairways, and persons remaining in the building gathered at windows and on the fire escapes. Many were carried down ladders by the firemen. One man, four women and three little girls perished in the smoke and flame: W. B. Gordon, mining engineer; Mrs. H. B. Davies, Miss Alice Wilson, Maud Wilson, Mrs. Maud Smith, Mrs. Cora Peters, Ethel and Alma Peters. A property loss of $240,000 was suffered. Col. I. N. Peyton bought the ruins and the ground, and erected there the following summer the present Peyton block.

A famous pioneer lawyer, with a reputation for eloquence and biting sarcasm that extended from Mexico to Alaska, was Frank Ganahl, who died in July, this year. Anecdotes of his wit and invective will long be told in cabin and office in the Coeur d'Alenes, where he dwelt for several years and figured in many of the noted mining cases of the times. Ganahl was one of the most eloquent public speakers who ever mounted stage or forum in the Inland Empire; in the judgment of many, he had no peer. Particularly I recall an address he gave, some twenty years ago, before the Irish-American citizens of Spokane, a flight of oratory I have seldom heard surpassed. To his old-time friend and admirer, W. T. Stoll, I am indebted for facts regarding his career and fame. He came to the Pacific coast in the early '50s, a graduate of Harvard and Harvard's law school, and at once took rank as one of the foremost lawyers, and perhaps as the foremost advocate and jury orator on the Pacific coast.

On the night of the great fire, August 4, 1889, Ganahl was a guest in "Bill" Osborn's hotel at Wardner, and when news came of the conflagration, Osborn went to Ganahl's room, woke him and said, "Frank, Spokane is burning up." Ganahl sat up in bed, rubbed his eyes a bit and said, "Bill, give me a drink."

A big mining case was being tried in the Idaho courts, Ganahl on one side, Senator W. B. Heyburn on the other. It was a hot day in August; the case had been dragging for a long time, and every one was fatigued and pretty well worn out. Ganahl asked for a paper, and the judge said that it was on the table, pointing to it. Mr. Heyburn, himself a very corpulent man, though not so corpulent as Mr. Ganahl,

arose and politely, though humorously, remarked, "Mr. Ganahl, I will get it for you, as I am able to get around better than you, on account of not being quite so fat." Like an explosion of dynamite, Ganahl jumped to his feet, the clarion notes from his voice electrifying every one, and shouted: "Fat, am I? Ah, yes, my master; I must admit the soft impeachment; but mark the distinction: I carry my fat under my belly band, where a gentleman should, and not under my hat band, where my friend does."

Ganahl, concludes his old friend and panegyrist, "was the central figure in many of the great dramas enacted in the wilderness and on the frontier. He sleeps in an unmarked grave in Greenwood cemetery, but his fame will endure long after this generation has passed away."

In state convention at Ellensburg, the fusion party renominated W. C. Jones and James Hamilton Lewis for congress. The republicans nominated W. L. Jones of Yakima, and F. C. Cushman of Tacoma. The November election brought a sharp reversal of the public judgment of '96, and state and county were easily carried by the republicans. Cushman carried Spokane county by 400 majority, and the republicans elected their entire county ticket. Spokane sent to Olympia the following legislative delegation: Senate—W. H. Plummer and W. E. Runner, people's party, holdovers; Herman D. Crow, republican. Representatives, all republicans: Hiram E. Allen, Wallace Mount, Joseph Scott, Harry Rosenhaupt, R. N. McLean, J. F. Sexton, F. P. Witter, A. Harrison.

The fifth annual fruit fair opened October 4, with a parade, Miss Katherine Hogan appearing in a chariot as goddess of plenty. Grand Marshal Lane C. Gilliam was assisted by J. C. Williams, F. H. McCullough, Sidney Rosenhaupt, Oskar Huber, J. L. McAtee, R. E. M. Strickland, Sidney Norman, R. Insinger and N. R. Sibley. At the large tented building adjoining the Auditorium, Miss Hogan recited a fruit fair ode from the pen of Mrs. Sara F. Archer:

"Another year of garnered hopes,
Of bending boughs on orchard slopes,
Of stubble-fields where Ceres reigns,
Of bursting barns and stagg'ring wains:
The tardy sun seeks southern skies,
And Hesperus is quick to rise."

President John A. Finch delivered an address of welcome. Attendance for twelve days, 72,250.

MINOR EVENTS IN 1898

Attendance in the public schools in November showed an increase of more than 400 over November the year before.

To stimulate more rapid settlement of the open places, the Northern Pacific adopted a policy of greatly lowering its land prices in Washington. Its remaining agricultural lands it sold at from $2 to $4 an acre; grazing lands, from fifty cents to a dollar; but large part of these "grazing" areas were afterwards found to be excellent grain lands. From the rapid advance in these land values, many fortunes were made in eastern Washington.

July 1 the president signed the bill to open to mineral entry the south half of the Colville reservation.

CHAPTER LV

INLAND EMPIRE SOLDIERS IN THE PHILIPPINES

SEVEN-TWELFTHS OF WASHINGTON'S REGIMENT COME FROM THE EAST SIDE—SPOKANE'S GREETING TO THE SIXTEENTH INFANTRY—REGULARS DEPART FOR CUBA AND VOLUNTEERS FOR MANILA—COMPANIES A AND L ON THE FIRING LINE—GENERAL KING PRAISES THE SOLDIER BOYS FROM WASHINGTON AND IDAHO—SEVERE LOSSES IN ACTION—DEATHS FROM WOUNDS AND DISEASE—SPOKANE RED CROSS SOCIETY CHARTERS A TRAIN AND BRINGS OUR BOYS HOME IN COMFORT AND STATE—CHEERING THOUSANDS WELCOME THE YOUNG VETERANS—MEMBERS OF THE SPOKANE COMPANIES.

And, though the warrior's sun has set,
Its light shall linger round us yet,
Bright, radiant, blest.

—*Coplas De Manrique.*

PRESIDENT McKINLEY'S call of April 25, 1898, for 125,000 volunteers to follow the flag in the war with Spain, stirred deeply the martial spirit of the young manhood of the west. Washington, Idaho, Oregon and Montana sent each a regiment of volunteers, and a large part of these organizations came out of the Inland Empire. In the stern task of suppressing the Filipino insurrection and the more trying duty of pacification of the island after the crushing of the main revolt, our western soldiers bore a gallant part. Out of 35 military organizations participating in the campaigns in the Philippines, but four sustained greater losses in action than were suffered by the First Washington Volunteers with its fifteen men killed in battle. The Nebraska regiment lost 23, South Dakota 20, Kansas 17, and the Third U. S. artillery 18.

Besides its loss of fifteen in action, Washington lost nine who died from wounds and twelve from disease, a total of 36. Idaho lost six in action, three from wounds and thirteen from disease. Oregon twelve in action, three from wounds and 31 from disease; and Montana gave ten in action, thirteen from wounds and 13 from disease.

With one third of the state's population, eastern Washington contributed seven of the twelve companies of the Washington regiment. Spokane sent two companies, and Walla Walla, Waitsburg, Dayton, North Yakima and Ellensburg one each. Wm. H. Luhn of Spokane became adjutant of the regiment, John Carr, of Dayton, major, and Wm. McVan Patten of Walla Walla, assistant surgeon. George M. Dreher of Spokane served as first lieutenant of the company from Centralia.

Spokane had the honor of sending to the flag two bodies of soldiers that gallantly distinguished themselves in the Spanish-American war and on battle-fields in the Philippines.

On a bright day in April, 1898, when blue skies bent above them and the prairie grasses rippled in the warm west wind, the boys of the Sixteenth regular infantry marched out from their barracks at Fort Sherman, gave a farewell look upon the forest girded waters of Coeur d'Alene, and were carried over the railroad, 35 miles to Spokane. Here a cheering welcome awaited them. With many a smile and many a flower, Spokane was out to give them royal greeting; presented them a silken flag, and bade them God-speed in the cause of human freedom. On Santiago field the Sixteenth led the charge, and suffered greater losses there than fell to any other regiment. Many a brave fellow fell in that memorable battle, nevermore to see the sunlight gleaming on the forest slopes of Idaho.

Nine days later the town had tears and cheers for its departing volunteers, when companies A and L bade goodbye to friends and kindred and began the long service which carried them to distant isles of the sea, and placed them in the post of honor in the fierce battle of Manila. In that engagement our Washington and Idaho soldiers fought with distinguished courage, and the Washington men sustained severer losses than fell on any other regiment in action.

April 21 five companies of the Sixteenth arrived here, en route to the front. Business houses decorated with the colors, and the public schools were dismissed to let the children view the patriotic parade. For mascot the regiment bore a live eagle, and nearly 600 men were in line, with Colonel Thaker in command.

Impending war confronted the Union. Congress had declared the independence of the Cuban republic, demanded that Spain take down her yellow flag and leave the island, and to enforce its decree placed the entire land and naval forces at the president's command. Thereupon McKinley called for 125,000 troops, and Washington's quota was 1,178.

To the stirring strains of "Yankee Doodle," "Dixie," and "The Girl I Left Behind Me," Spokane's two companies, L and battery A, light artillery, converted into an infantry company, left the city Saturday, April 30, for the concentration camp near Tacoma. As they marched up Riverside, the avenue was a blaze of red, white and blue. At the Northern Pacific they took position before a platform and heard farewell speeches by Mayor Olmsted and J. M. Comstock, president of the city council. The great throng cheered the presentation of flags, and there was continuous cheering as the train drew out at 2:45.

May 1 the twelve companies assembled at Camp Rogers near Tacoma, so named in honor of Governor John R. Rogers. Companies A and L of Spokane were mustered in May 9; and on the same day Company E of North Yakima, with Marshall S. Scudder as captain, Fred. T. Briggs first lieutenant, and Wm. L. Lemon second lieutenant. Company I of Walla Walla followed the next day with Wm. B. Buffum as captain, Morrow C. Gustin first lieutenant, and Thomas D. S. Hart second lieutenant. The same day saw the mustering in of Company F of Dayton, with Chester F. Miller captain, Charles A. Booker first lieutenant, and George B. Dorr second lieutenant. Company H of Ellensburg was mustered in May 11, with Alfred C. Steinman captain, Samuel C. Davidson first lieutenant, and Edward G. Southern second lieutenant. Company K of Waitsburg was mustered in the next day, with

WASHINGTON SCOUTS, TAKEN AT PASIGO, PHILIPPINES

WASHINGTON TROOPS EMBARKING ON THE VALENCIA AT SAN FRANCISCO

Charles T. Smith captain, Jesse K. Arnold first lieutenant, and John B. Caldwell second lieutenant.

We need not trace here the minute details of the weeks of active preparation, the movement of the regiment to San Francisco, and the busy, interesting days passed there awaiting orders to sail to the Philippines. These came in October, to the intense delight of every man in the regiment, and November, 1898, found our soldier boys in Manila.

From an account of the field operations of the regiment, compiled by Adjutant Luhn and published in "Campaigning in the Philippines," we take an interesting excerpt:

"The regiment was assigned to the 2d brigade, 1st division, 8th army corps, but shortly after was assigned to the 1st brigade, 1st division, with General King as brigade commander and General Anderson division commander. Our duty commenced on December 8th, six days after landing, by furnishing the guard for outpost duty at blockhouse No. 11, where the post of our sentinel was on one side of the Concordia bridge, while that of the insurgent sentinel was on the other.

"Concordia bridge is so-called because it spans the small creek of Concordia. The insurgents at this place had concentrated a strong support of their advanced line. The delimitation between the American and insurgent forces had been thoroughly defined and assented to by the two commanders, and the stations of the two sentries at the bridge were on these lines, and any advance by either would be an encroachment which justified forcible resistance. Notwithstanding this, the sentry was not only in the habit of invading the neutral ground, but taunting and daring our sentry to molest him. At times so threatening was the situation because of this that the command was called under arms.

"As a matter of fact, the Washington regiment was put to the front, where it had its full share of outpost and other duty from the start. First Lieutenant Davidson, who was left at Angel Island, California, on account of physical disability, was discharged, and on December 9 Second Lieutenant Southern was promoted to be first lieutenant, and Regimental Sergeant Major Joe Smith was commissioned a second lieutenant to succeed Lieutenant Southern. Private Thomas W. Lemon, company A, was appointed regimental sergeant-major to succeed Joe Smith."

For three months the American and insurgent forces confronted each other, with the tension growing constantly more acute. Our forces were under constant admonition to avoid a conflict, and this policy of forbearance was misconstrued by the Filipinos as cowardice. The break came on the night of February 4, 1899, when four armed Filipino soldiers tried to pass the American line near block house 6, and refusing to halt, were fired upon by private Grayson of the Nebraska regiment. Almost instantly volleys came from the Filipino earthworks. The war had come.

As the day wore away (February 5) the firing on General King's line became heavier, and the Washington and Idaho regiments were put on the firing line on the Paco front. In his report, speaking of the action of the Washington regiment when the advance order was given, General King said:

"At that moment the First Washington had six companies at our front, supporting block house No. 11. This gallant regiment had been the delight of the brigade commander for weeks past. It was so soldierly, so well drilled, and so thorough in

every duty. Now it had to lie down in the rice fields and answer as best it could a rasping fire coming in three directions from across the stream, a narrow estuary of the Pasig, that formed the dividing line between Manila limits and the territory of the insurgents. . . . Then at last the order came—and then the result.

"I have seen the hounds loosed from their leash, and racers from the best states given the drum-tap and the word "go," but in all my life I have seen no moment, known no exhilaration like that that came when, launching the Washington state volunteers across the stream and letting the Idahos follow close, I rode into the attack. . . . The Washingtons took the plunge into the narrow little estuary and clambered the opposite bank, mud up to their middles, but in an instant their Springfields were blazing across the fields, and Johnny Filipino streaked it for his entrenchments, dived into them like so many prairie dogs, and then, turning, let drive with Mauser and Remington on the steadily advancing lines.

"The sight of the Idaho regiment coming up from Paco with colors flying (they wouldn't leave them behind) seemed to set fire to every wall and hedgerow, and the bullets buzzed like wasps in a fury, sweeping Santa Ana bridge diagonally, smashing lamps into flinders, and sending chips flying from the stone parapets . . . Something had to be done to at least quell that infernal fire from the left front, and looking about me for available infantry, I could for an instant see nothing but the dead and wounded of the Washington still lying on the original battle line, where we had so long been held in check by orders from the rear.

"I think I never knew a sensation quite as thrilling as when from just behind the slowly advancing firing line at the center on the Santa Ana road, I heard the crash of McConville's (Idaho) and Fortson's (Washington) volleys at the left rear, and saw them leap out of their cover on its left, and, obedient to the chief, swing upon the enemy and head for the Pasig—the right and center going square into and through Santa Ana, and the center sharing in the glory of the left in the capture of the Krupps and the carrying of the redoubts. I can still hear the glorious bursts of cheers with which the center went over to the enemy's works, and the echoing hurrahs where, just a fourth of a mile away, Fortson with his Washington battalion, and McConville with two Idaho battalions, were making mincemeat of the west redoubt. . . .

"In killed and wounded we had lost some gallant officers and men—seventy was the number sent in by the surgeons that night—but the fields over which we charged, the earthworks, the redoubts, the village streets, the river banks, were strewn with the insurgent dead."

Adjutant Luhn explains that the Krupp guns of which the General speaks were captured by Lieutenant Southern and his brave fellows of Company H. In the rush they had no time to haul the guns, but took the breech-blocks, sights, lanyards and primers. "This," adds Adjutant Luhn, "was the heaviest battle of the war. With a very few exceptions among some old regulars who had enlisted in the regiment, there was not a man who had ever been under fire. Every man stood to his duty, and this can be no more conclusively proven than by the fact that the casualties were 17 per cent greater than in any other organization. . . . This, in brief, is the history of the first battle in which the First Washington volunteers participated. Our loss in this engagement was nine killed and 46 wounded, Lieutenants Erwin and Smith being among the latter."

In this engagement the Idaho regiment charged a redoubt, carrying it at the point of the bayonet, and driving an insurgent regiment to the bank of the river, annihilated it. Not a man was seen to gain the opposite bank. Major Figgins of the Idahos estimated the enemy's loss in this movement at 700 killed, wounded, drowned and captured.

Their service over, the Spokane boys were mustered out at San Francisco, and came home in a special train, chartered by the ladies of the Spokane Red Cross society, who raised by public subscription a necessary fund of several thousand dollars. Their home-coming (in November, 1899), was the occasion of a noble outpouring of patriotic pride and gratitude. The special train drew in at the station, at 9 o'clock in the morning, to a greeting of bells, whistles and cheers. Breakfast was served the young veterans, in Elks temple, by the ladies of the Red Cross, who had strung a long banner across the hall, bearing the inscription, "Welcome, Invincible First Washington Volunteers," and as the soldier boys marched into the room, they met a rattling volley of feminine hand-clapping. After breakfast came a parade, with Lieutenant E. K. Erwin as marshal of the day, accompanied by Captain E. Martinson, Lieutenant Joe Smith, Chaplain C. C. Bateman, and Hospital Steward McBride. Chief Witherspoon and a platoon of police, lead by Sergeant John Sullivan, marched in advance, and next in order came Sedgwick and Reno posts of the G. A. R., under command of Mayor Comstock; a band, company A, company L, carriage with Mrs. Virginia K. Hayward, president of the Red Cross society, Mrs. George Turner and a Filipino boy brought home by Lieutenant Nosler; carriages bearing Mesdames L. J. Birdseye, L. B. Stratton, S. K. Green, J. A. Schiller, A. P. Foster, W. S. Nettleton, N. W. Durham, W. S. Bickham, J. H. Madison, M. M. Cowley, J. W. Chapman, Frank Ganahl, M. E. Kelly, Etta A. Whitehouse, L. F. Williams and C. H. Wolf. County and city officials completed the first division, marshaled by General A. P. Curry and Dr. R. B. Freeman.

Leading the second division came Aides Frank McCullough and Dan Weaver, and after them the boys brigade in which marched boys of the high school, Gonzaga college students, and boys from the grade schools.

Dr. H. B. Luhn and W. S. McCrea led the third division of clubs and societies.

At the Auditorium speeches were made by Mayor Comstock, Senator George Turner, Ex-Senator John L. Wilson and Mrs. Virginia K. Hayward. A living flag chorus was directed by Dr. R. A. Heritage. Mrs. A. J. Shaw and Stage Manager Jack Quinn had decorated the theater.

Supper and a campfire at the First Methodist Episcopal church added a final touch to a day of enthusiastic greetings.

COMPANY L

Captain Jos. M. Moore, First Lieutenant John E. Ballaine, Second Lieutenant Charles E. Nosler, First Sergeant Leroy L. Childs, Quartermaster Sergeant Howard Woodard, Sergeants Thomas Doody, William G. Adams, Reno D. Hoppe, James J. Butler; Corporals James B. Raub, Frank M. Merriam, Otis L. Higbee, Robert D. Dow, Walter A. Dickson, Wm. H. Egbert, Charles O. Miller, Alfred C. Saunders, Samuel Jensen, J. Grant Hinkle, Charles W. Schmidt, Milton Rhodes, Will O. Campbell; Musicians David H. Durgin and Morton G. Smith; Artificer George

E. Hedger, Wagoner Marshall W. Pullen; Privates Hector W. Allen, Charles G. Anderson, Robert E. Bowman, Wm. M. Briggs, Joseph L. Buckley, George H. Burggrabe, Elsworth Button, Charles A. Carson, Charles A. Christy, Robert H. Diehl, Ernest E. Drake, Charles A. Dunn, Robert T. Dye, Wm. Ecklind, Carson E. Ellis, Edward R. Ennis, Wm. T. Fleming, George F. Harson, Walter R. Haskin, Thomas T. Hause, Charles Hedger, John B. Heyburn, Charles A. Janes, Stanley Jodrey, Fred J. King, George E. Marks, Charles H. Merriam, Clifford M. Mumby, John B. McChesney, John Perry, Clarence V. Roberts, Arthur Rose, Charles J. Shidler, Henry J. Sievers, Robert J. Sly, Orpheus U. Tatro, Orlando P. Vaughn, Lee F. Warren, John H. Wells, Mortimer J. Winter.

Discharged—Quartermaster Sergeant Wm. Q. Kelley, Sergeants Joseph W. Childs and Fred B. Slee; Corporals Moray J. Craig and Henry K. Harrison; Leonard F. Adams, George G. Ahlbaum, John B. Arrowsmith, John J. Baglin, Walter R. Bucklew, Benton Edgcombe, Lewis C. Greenwood, Warren A. Harper, George M. Harty, John E. Jardine, John J. Kane, Edward Lamb, Charles J. Lee, Alex. H. Mattinks, Robert T. Morrison, Arthur R. Porter, John Pruitt, Wm. Schermerhorn, Patrick Shea, Jos. M. Stewart, Edward H. Truax, Herbert C. Vaughan, Charles F. Watrous, Edward A. Baldwin, George A. Newcomb, Allen Ray, Ira E. Rose, Allen R. Scott, Charles H. Smith, John Smith, John W. Willis, Harvey Woodbridge.

Transferred—Corporal Hugh Cusick, Melvin R. Arant, Albert Anderson, Truman K. Hunt, Edward Smith.

Died—Corporal Harry R. S. Stroud, of dysentery at regimental hospital; Walter M. Hanson, killed in battle at Santa Ana.

Wounded—First Sergeant Leroy S. Childs, left arm; Sergeant Reno D. Hoppe, over left eye; Charles G. Anderson, left leg; Carson E. Ellis, left arm; Edward R. Ennis, right breast; John Truitt, in both legs; Wm. Schermerhorn, left arm.

COMPANY A

Captain A. H. Otis, First Lieutenant William I. Hinckley, Second Lieutenant Walter L. McCallum, First Sergeant Fred L. Titsworth, Quartermaster Sergeant James A. Timewell, Sergeants Herman P. Hasler, William T. Harrison, Walter A. Graves and Kendall Fellowes, Corporals Daniel Raymond, Ernest C. Hollingsworth, George F. DeGraff, Wm. C. Ackerman, Charles F. Delano, John F. Mitchell, Robert M. Betts, Fred. W. Schander, Ed. Fox, Thomas B. Richart, Walter A. Nicholls and Ancil C. Rayburn; Cook Ernest Wizeman, Musician Arno L. Marsh, Artificer Charles E. Black; Wagoner Walter W. Hicks.

Privates—Albert Anderson, Arthur E. Anderson, Loyal T. Bintliff, Robert F. Britton, George E. Childs, Fred. Chapman, John F. Crowley, John A. Coughlin, Leo M. Dornberg, Stephen A. Dunn, Oliver P. Eslick, Wm. C. Everett, Wm. R. Fait, Dennis C. Feeney, Edward D. Freeman, Edward D. Furman, Elmer E. Gordon, Loren D. Grinstead, Gust Gustafson, John L. Harrington, Robert A. Harris, Thomas Honey, Otto H. Hoppe, Clement C. Hubbard, Albert D. Hughes, Wm. A. Long, Wm. T. McNeill, Wm. E. Nickerson, John M. Pike, George E. Primley, Clyde Secrist, Oscar Sowards, Harry Stenson, M. E. Thompson Jr., George Zuppe.

Discharged—First Lieutenant Edward K. Erwin, First Sergeant Milo C. Corey, Sergeants Louis E. Brigham, Robert G. Fraser, Walter L. McCallum, Charles B.

WASHINGTON CONVALESCENTS AT THE FIRST RESERVE HOSPITAL

MONTANA MEN ON THE FIRING LINE

Syphert; Corporals Fred. R. Bingham, Peter M. Gauvreau, Harvey J. Martin, Fred. H. Marsh, James H. Pierce, George M. Tuttle, Wm. H. Young; Privates Swen G. Beckman, Peter Christensen, Harry Clark, George Crerar, John A. Delancey, Jos. E. Dougherty, James F. Greek, Charles J. Green, George Gros, Gilbert Haigh, George W. Harlan, David Hyatt, John C. Kline, Thomas A. Lemon, Alex. J. McDonald, Wm. A. May, John W. McArthur, James McCauley, Wm. H. Melville, Wm. A. Myers, Joseph O'Hara, Elbert W. Owen, Frank Rivers, Wm. W. Rolfe, Wm. C. Russell, George Scott, Ray Spear, John W. Stephens, Henry Yake.

Transferred—Robert L. Clarke, Jeremiah L. Dore, Charles H. Merriam, Morton G. Smith, George M. Stiles.

Dead—Corporal George W. McGowan and Ralph W. Simonds, killed in action near blockhouse; Richard H. McLean, died of wounds received in action.

Wounded—Captain Albert H. Otis, in right cheek; First Lieutenant Edward K. Erwin, in left shoulder; Quartermaster Sergeant James A. Timewell, in left forearm; Sergeant Kendall Fellowes, in left hip; Corporal Charles F. Delano, in left hand; Corporal John F. Mitchell, left leg; Corporal Fred. W. Schander, right cheek and right shoulder; Joseph E. Dougherty, left hip and leg; Wm. E. Everett, right shoulder; Wm. R. Fait, left forearm; James F. Greek, left shoulder; Otto H. Hoppe, in head; John C. Kline, lower jaw; Wm. A. Myers, left forearm; Elbert W. Owen, in neck; Frank Rivers, right elbow; Oscar Sowards, right elbow; George Zuppe, right knee.

CHAPTER LVI

TWO PROGRESSIVE YEARS, 1899 AND 1900 REVIEWED

D. C. CORBIN ESTABLISHES BEET SUGAR INDUSTRY—FOSTER ELECTED SENATOR—REPUBLIC TO THE FRONT—SALE OF REPUBLIC MINE—CLARK AND SWEENY IN THE COEUR D'ALENES—HEROIC DEATH OF ENSIGN MONAGHAN—SPOKANE INDUSTRIAL EXPOSITION—ELKS HOLD IMPOSING CARNIVAL—GREAT WAVE OF IMMIGRATION—GOVERNOR ROGERS REELECTED—REPUBLICANS CARRY REST OF TICKET—WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN HERE—"HOT AIR" RAILROAD BUILT TO REPUBLIC.

D. C. CORBIN announced in March, 1899, his intention to build a $350,000 beet sugar factory at Waverly, in the southern part of Spokane county. Col. E. H. Morrison had cleared the way by years of careful, extensive experimentation with the sugar beet on his large estate at Fairfield, and systematic scientific testing of his product by the school of science at the State College at Pullman had piled proof upon proof that soil and climate of the Palouse country would yield beets of high sugar content and exceptional purity. Three years prior to Mr. Corbin's action, the Spokane chamber of commerce enlisted its efforts, and with the enthusiastic assistance of its secretary, John R. Reavis, induced the legislature to offer a bounty in 1897 for encouragement of the infant industry. Into this inviting field first came the agents of a wealthy Scotch company, but these willing investors were repelled by the provision in the state constitution which inhibits ownership of land by aliens. They sought various ways of getting around this barrier, but in the end had to abandon their purpose.

At the session of 1899, the legislature enacted another bill, to pay bounty of one cent a pound on sugar produced within three years in factories completed prior to November 1, 1901, not more than $50,000 to be paid in bounties in one year. Thus encouraged, Mr. Corbin engaged in the enterprise with his characteristic vigor and intelligence, and in spite of some disappointments and unforeseen obstacles, planted successfully a new industry on the Palouse hills and in the Spokane valley. The first carload of sugar from this factory was received in Spokane January 28, 1900.

The legislative session in January brought the turmoil of another senatorial election. John L. Wilson was a candidate for reelection, but found himself heavily handicapped by a feeling throughout the state that Spokane should not indefinitely wear dual senatorial honors. Levi Ankeny of Walla Walla, who had failed in his contest in 1895, returned for another struggle. King county advanced Judge Humes as its nominal candidate, but belief was widespread that he played the role of a

stalking-horse for Ankeny. Pierce county came into the fight with Addison G. Foster of Tacoma. On first ballot the fusion forces gave their complimentary vote of twenty-seven to James Hamilton Lewis, and the republican strength was divided—Foster twenty-six, Wilson twenty-five, Humes twenty-two, Ankeny eight. In caucus the Humes forces went to Ankeny, and the Wilson followers moved over en masse to Foster, and the Tacoma man was made the caucus nominee in spite of a bolt by the Ankeny-Humes alliance. Foster was elected senator, February 1, receiving eighty-one of the eighty-three republican votes.

Republic was now to the forefront in the mining world, and under Patrick Clark's management the Republic mine had disbursed dividends in May aggregating $190,000. Control of this property passed now into Canadian hands, and a new company was formed, with 3,500,000 shares at $1 each, the British interests buying out the Spokane owners at prices ranging around $3 per share for the old stock, or a valuation of about $3,000,000 for the mine. Phil Creasor and Tom Ryan staked this claim in February, 1896, on a grubstake by L. H. Long and Charles Robbins, but little work was done that year. Denis Clark looked over the ledge in 1897 and found good values. A company was formed, and in June Patrick Clark acquired a controlling interest. A large quantity of the stock was sold in Spokane at ten cents a share.

Charles Sweeny and F. Lewis Clark were now operating boldly and extensively in the Coeur d'Alenes and the Buffalo Hump country of central Idaho. They bought, in June, the Tiger-Poorman mine from the Glidden interests, at a reputed price of $240,000, and organized the Empire State-Idaho company, with holdings of the Last Chance and seventeen other claims in Wardner.

News of the heroic death of Ensign Monaghan, of the United States navy, son of the well known pioneer James Monaghan, came from distant Samoa in April. The Samoan islands were then under a triple protectorate of the United States, Germany and Great Britain. Mataafa, the deposed chief, secretly encouraged, it was thought, by Germany, had risen in revolt. A small scouting party of Americans and British had gone a short distance into the interior, and found themselves ambushed by a vastly superior party of hostile natives. The New Zealand Herald thus reported the tragic encounter:

"Ensign Monaghan acted like a hero during the affair, and the English officers here declare that his self-sacrifice and bravery entitled him to the Victoria cross. Lieutenant Lansdale (of the British navy), Ensign Monaghan and a few British and American sailors were together when Lansdale was shot through the leg. Ensign Monaghan and two American sailors tried to assist this officer. Then one of the sailors was shot. Lansdale bade the other retreat and join his comrades, and the man did so. Then a Porpoise bluejacket named Hurst came up and heard Lansdale urge Monaghan to leave him. 'Leave me, Mon.,' he said, 'I'm done for,' but Monaghan stuck bravely to the wounded man. Then a shot struck Lansdale through the heart, and he fell. Brave Ensign Monaghan, who stuck by his comrade to the death, moved a few steps away, when he, too, was shot through the heart and met the fate of a hero."

Ensign Monaghan was born at Chewelah, Stevens county; was educated at Gonzaga college and the United States naval academy at Annapolis, and had but recently graduated from the academy and received his commission as ensign. His mangled

body was brought home for military honors, and an appropriate monument at Riverside and Monroe testifies to the esteem in which his gallant memory is cherished by a host of patriotic citizens of Spokane.

The old fruit fair, which had played an important part in development of the country's resources, reviving confidence and binding city and country together in friendly cooperation, was merged this year into the Spokane Industrial Exposition, with E. D. Olmsted president, H. Bolster manager, and L. J. Smith general superintendent. Miss Jean Goldie Amos was goddess of plenty. The Grand Army band was brought from Canton, Ohio, and the fair ran fifteen days, on the old grounds near the Auditorium, with a total attendance of nearly 80,000.

On the night of October 11, the Elks gave the most imposing carnival parade the city had ever witnessed. Thousands of red fire torches carried by the marchers gave to the moving column the resemblance of a river of fire, rolling majestically between dark banks of humanity. This illusion was heightened by the appearance above the fiery current, of elaborate floats, and their resemblance to a moving fleet of decorated ships and galleys. And streaming in the fiery night wind, above this magic fleet, floated a vast array of crimsoned flags and banners, and high over these the glare of red fire and huge columns of swirling, rosy smoke.

Chief Moses died on the Colville reservation, March 25.

A bill creating Ferry county was passed at Olympia. Also a bill providing for the organization of Chelan county.

Early Sunday morning, September 3, two masked men held up Harry Green's gambling resort on Howard street, seized $1,700 and fled to the street. They were pursued by Richard Gemmrig, a merchants' policeman, and in the fusillade of shots Gemmrig fell with a bullet through his groin.

REVIEW OF YEAR 1900

Nineteen hundred brought a great wave of immigration into the Inland Empire. Never before had eastern homeseekers spied out the land in such vast numbers. In a single week 5,000 colonists passed through the St. Paul gateway, on their way to all points in the Pacific northwest, from Montana to Oregon. A growing demand for irrigated lands encouraged D. C. Corbin and W. L. Benham to take up the important work of reclaiming large areas of the warm gravel soil of the Spokane valley.

This year the Weyerhaeusers came into Washington, and bought from the Northern Pacific company, 900,000 acres of timber lands for $6,000,000, an area nearly as large as Spokane county.

Judge J. Z. Moore aspired this year to the governorship, but the Wilson organization controlled the republican county convention in June, and withheld from him the necessary support of the Spokane delegation to the state convention. For governor, the republicans, in convention at Tacoma, nominated J. M. Frink, of Seattle, for lieutenant-governor, Henry McBride of Skagit, and for congress honored W. C. Jones of Yakima and Frank Cushman of Tacoma with renomination.

The fusionists renominated Governor John R. Rogers, with W. E. McCroskey of Whitman county for lieutenant-governor, and F. C. Robertson of Spokane and J. T. Ronald of Seattle for congress.

At the November election, Governor Rogers was reelected, but the remainder of

the fusion ticket went down to defeat. Spokane county, which gave Rogers 132 majority, went for McKinley by 361 majority, for Cushman by 178, and for Jones by 242. Legislative and county tickets were divided between the republicans and the fusionists. Of the total vote of 11,182 in the county, Spokane city had 6,794, and the country precincts 4,388.

The Spokane Exposition company was incorporated in January by a committee of the chamber of commerce: Joseph A. Borden, E. D. Olmsted, C. E. Virden, Sam. Glasgow and O. L. Rankin, with Mr. Olmsted as president, Mr. Borden vice-president, and J. E. Hawley secretary. The fair in October brought the usual throngs of visitors from the surrounding country, and the musical features were exceptionally inviting—the Royal Marine band, and on Exposition Sunday a rendition of "The Messiah" by the Spokane Oratorio society, led by R. A. Heritage and assisted by the Matinee Musicale. Miss Bernadine Sargent, soprano, J. W. Belcher tenor, Prof. W. F. Werschkul bass.

Notable buildings this year were the Empire State and Spokane club on Riverside, by F. Lewis Clark, the first substantial addition to the avenue since the panic of 1893; the Hieber Brewing & Malting company's five story brewery on Second, between Walnut and Cedar; Elks temple, the Webster and Holmes schools, and an addition to the Peyton building.

W. J. Bryan visited Spokane March 30, and spoke to large open-air audiences—10,000 in the afternoon, and 15,000 at night.

Fire completely destroyed the mining town of Sandon in the Slocan country in May. Nearly 1,200 people were left homeless, and a property loss inflicted of between $250,000 and $500,000.

The north half of the Colville reservation was opened to homestead entry October 10.

Articles of incorporation were filed in September by the Republic & Grand Forks Railroad company, with the following trustees: James Robert Stratton of Toronto, Tracy W. Holland of Grand Forks, Thomas P. Coffee of Toronto, W. C. Morris of Republic, Henry V. Gardner of Seattle, Thomas M. Hammond and Eber C. Smith of Republic. Locally and facetiously this enterprise was dubbed the "Hot Air Line," but that proved a misnomer, for the promoters readily raised the necessary money in eastern Canada and built the projected road, which, unfortunately was a losing venture.

The population of Washington, officially announced November 28, was found to be 518,103, an increase in the decade of 168,713—Spokane's population, 36,848.

CHAPTER LVII

SECOND FIERCE LABOR WAR IN THE COEUR D'ALENES

ONE THOUSAND UNION MINERS SEIZE A TRAIN—MOVE ON WARDNER WITH RIFLES AND DYNAMITE—BLOW UP BUNKER HILL MILL—ONE UNION MAN KILLED—GOVERNOR STEUNENBERG CALLS FOR UNITED STATES TROOPS—MARTIAL LAW ESTABLISHED—UNIONS PUT UNDER BAN AND PERMIT SYSTEM ESTABLISHED—MANY RIOTERS FLEE TO THE HILLS—HOST OF OTHERS ARRESTED AND IMPRISONED IN "BULLPEN"—CONGRESS CONDUCTS AN INVESTIGATION—ED. BOYCE TELLS GOMPERS WESTERN FEDERATION IS NOT A TRADES UNION.

IN THE spring of 1899 the Coeur d'Alene mining country suffered a repetition of the fierce labor war of 1892. Its picturesque canyons and valleys felt again the determined tread of desperate men, and the detonations of destructive blasts of dynamite rolled ominously among its forested mountains.

Notwithstanding the restoration of good times, the Bunker Hill and Sullivan mine at Wardner, largest employer of labor in the Coeur d'Alenes, had perpetuated the low wage scale which it applied in the hard times of the early nineties—$3 for practical miners, $2.50 for shovelers and car men. Nominally, its great mines were manned by non-union labor, but the union had gradually gained a foothold, and in April its leaders considered their organization sufficiently entrenched to make a stand for higher wages. April 26 the union men struck for a flat scale of $3.50, applicable alike to miners and "muckers"; the company offered $3.50 and $3, the going scale at the time of the strike of 1892, and from these positions neither side would yield.

Three days later a thousand union miners and sympathizers seized a Northern Pacific train on Canyon creek, required the train crew to run them down to Wardner, twenty miles away, and promptly took armed possession of the town. With military organization they posted pickets on the hills, surrounded the great $200,000 concentrator of the Bunker Hill and Sullivan company, under which they placed a gigantic charge of 3,000 pounds of dynamite, and at the word of command the fuse was fired that blew that property into kindling wood. Jack Smith, a union miner from Burke, was shot and killed by the rioters, either accidentally or by design, presumably the latter, for the body was buried without union honors, and only a solitary mourner followed the coffin to the grave. Two non-union men were wounded, one fatally.

A telephone message apprised Manager Burbridge of the approach of the hostile army from Canyon creek, and recognizing the futility of resistance, he hastily with-

drew the ninety men employed in the mill and left the property easy prey to the hostile forces. These filled ten freight cars and a passenger coach, and when the train drew in at Wardner, masked men, and others faintly disguised by turning their coats, swarmed off it like bees. They bristled with rifles, and all wore a white badge of identification.

Unloading sixty fifty pound boxes of dynamite the mob marched upon the empty mill, which they surrounded and into which they poured a thousand rifle shots. Finding it deserted, they placed the dynamite, fired the adjacent boarding house, lighted the fuse, and withdrew to places of safety to await the impending explosion.

James Cheyne, employed at the Bunker Hill mill, and R. R. Rogers, a stranger, were captured and ordered out of town. As they turned to obey the order, they were fired upon, and Cheyne fell in the street, shot through the hip, and Rogers was slightly wounded in the lip. Moved by the sufferings of the dying man a Mrs. Sinclair went courageously to his relief, and demanding help from his assailants, bore him to a nearby hotel.

Three hours after the arrival of the train, the invading hosts gathered up their numbers, and started on the return trip to Wallace and Canyon creek.

Practically no attempt was made to conceal the active hand of the miners' union. The Idaho State Tribune of Wallace, official organ of the Western Federation of Miners, then edited by James R. Sovereign, reported the affair in a tone of perfect candor:

"Saturday last witnessed what might properly be considered the close of a seven year war. . . . The streets of Wallace took on an air of excitement, and before the train proceeded to Wardner with its human freight, on their mission of destruction, armed men walked the streets in quest of an abundant supply of ammunition. It was evident to all that some of the scenes of 1892 were to be repeated, and this time the Bunker Hill and Sullivan Mining company at Wardner, twelve miles below Wallace, was to be the victim of a forceful demonstration on the part of the organized miners of the Coeur d'Alenes. On the train were about 200 members of the organization at Mullan. . . . The train reached Wardner at 1 o'clock, and the work of clearing the country of all opposition began. A detachment of union miners, armed with Winchester rifles, was dispatched to the mountainside beyond the mill, and the work of placing 3,000 pounds of dynamite, taken from the magazine of the Frisco mine at Gem, was commenced. At no time did the demonstration assume the appearance or the attitude of a disorganized mob. All the details were managed with the discipline and precision of a perfectly trained military organization. . . . Sixty armed scabs in the employ of the Bunker Hill company offered the only resistance, and they only gave expression to the most pitiable and lamentable cowardice."

Governor Frank Steunenberg of Idaho promptly telegraphed to the president for the "military forces of the United States to suppress the insurrection in Shoshone county," this action being deemed necessary from "the fact that all the available national guard volunteered for service in the Philippines." The governor sent State Auditor Bartlett Sinclair to Wardner as his personal representative; troops were hurried to the scene, martial law declared, and suspects arrested by the hundreds, while others fled into the recesses of the hills. The first soldiers on the

ground were a company of the Twenty-fourth infantry from Spokane, under Captain Bacheler.

By request of Attorney-General Hays of Idaho, a meeting of Coeur d'Alene mine owners was held in Spokane to discuss with him the situation, and attended by John A. Finch and A. B. Campbell, of the Standard, Mammoth and Hecla; Peter Larson and T. L. Greenough, of the Morning; S. S. Glidden, of the Tiger-Poorman; Charles Sweeny, of the Empire-State company and F. W. Bradley, of the Bunker Hill and Sullivan.

"The state of Idaho," said Attorney-General Hays, "does not propose to harbor within its limits the class of desperate characters that has swayed the miners unions and caused the criminal acts to be committed. We have over 700 men under arrest, and are going after the rest of them as fast as possible. We don't want to give them any encouragement, so the owners must close their mines or cease employing them." In other words, mine-owners of the Coeur d'Alenes who wished to operate under martial law could do so only on condition that they would not employ members of the miners unions, and the mine-owners acquiesced in this requirement.

Bartlett Sinclair offered Sheriff James D. Young and County Commissioner Boyle the option of resigning from office or standing arrest. They took the latter alternative, and Coroner Hugh France, a stout champion of law and order, became sheriff. Subsequently, on impeachment proceedings in court, Young and Commissioners Moses H. Simmons, Wm. Boyle and William R. Stimson were removed from office.

The men arrested were largely of foreign origin. Out of 132 prisoners examined in a single day by Bartlett Sinclair, only twenty-six claimed to be American citizens.

In pursuance of his oral statement to the mine-owners, Attorney-General Hays served them with the following public declaration:

"To the mine-owners of Shoshone county: Certain organizations or combinations existing in Shoshone county, having shown themselves to be criminal in purpose, inciting, and, as organizations, procuring property to be destroyed and murders to be committed, by reason whereof it has been twice necessary to declare martial law in Shoshone county;

"You are therefore notified that the employment of men belonging to said or other criminal organizations during the continuance of martial law must cease. In case this direction is not observed, your mines will be closed."

Only such men might be employed as had obtained a permit from Dr. France or his deputy at Wardner or Wallace; and to secure the permit the applicant had to deny or renounce membership in any organization which had incited, encouraged or approved the recent riots or other violations of law. Union miners refused to take out permits, and the mines of Canyon creek closed down. Employes of the Bunker Hill and Sullivan company took permits and that property continued in operation.

At a meeting held in Spokane May 24, mine-owners decided to cooperate with the state and resume operations as quickly as forces could be organized: $3.50 to be paid at Burke, Gem and Mullan for all men underground; $3.50 for miners at Wardner, and $3 for "muckers." In attendance at this meeting were S. S. Glidden and F. R. Culbertson, for the Tiger-Poorman; Joseph McDonald and Judge Norman Holter of Montana, for the Helena-Frisco; Richard Watson and William Leonard, of the Mammoth; F. Lewis Clark and Charles Sweeny, for the Empire State company;

F. W. Bradley, Bunker Hill and Sullivan; Peter Larson, Morning; John A. Finch and A. B. Campbell, Standard, Hecla and Gem.

A resolution adopted by the Butte Trades and Labor assembly is indicative of the spirit of resentment felt by the more radical labor organizations:

"Resolved, That if the martial law game to defeat the trades union succeeds in this instance, then the workingmen will find cause to formulate certain limits to present to the government, beyond which friends of organized labor will not allow any of their friends to go; and, standing on their constitutional rights, they will prepare to defend these rights at any cost."

In July practically every producing mine in the Coeur d'Alenes was working under the permit system. Paul Corcoran was tried in July at Wallace, convicted of murder in the second degree in the killing of Cheyne, and sentenced to seventeen years in the penitentiary.

Under martial law a thousand men or more, arrested for complicity in the destruction of the Bunker Hill and Sullivan mill, were imprisoned in a stockade at Wardner, opprobriously styled the "bullpen" by the rioters and their sympathizers. Incidental to the handling of this large body of turbulent prisoners, some hardships were inflicted, and these were greatly magnified and vigorously used to excite sympathy and indignation among the laboring people of the United States. A congressional inquiry, conducted at Washington, went into these and other matters connected with the strike, with the usual result of majority and minority reports, and revealed the fighting spirit of the Western Federation of Miners as it was then dominated by President Ed. Boyce. Correspondence between President Boyce and Samuel Gompers, introduced in evidence, revealed unmistakably the militant character of this organization. Writing to Gompers under date of March 10, 1897, Boyce protested that he was not a labor unionist. "There is an easier way of winning the battles of labor," he said. "Get out and fight with the sword."

Protesting against this dangerous doctrine, Mr. Gompers wrote: "As to your suggestion that the resort must be to the sword, I prefer not to discuss. I only want to call your attention to the fact, however, that force may have changed forms of government, but never attained real liberty." In his rejoinder President Boyce reiterated that he was "not the president of a trades union, nor a member of one." In a speech about that time, before the annual convention of the Western Federation at Salt Lake, Boyce urged the members to arm themselves with modern repeating rifles, and boldly declared that he hoped before long to "hear the inspiring tread of thirty thousand armed men."

January 11, 1901, Governor Hunt directed Hugh France, state representative in the Coeur d'Alenes, to abolish the permit system, "by which persons desiring to seek employment in the mines of Shoshone county, Idaho, were required to secure a permit from the representative of the state." The mine-owners met this move by creating a central employment bureau at Wallace and requiring all applicants for employment to obtain there the necessary clearance card.

CHAPTER LVIII

IMMIGRATION ROLLS INTO THE INLAND EMPIRE

THIRTY THOUSAND NEWCOMERS ENTER THE SPOKANE GATEWAY—COUNTRY COOPERATES WITH THE CITY—OIL BORING CRAZE STRIKES THE PUBLIC—THE KINDERGARTEN CONTEST—SENSATIONAL PHASES OF RAILROAD PASS EVIL—DR. P. S. BYRNE ELECTED MAYOR—INTERSTATE FAIR ORGANIZED—RELIGIOUS SERVICES IN "DUTCH JAKE'S" PLACE—HILL'S NORTHERN SECURITIES MERGER—DEATH OF GOVERNOR ROGERS.

WITH the advent of the twentieth century came another large wave of immigration. There were 2,500 homeseekers who moved out of St. Paul in a single day, when the early spring colonist rates took effect in 1901, and when, a few weeks later, the special rates lapsed, it was conservatively calculated that 30,000 immigrants, tourists and investors had entered the Spokane gateway.

It was observed the year before that a large majority of the newcomers passed on to the coast, evidence that the interior suffered from insufficient advertising, and to obviate this misfortune, a well attended immigration meeting was held in Spokane under the auspices of the chamber of commerce, to which a number of the neighboring towns sent delegates, including O. M. Sparks and S. S. King, Tekoa; E. Buchanan, Moscow; J. H. Taylor, Farmington; John G. Lawrence, Garfield; James Perkins, Colfax; J. H. Longwill, Oakesdale; J. H. Miller, Tekoa; W. E. Thompson, Farmington; R. P. Turnley, Rosalia, and E. Harvey, Pullman. Mr. Lawrence voiced the cooperative spirit of the country. "There was a time," he said, "when to hear the assertion that the Palouse was tributary to Spokane would have aroused opposition among us. That time has passed. We are now glad to acknowledge it, and glad that it is so. Spokane is our market. Our interests and those of all the country roundabout are identical with those of Spokane."

An executive committee was appointed comprising D. M. Thompson, Wm. O'Brien, J. M. Comstock, Sam. Glasgow, and W. E. Goodspeed of Spokane; F. H. Luce, Davenport; M. E. Hay, Wilbur; A. A. Anderson, Wenatchee; S. S. King, Tekoa; J. A. Perkins, Colfax; J. C. Lawrence, Garfield; G. W. Peddycord, Palouse; Sig. Dilsheimer, Colville; E. H. Libby, Lewiston, and E. Buchanan, Moscow. The committee raised $3,000 and dispatched F. E. Elmendorf to St. Paul to distribute printed matter among the eager homeseekers; and his work in the east was ably supplemented at home by enthusiastic volunteers who boarded the incoming trains at points in the Idaho Panhandle, mingled the homeseekers and discoursed on the fertility and cheapness of the lands of the Inland Empire.

We had an "oil craze" in 1901. Lured on by promising indications at numerous points in the interior, and the readiness of the speculative public to "take a flyer" in almost any scheme that gave even remote promise of quick and large returns, a

host of promoters organized companies, sold more or less stock at a few cents a share, and went drilling for oil and gas through the hard overlying basaltic strata. Unfortunately the multiplicity of these concerns so scattered the resources of the investing public that no one company received enough funds to make a thorough test of the undertaking, and all came to the end of their resources before a single well had been bored to sea level.

Spokane had developed the public kindergartens far in advance of any other western city. It had fourteen of them, and many citizens came to the belief that the results were not commensurate with the cost. Rapid growth of the school population taxed severely the capacity of the buildings. "The public kindergarten," observed the Spokesman-Review, "has grown here out of all proportion to population or resources, and is injuring the public school system." Dr. J. M. Semple, of the school board, conceived the plan of directing a thorough official inspection of the records of a large number of children who had advanced into the grades from the kindergartens, for comparison with an equal number who had received no kindergarten instruction, and the result was disappointing to the friends of the kindergarten principle. The non-kindergarten pupils made quite as good a showing as the kindergarten youngsters, and, indeed, slightly surpassed them in deportment, punctuality and neatness of desks and books. Upon this showing the board unanimously voted to discontinue all but two of the kindergartens.

For several years the Spokesman-Review had conducted a vigorous crusade against the railroad pass evil, holding that these favors were distributed among legislators and other officials as insidious bribes. The practice was so general and deep-seated that many public officials long made light of the newspaper's protest, and tried to dismiss it as Quixotish and hypercritical. But meanwhile public sentiment was growing against the evil, and certain sensational developments growing out of the legislative session this year convinced a number of legislators that their railroad passes were given in expectation of favors to be returned. In the senate C. A. Mantz of Colville and Herman D. Crow of Spokane supported bills to regulate railroads and reduce rates and fares, and thereby so angered Will Thompson, chief counsel of the Great Northern, that he peremptorily demanded the return of their passes. Of this incident the Spokesman-Review said:

"If the railroad gave a pass to Senator Crow as a bribe, and took it from him because he failed to earn it, the railroad has broken the law. Its offense has been as great as that of an individual deeply concerned in certain legislation, who should give a fine horse to a member as a bribe, and who, angered at the alleged unfaithfulness of the member, should hold him up on the public highway and force him to return the horse. Is there to be one law in this state for the individual citizen, and an entirely different law for the great railway interests? Are the railroads to be free to bribe whom they please? Can they say to one man, 'Well done, thou good and faithful servant, keep thou thy pass;' while saying to another, 'You played us false, disgorge the bribe'?"

Senator Crow frankly admitted that he had been in error in believing that railroad passes were distributed in an exclusive spirit of mere courtesy.

At the spring election in 1901, Dr. P. S. Byrne, democrat, was elected mayor, receiving 2,080 votes against 1,981 for Dr. C. G. Brown, the republican nominee, and 1,530 for John Anderson, prohibitionist.

DEDICATION OF MASONIC TEMPLE

SPOKANE AMATEUR ATHLETIC CLUB

DAVENPORT'S RESTAURANT

HOME OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, HUTTON BLOCK

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION BUILDING

Floyd L. Daggett, democrat, became comptroller, defeating J. J. White, republican, and J. Grant Hinkle, prohibitionist, by 326 plurality.

M. H. Eggleston, democrat, was elected treasurer over Joseph M. Moore, republican, and W. H. Shields, prohibitionist. Eggleston's plurality, 299. In the new council the democrats had Leonard Funk, E. W. Hand, F. E. Baldwin, E. M. Woydt, George W. Burch and N. S. Pratt; and the republicans, J. E. Foster, Frank Johnson, Walter E. Bell and J. S. Phillips.

Spokane's Interstate Fair came into being this year. At a meeting held in early summer Chairman Howell W. Peel was authorized to take steps to incorporate with $25,000 capital stock, and it was decided to acquire a site, erect permanent buildings and offer $10,000 in racing prizes. On the first board of trustees were Mr. Peel, Jacob Goldstein, D. L. Huntington, George T. Crane, J. A. Schiller, O. L. Rankin, C. H. Weeks, A. S. Crowder, Sam Glasgow, W. S. Norman, H. G. Stimmel, Frank W. Branson, Thos. S. Griffiths, John L. Smith and H. Bolster. Mr. Peel was president, Mr. Bolster secretary and manager, and Mr. Smith superintendent; and these, with J. A. Schiller and George T. Crane, formed the executive committee. The first fair was held on the present grounds, September 10 to 21, but the weather was forbidding and the total paid attendance was scarcely in excess of 20,000.

To commemorate the dedication of their new temple, the Elks gave a carnival in connection with the fair, with 38,482 paid admissions. A rock-drilling contest was a feature. The dedication committee embraced L. R. Notbohm, W. J. C. Wakefield, E. Dempsie, W. F. Connor, George Turner, Dr. E. L. Kimball, W. W. D. Turner. The Spokane lodge was chartered February 2, 1892, and the lodge was instituted February 13, in a hall in the Daniels block.

To enliven the tedium of Sunday afternoons, "Dutch Jake" conceived and put into execution in November a plan of tendering the large barroom of his Coeur d'Alene theater for religous services. There on the afternoon of November 3 the Rev. A. R. Lambert of the First M. E. church, the Rev. M. E. Dunn, United Presbyterian, and Frank Dickson, an evangelist, conducted services before a motley gathering of nearly 400 men, gathered in from the congenial resorts of lower Howard street and Main and Front avenues. Jake's expansive and hospitable roof then covered three bars, a gambling house, cafe, variety theater and Turkish bath. Reporting the event, the morning paper said: "Mingling with the hymns of salvation and the message of religion were the clink of glasses, the maudlin utterances of tipsy men, the noise of shuffling feet, the hurrying to and fro of waiters with calls of 'one stein,' 'one egg sherry,' 'one gin fizz and four cocktails,' 'ham and eggs,' and the score and one other phrases of the barroom. During the brief wait for the services to begin, the crowd was entertained with selections on the big mechanical pipe organ, while the electric fountain silently winked its myriad of electric lights. 'Dutch Jake' was everywhere, giving the glad hand to all and sundry. His joy was so great that frequent visits to the bar, with nothing stronger than snips of beer, could not be resisted, and with his customary hospitality he did not partake alone, but let his good will extend to all who would step up and join him."

James J. Hill startled the country in 1901 by organizing the Northern Securities company, a holding corporation to take over control of Northern Pacific and

Great Northern. Senator Turner held that the merger was illegal, and advised Governor John R. Rogers to endeavor to secure joint action with the governors of other states concerned. "So strongly am I impressed with the great evils in store for us if this monopoly be fastened on us (he wrote to the governor), that I would be willing to see our state act alone if necessary in fighting it to a finish. I shall undertake the duty, if no one more influential moves in the matter, of bringing the subject to the attention of the president and the attorney-general, and urging them to set the machinery of the United States courts in motion, for the protection of our country against this unlawful combine."

This letter found Governor Rogers upon his deathbed. After a brief illness of six days, he died the day after Christmas, and Lieutenant-Governor Henry McBride, a republican, was called to the executive chair.

OTHER EVENTS OF 1901

J. J. Hill announced in April that he would build into Republic. The Great Northern depot was completed this year.

Brick business buildings under construction in August totaled 1,000 feet of frontage.

The Hazelwood Dairy company increased its capitalization from $50,000 to $100,000, the four owners, G. M. Brown, T. E. Armistead, J. L. Smith and David Brown, taking the increased stock.

Spokane made a formal offer in March to Andrew Carnegie for a $100,000 public library.

Thirty-three delegates from eleven clubs organized in May the City Federation of Women's clubs, with Mrs. J. A. Mitchell, president; Mrs. C. E. Grove, first vice-president; Mrs. L. S. Roberts, second vice-president; Mrs. A. D. Alexander, recording secretary; Mrs. James Mendenhall, recording secretary; Mrs. Robert Glen, treasurer.

A light fall of snow was noticed here June 5, and a fall of two inches was reported at Hillyard and of four inches on Pleasant prairie.

The police force of forty men was reduced in October to twenty-six—four officers and twenty-two regulars.

Provision was made for the first rural free mail delivery out of Spokane. The service started January 1, 1902, with lines to White Bluff, Moran and Paradise prairies and Saltese lake.

Harvard men organized a club in November, the membership embracing F. Lewis Clark, Frank T. Post, Edgar W. McColl, W. J. Bowen, Thomas F. Kerl, Judge James Z. Moore, Thomas B. Higgins, Richard B. Harris, F. W. Dewart, Fred. Chamberlain, Phil Richmond, J. D. Sherwood, Guy Waring and J. D. Finley.

Bank deposits turned the $5,000,000 mark in May.

Jay P. Graves organized the Granby Consolidated Mining, Smelting & Power company in May, which took over the Old Ironsides and Knob Hill mines at Phoenix, the townsite there, and the Granby smelter and water and power plants at Grand Forks, B. C. S. H. C. Miner was president, Jay P. Graves vice-president, and A. L. White secretary. Twelve millions of the $15,000,000 capital stock was issued.

CHAPTER LIX

THRILLING HUNT FOR TRACY THE OUTLAW

TRACY AND MERRILL KILL THREE GUARDS AT OREGON PENITENTIARY—ESCAPE INTO WASHINGTON—TERRORIZE CITIES AND TOWNS AROUND PUGET SOUND—TRACY KILLS MERRILL—OUTLAW APPEARS IN OUTSKIRTS OF SEATTLE—KILLS SEVERAL MEN—ESCAPES INTO THE CASCADES—CROSSES THE COLUMBIA—MAN HUNT TRANSFERRED TO THE BIG BEND—DESPERADO WOUNDED AT EDDY RANCH, COMMITS SUICIDE—NOTABLE GATHERING OF RAILROAD PRESIDENTS AT DAVENPORT AND COLFAX—VOLUNTARY CUT IN GRAIN RATES—WAR ON RAILROAD LOBBY—FIGHT FOR RAILROAD COMMISSION—LAST SPIKE EXCURSION TO REPUBLIC—BLACKWELL BUILDS COEUR D'ALENE ELECTRIC LINE—N. P. SELLS TIMBER LANDS—LORD SHOLTO DOUGLAS' FREE BOOZE SATURNALIA.

LIKE other cities of the Pacific slope, Spokane was not a factory town, and absence of lofty stacks and an overhanging pall of coal smoke had led to a widespread but erroneous impression that the town lacked a large and sustaining payroll. A census taken in January, 1902, by the Spokesman-Review corrected this error in the public mind and greatly strengthened confidence in the solidity of Spokane's foundations. By actual detailed count, payrolls aggregating 8,685 men and women were discovered, exclusive of many minor concerns, and that journal concluded that it was a conservative calculation that the total payroll was not less than 10,000. It was found that the steam railways employed 1,663 men who made their headquarters in Spokane; wholesale houses, 625; theaters, 278; the building trades, 900, of whom 775 were in the unions; city, county and national governments, 427, exclusive of teachers, of whom 242 were employed in public and private schools. Dry goods and department stores employed 412 people; telegraph and telephone companies, 231; and the grocery stores, 280.

Out in the farming districts a good wheat crop (estimated at 24,000,000 bushels for the harvest of 1902 by State Grain Inspector Arrasmith), and a price of 50 cents a bushel, the highest paid in two years, imparted confidence and contentment.

Spectacular events of 1902 were the thrilling man-hunt for Outlaw Tracy, and a dramatic gathering of railway presidents in conference with the farmers and business men of the Big Bend and Palouse districts.

Tracy and Merrill, two convicts in the Oregon penitentiary at Salem, with rifles smuggled in by outside friends, attacked the guards June 9, killed three of them, and escaped to the thickets and deep forests of the Willamette valley. They terrorized the countryside, boldly confronting the occupants of farmhouses and

compelling housewives to serve them with food; and again and again, by alertness or audacious courage, either evaded or routed the numerous posses sent against them. Working north, the outlaws crossed the Columbia river into Clark county, Washington. Early in July, after nearly a month of dearly bought freedom, Tracy appeared alone on Puget Sound, and at the point of his rifle compelled a boatman to row him to the vicinity of Olympia. There he impressed the owner and crew of four men in a gasoline launch, and forced them to convey him to Meadow Point, just outside the northern city limits of Seattle. He informed his captives that he had killed his comrade, a statement that was subsequently verified by the discovery of Merrill's body, punctured by a rifle bullet fired into his back.

July 3 Tracy opened fire on a posse near Seattle, and killed Deputy Sheriff Charles Raymond of Snohomish county, and severely wounded Deputy Sheriff Jack Williams of Seattle. His next appearance was at Fremont, a Seattle suburb, where, in the gathering dusk of the same day, he killed Policeman E. E. Breece and mortally wounded Neil Rawley.

Tracy's daring escapades had now become a national sensation. Governor McBride offered a reward of $2,500 for his capture, dead or alive, and other rewards brought the total price set upon the outlaw's head to $8,000. Tracy retreated to the wild defiles of the Cascade mountains, and by taking food from remote settlements or deeply isolated prospectors and timber cruisers, kept the authorities guessing about his whereabouts. All this while he was working his way eastward. On the night of July 30 he boldly appeared at a ferry on the Columbia, eighteen miles below Wenatchee, and, as was his custom, frankly revealed his identity. Darkness prevented his immediate crossing, but the morning after, exchanging his jaded horses for two fresh mounts in an adjacent pasture, he required his ferryman host to put him across the Columbia, and mounting one horse and leading the other, he rode up the breaks of the Columbia to the elevated plateau of Douglas county. The man-hunt was now feverishly renewed in eastern Washington. Posses rode high on the hills and deep in the ravines of the broken country in Douglas and Lincoln counties, and pursued numerous false clues which drifted in to the towns from remote ranches.

Meanwhile the outlaw was leisurely working his way eastward, and on August 3 overtook, on a country road, a young man, George E. Goldfinch, on his way to the Eddy ranch, in the Lake Creek country, three miles from Fellowes siding on the Central Washington railroad, and about nine miles from Creston. Announcing his identity, he rode on to the Eddy ranch, and with reckless disregard of consequences, remained there for two days, resting, and occasionally helping the owner in his work of shingling a barn roof. Young Goldfinch slipped away from the ranch, and carried the startling news to Creston. Five brave and determined men of that town promptly declared their purpose to go after the outlaw. Arming themselves, C. A. Straub, Dr. E. C. Leonard, Maurice Smith, J. J. Morrison and Frank Lillengreen, rode out to the Eddy place. Tracy, ever alert and watchful, detected their approach in the twilight, and ran for his rifle in the barn. Taking cover behind a large rock, the Creston men prepared for action. A minute later Tracy dashed from the barn and ran for the cover of a nearby haystack, and a moment later made another dash for a large boulder lying at the edge of a wheat field. Obviously his purpose was to win this extended cover of tall wheat, and

escape in the darkness, but as he ran the rifles of the Creston men spat fire and the outlaw was seen to fall forward into the tall wheat.

All through the summer night the posse stood guard, realizing the deadly peril of an open attack. In the darkness they heard a revolver shot, and surmised correctly that the quarry had killed himself.

Meanwhile the news had spread over the country, and by morning fifty armed men surrounded the wheat field. They found the outlaw's body, stark and cold, where he had put a violent end to his violent life. A rifle bullet had torn a great wound in his leg, and to staunch the frightful flow of blood the desperado had improvised a ligature. The trampled wheat showed that after falling Tracy had crawled 200 feet, and realizing that further flight was impossible, had turned his own revolver upon his crime-hardened visage.

August was an eventful month in the Big Bend country; for even while Tracy the outlaw was riding to his death, railroad chiefs were gathering from east and west for their scheduled conference at Davenport, August 4. Never before in the Inland Empire had there been as notable a rally of famous transportation chiefs. Their purpose was to break the gathering storm of public sentiment against their long-maintained lobby at the state's capital, and mollify the people's clamor for lower rates and better regulation of the common carriers. With fearless vigor Governor McBride was campaigning the state, denouncing the lobby, condemning the pass evil and urging the people to choose legislators pledged to vote for a state railroad commission.

As herald for these conferences James J. Hill could hardly have selected an abler person than Charles P. Chamberlain. Mr. Chamberlain years before had been a conductor in the Palouse country, and his efficient service as receiver of the Central Washington branch of the Northern Pacific had given him wide acquaintance with the leading men of the Big Bend country, and his carefully worked out plan of lowered freight rates on that railroad was evidence of his belief that excessive charges were detrimental alike to the producers, to the country's growth and to the railroads themselves. Aided by James Odgers, a pioneer editor of the Big Bend country, Mr. Chamberlain had no difficulty in inducing representative farmers and business men to invite the railroad presidents to conferences at Davenport and Colfax; and when Presidents James J. Hill of the Great Northern, C. S. Mellen of the Northern Pacific, and A. L. Mohler of the O. R. & N., accompanied by their able lieutenants, came into Davenport, August 4, on their special train, they were met by a gathering of many hundred representative farmers and business men, and given a cordial and hospitable greeting. Successful farmers spoke on the cost of growing wheat, and Mr. Hill responded with statistics on the cost of moving freight. He was followed by President Mellen, who spoke directly to the point with an announcement that the railroads had decided to reduce grain rates from the interior to the coast, and that the reduction would average about ten per cent. Work would be started immediately on the Adrian cutoff to connect the Great Northern and the Central Washington, whereby the roads in future would be relieved of the long and expensive haul of grain tonnage along the Central Washington by way of Marshall Junction and the main line of the Northern Pacific. In his Davenport speech Mr. Hill said:

"You might just as well try to set a broken ankle by statute as to reduce rates

by statute. You can legislate until the barn door has fallen off its hinges with rust, and you will not succeed."

A similar conference, attended by about 1,000 representative farmers and business men, was held at Colfax, August 5.

An anti-lobby convention at Colfax in June, 1902, was largely attended and addressed by Harold Preston of Seattle, William Goodyear of Whitman county, and a number of legislative candidates. United States Senator Turner wrote from Washington: "I drafted and advocated the provision of our state constitution requiring the legislature to pass laws regulating freight rates and fares and establish a railroad commission. I am as strongly impressed today with the necessity for such laws as I have ever been. The next legislature should carry out the imperative mandate of the constitution, and establish a railway commission with ample powers to control the public agencies."

State Senator Warren W. Tolman of Spokane, democrat, was also a persistent and aggressive champion of the principle of railway regulation. He was author of the Tolman commission bill.

This issue precipitated a bitter struggle within the republican party in state and county. The county convention instructed its delegation to the state convention to support a commission plank in the state platform, but thirteen of the forty-eight delegates from Spokane, bolted the instructions. Notwithstanding this defection, a strong commission plank was adopted, 308 to 262. Francis W. Cushman of Tacoma, Wesley L. Jones of North Yakima, and W. E. Humphrey of Seattle were nominated for congress.

At the democratic state convention at Tacoma, September 16, George F. Cotterill of King, O. R. Holcomb of Adams, and James E. Bell of Snohomish were named for congress, and a plank adopted for a railroad commission, to be first appointed by the governor, and subsequently chosen in such manner as the legislature should determine. Senator Turner was named for reelection.

At the November election, 1902, the republicans swept the state and won the legislature by a large majority. But in Spokane county, where the republican congressional ticket had majorities of 1,200 to 1,500, democracy won seven of the twelve legislators. For state senate Will Graves and Huber Rasher easily defeated Frank Shaw and Jacob Schiller, while Dana Child, P. F. Quinn, J. J. Fitzgerald, A. J. Reise and John Gray, all democrats, were elected to the house. The republicans elected W. A. Stark, S. A. Wells, E. C. Whitney, J. B. Lindsley and Walker Henry, but Stark, Wells and Whitney were opposed to the senatorial aspirations of John L. Wilson. The county convention in June had declared for Wilson for the senate, but these three refused to stand on the resolution and openly campaigned on that issue. The result on the legislative ticket was generally accepted as a public protest against Mr. Wilson. Excepting George Mudgett for treasurer, the republicans elected their entire county ticket. The election of a republican legislature eliminated Senator Turner. The populist party, once dominant in Spokane county, had practically disappeared. It polled about 100 votes in the county, and ranked fifth, falling below the prohibition and the socialist vote.

A large excursion of Spokane mining and business men went to Grand Forks and Republic in April, 1902, to attend the driving of the last spike, on the 11th, of the Kettle Valley lines, more widely known as the "Hot Air" line. They were

hosiptably entertained at Grand Forks and Republic. The celebration was slightly premature, for unforeseen obstacles had delayed construction, and the visitors had to be conveyed several miles in carriages at the Republic end of the road. In July the Great Northern completed its rival line to Republic.

This year marks the advent of an able and resourceful independent railroad builder, in the person of F. A. Blackwell, a resident of Coeur d'Alene City, where himself and eastern associates had acquired extensive forest areas and milling facilities. Without flourish of trumpets, Mr. Blackwell incorporated in October the Coeur d'Alene & Spokane Railway company, and went quietly but actively about the task of acquiring right of way for the electric road which connects Spokane and the beautiful and prosperous city on Lake Coeur d'Alene. Mr. Blackwell, William Dollar, A. Bettes, C. P. Lindsley and F. S. Robbins were named as directors. Large part of Spokane's growth and prosperity must be ascribed to the fine enterprise and keen intelligence of a group of local railway builders, comprising D. C. Corbin, Jay P. Graves, Henry M. Richards, Mr. Blackwell and Robert E. Strahorn.

In February, 1902, was organized the Eastern Washington & Idaho Lumbermen's association, with thirty members. President, E. F. Cartier Van Dissel; vice-president, O. M. Field of Hope, Idaho; secretary, George W. Hoag.

In April the Northern Pacific closed out the remainder of its timber holdings north of Spokane—225,000 acres at an average price of $2.50 an acre. The Sawmill Phoenix took 10,000 acres, Holland-Horr Mill Co. 15,000, Buckeye Lumber company 46,000, Spokane Lumber company 28,000, Washington Mill company 4,000, Consolidated Lumber company 7,000, Standard Lumber company 5,000, Bradley company of Wisconsin 100,000.

In a mining way the year was signalized by a stampede into the Thunder mountain district of central Idaho. Attractive discoveries there in 1901 had lured into the country several hundred prospectors, and with the wearing away of the winter of 1891-92 food supplies were exhausted and famine prices were demanded. Flour sold as high as $80 a hundred, and beans, rice and dried fruit brought 60 cents a pound. With the approach of spring desperate efforts were made to convey supplies into the snowbound regions, and the arrival of the first pack train measurably relieved the distress, so that flour fell to 20 cents a pound, and bacon, sugar, rice, salt and fruit to 25 cents.

More than 1,000 men were encamped in May, 1902, along the border of the south half of the Colville reservation, awaiting a signal that should announce the opening of that region to mineral location. Many prospectors slipped over the line, but all "sooners" were driven off by Indian police, directed by a deputy United States marshal.

These pages have mentioned the coming of Lord Sholto Douglas. In February his lordship was joined by Lady Sholto, and wearying of the proprietorship of his wet goods emporium on lower Howard street, Lord Sholto conceived and put to execution the unique idea of inviting in the populace and dispensing free booze so long as it lasted. The event was a howling success, and there gathered around the bar a shouting, swearing mob of hoboes, soldiers from Fort Wright and curi-

osity seekers. It was the wildest, maddest, merriest Sunday evening Spokane's tenderloin had ever seen.

Two noted Indians died this year—Chief Lot of the Spokanes, on the Spokane reservation, and Chief Saltese of the Coeur d'Alenes, at DeSmet mission, where high mass was celebrated by Rev. Father Caruana, the aged Catholic missionary, then in his ninety-second year.

CHAPTER LX

LAST CLOUD FADES FROM THE FINANCIAL SKIES

1903 A YEAR OF STIRRING POLITICAL INTEREST—TITANIC STRUGGLE BETWEEN GOV. MC BRIDE AND THE RAILROADS—LEVI ANKENY ELECTED U. S. SENATOR—DEATH OF JOHN B. ALLEN—SPOKANE ENTERTAINS PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT—DEATH OF H. BOLSTER AND S. S. GLIDDEN—GRANBY PAYS ITS FIRST DIVIDEND—FABULOUS PROFITS FROM MINES.

THE last cloud had faded from the financial skies and in 1903 city and country were in enjoyment of prosperity at high tide. For the first time in their history the Spokane banks wrested from Portland a large share of the loans on the Inland Empire wheat harvest. For the fiscal year ended September 30, bank clearings were $108,000,000—more than seven times as great as the clearings of 1894, and nearly double those of 1900. Clearings for the calendar year of 1903 made a yet better showing, $112,000,000. Like a young green bay tree the youthful city by the falls flourished strong and beautiful. Building permits this year totaled $2,569,470, and it was estimated that the actual outlay in new construction was three and three-quarters of a million dollars.

Politically 1903 was of stirring interest. When the legislature convened at Olympia the public saw a Titanic struggle between Governor McBride, resolute and uncompromising in his grim determination to put under state regulation the common carriers, and an equally resolute opposition from the railway managers and politicians and big business men in sympathy with or in fear of them. On this issue, too, was fought the senatorial contest between Harold Preston of Seattle, an avowed, aggressive and sincere advocate of railroad regulation, and Levi Ankeny of Walla Walla, who candidly declared his opposition to it. The first ballot showed Ankeny in the lead with forty-eight votes, against forty-one for Preston, twelve for John L. Wilson, five for Carroll Graves, an "old guard" vote of three for John B. Allen, and the democratic vote of twenty-three given complimentarily to Turner. Ankeny was elected on the thirteenth ballot, with ninety-nine votes, fourteen republicans going into the last ditch against him.

Casting a somber shadow over the triumph of the contest was the sudden death of John B. Allen, who for the fourth time had struggled unsuccessfully with Ankeny for political control of Walla Walla. The former senator died suddenly, January 28, at his home in Seattle, whither he had moved upon his retirement from the senate. He came to the territory in 1870, and five years later President Grant made him United States district attorney, a position held for ten years and its

duties performed with fidelity and high legal ability. He was elected delegate to the Fifty-first congress, to the United States senate on admission in 1889, and served to March 4, 1893.

To cap their victory, the railroad forces defeated the commission bill.

At the Spokane city election of 1903 L. Frank Boyd, republican nominee, was elected mayor by eighty-one plurality over W. H. Acuff, municipal league nominee; P. S. Byrne, independent labor, and Huber Rasher, democrat. Floyd L. Daggett was reelected comptroller, and M. H. Eggleston treasurer.

For the first time in its history, Spokane entertained a president of the United States. Roosevelt arrived on the morning of May 26, and was received at his special train by a citizens' committee headed by John A. Finch. Business houses and residences along the line of march were decorated beautifully and profusely, and from a platform erected on vacant ground near the Auditorium he delivered a characteristic address to an enthusiastic audience of 20,000 people. Ex-Senator George Turner delivered the introductory address.

The president this year appointed Mr. Turner a member of the international Alaska boundary commission, with Secretary of War Elihu Root and Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts. Justice Armory of the supreme court of Canada, Justice Jett, retired, and Lord Alverstone, chief justice of England, were the British commissioners. The commission sat in London, and its award, while in the nature of a compromise, was regarded as a victory for the United States.

Notable deaths this year were H. Bolster, father of the fruit fair and the Interstate exposition, who died July 17, and S. S. Glidden, founder of the Old National bank, who died in March at Los Angeles, whither he had gone in search of health.

Granby paid its first dividend in November, $133,500, and a few days later Charles Sweeny's new Federal company, with properties in the Coeur d'Alenes, distributed profits of $183,750.

DIVIDENDS PAID TO AUGUST, 1903

Coeur d'Alene Silver-Lead Mines

Bunker Hill & Sullivan	$ 1,514,000
Coeur d'Alene Dev. Co.	200,000
Sierra Nevada	250,000
Milwaukee Mining Co.	505,000
Hecla	120,000
Hercules	450,000
Tiger	500,000
Poorman	480,000
Granite	500,000
Mammoth	1,500,000
Morning	500,000
Standard	2,910,000
Empire State-Idaho	1,763,878
Tiger-Poorman Co.	20,000
Republic	382,000

HARRY HAYWARD
PIONEER THEATRICAL MAN
OF SPOKANE

FAMOUS ELKS' QUARTETTE

Deer Trail	35,000
Iron Mountain	500,000
	$12,129,878

Rossland

Le Roi, gold-copper	$ 1,305,000
Le Roi No. 2, gold-copper	300,000
War Eagle, gold-copper	187,500
War Eagle Con., gold-copper	545,250
Centre Star, gold-copper	210,000

Slocan

Antoine, silver-lead	$ 10,000
Bosom, silver-lead	12,000
Goodenough, silver-lead	13,185
Idaho Mines, silver-lead	400,000
Jackson, silver-lead	20,000
Last Chance, silver-lead	213,109
Monitor, silver-lead	27,500
Noble Five, silver-lead	50,000
Payne, silver-lead	1,420,000
Queen Bess, silver-lead	25,000
Rambler Cariboo, silver-lead	220,000
Reco, silver-lead	287,000
Ruth, silver-lead	125,000
Slocan Star, silver-lead	500,000
Surprise, silver-lead	20,000
Sunset, silver-lead	55,000
Washington, silver-lead	38,000
Whitewater, silver-lead	194,000

East Kootenay

North Star, silver-lead	$ 373,000
St. Eugene, silver-lead	210,000

Camp McKinley

Cariboo, gold	$ 500,000
Fern, gold	15,000

Nelson

Hail Mines, gold-copper	$ 160,000
Poorman, gold	25,000
	$7,460,544

Or a grand total of $19,590,422.

CHAPTER LXI

RENEWED ACTIVITY IN RAILROAD BUILDING

D. C. CORBIN ANNOUNCES PURPOSE TO BUILD C. P. R. CONNECTION—GRAVES AND BLACKWELL FINANCE ELECTRIC LINE INTO PALOUSE COUNTRY—ROSSLAND'S OUTPUT PASSES THE $25,000,000 MARK—PRINCELY PROFITS OF THE COEUR D'ALENES—MC BRIDE DOWNED IN REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION—MEAD DEFEATS TURNER FOR GOVERNOR—SWEENY DEVELOPS SENATORIAL ASPIRATIONS—DEATH OF COL. P. H. WINSTON, B. C. VAN HOUTEN AND REV. S. G. HAVERMALE—DROWNING OF MISS LOUISE HARRIS.

SPOKANE'S population, January 1, 1904, as estimated for the director of the United States census by Mayor Boyd, was 59,249. The publisher of Polk's directory, counting Hillyard and outlying additions not within the city limits, gave an estimate of 65,267. Bank clearings rose to $124,168,971, a gain of twenty-seven per cent over 1903. Building permits totaled $4,000,000, an increase of nearly forty per cent. Within the year ten miles of asphalt streets were laid, 125 miles of asphalt and cement sidewalks, thirty-four miles of sewer pipe, fifty-seven miles of water mains, and seventy-four miles of streets were graded and sidewalked.

Among the buildings erected were Our Lady of Lourdes Catholic church, $125,000; Spokane Amateur Athletic club, $90,000; St. Luke's hospital, $65,000; Masonic temple, $65,000; Gonzaga college buildings, $200,000; Carnegie public library, $75,000; Central Christian church, $25,000; Universalist church, $15,000; new theater, $75,000; three school buildings, nearly $150,000; and ten apartment houses, $7,000 to $65,000 each. A million, five hundred thousand dollars went into business buildings of various sorts.

The year 1904 brought renewed activity in railroad construction. D. C. Corbin announced in March his intention to build a railroad from Spokane to a connection with the Canadian Pacific, provided the citizens would donate a right of way and terminals. Later Mr. Corbin voluntarily waived this condition.

The Washington Water Power company announced its plan of building an electric line to Medical Lake.

In October President F. A. Blackwell of the Coeur d'Alene & Spokane electric road returned from the east, where he and Jay P. Graves had sought financial support for an electric road into the Palouse country. "If the citizens of Spokane and citizens along the line and in the towns the line will touch will subscribe for a reasonable amount of stock," he said, "the Spokane-Colfax electric line, running through

the heart of the Palouse country, will be built. We have practically arranged for the financing of the proposed road."

Suiting the action to the word, Blackwell and Graves incorporated the Spokane & Interurban system in December, and announced a purpose to build to Moscow, Idaho. With them as incorporators were Alfred Coolidge, John Twohy and F. Lewis Clark. Jay P. Graves became president, F. A. Blackwell vice-president, H. B. Ferris treasurer, Will Davidson secretary, and A. M. Lupfer supervising engineer. A few weeks later, at an enthusiastic meeting of 250 business men and property holders, Mr. Graves outlined the company's plans, and $39,000 of the stock was taken on the spot. Graves, Coolidge, Twohy, Clark and Thomas L. Greenough had previously put $200,000 into the enterprise. The company bought the power site and riparian rights at Nine Mile bridge.

Mines owned or controlled in Spokane were producing enormously. Granby's output in 1904 was nearly $4,000,000, of which $1,719,196 was in copper, $959,360 in gold, and $103,081 silver.

In ten years Rossland camp had yielded more than $25,000,000, with this record by years:

1894	$ 75,000
1895	702,359
1896	1,243,360
1897	2,007,780
1898	2,470,811
1899	3,211,400
1900	3,500,000
1901	3,700,000
1902	4,274,352
1903	4,631,280
	$25,816,342

Prodigious were the product and profits of the Coeur d'Alenes, whose silver-lead mines yielded $11,600,000 in 1903, an increase of thirty-three per cent over 1902. Idaho law required sworn statements of yield and profits to the assessor, and for 1903 and 1904 mine managers made affidavit to the following profits:

1903

Bunker Hill and Sullivan	$ 67,891
Coeur d'Alene Development Co	143,096
Cleveland	12,607
Empire State Mines	286,704
Hercules	169,527
Mammoth	348,386
Morning	111,054
Hecla	45,048
Standard	271,626

1904

Standard and Mammoth	$595,038
Last Chance	382,652
Tiger-Poorman	21,036
Hercules	438,476
Morning	346,420
Bunker Hill and Sullivan	287,497
Hecla	84,735

The official statement of Charles Sweeny's Federal company, for the year ended August 31, 1904, gave ore shipments of $4,908,926, and net profits of $1,385,725. This company, owned and controlled by Rockefeller, the Goulds and other New York capitalists, now owned and operated the Last Chance, the Tiger-Poorman, the Standard, the Mammoth.

In the summer of 1904 eight Coeur d'Alene mines were paying monthly dividends aggregating $272,000. The 1904 output of that district aggregated $12,316,375—$8,389,422 in lead, $3,576,962 in silver, $300,000 in copper, and about $50,000 in gold.

Politically 1904 was a stirring year; and when the shouting was over and the ballots counted it appeared that Washington electors had voted rather illogically. While they had given Roosevelt an amazing plurality of more than 70,000 votes, they had, in convention or at the polls, defeated the very leaders within the state who had stood most conspicuously and unfalteringly for the Roosevelt policies. In state convention the republicans had cast out Governor McBride, and rejected his railroad commission policy. At the polls the voters defeated George Turner for governor and ratified the action of the railroad controlled convention of the republican party. Eastern Washington, however, voted consistently, giving Turner a large majority, but the Spokane candidate went down under a larger adverse majority, which the West Side rolled over the crest of the Cascade mountains.

Throughout eastern Washington sentiment developed strong for Governor McBride. In March a Roosevelt-McBride club was organized with 558 members, and quickly expanded to more than 1,000. Similar clubs were formed all over eastern Washington. McBride easily carried Spokane county at the primaries, and the county convention sent to the state convention a strong and enthusiastic delegation. At Tacoma the state convention rejected a commission plank, 373 to 277, and nominated for governor Albert E. Mead of Whatcom, and for congress renominated Jones, Cushman and Humphrey.

The democratic state convention, meeting at Bellingham, named George Turner for governor, and demanded "a regulative, non-political railroad commission, to be appointed by the governor, with power to adjust and regulate freight and passenger rates."

While his party's platform was silent on the commission question, Mead promptly announced that if the legislature should pass a commission law he would approve it, a pledge which he subsequently fulfilled. Turner went to the summit of the Cascades with nearly 6,000 majority, but Mead met him there with 23,000. Roosevelt carried Spokane county by 7,683 plurality, and Turner by 2,977. On the congressional ticket the county was republican by nearly 5,000. Stephen Jud-

son for lieutenant-governor on the democratic ticket, and George Mudgett, democratic nominee for state treasurer, carried the county respectively by 924 and 1,878. The republicans easily elected their county and legislative tickets.

Republican campaign expenses in Spokane county had been largely borne by Charles Sweeny, and soon after the election, at a meeting attended by twelve of the thirteen members of the legislative delegation, he was advanced as Spokane's candidate for United States senator. Present were State Senators Walker Henry and Dr. C. G. Brown, and Representatives Daniel Hoch, Jesse Huxtable, W. D. Scott, D. P. Bowers, George T. Crane, N. E. Linsley, Joseph B. Lindsley, Dr. G. T. Doolittle, J. A. Fancher and C. T. Ratcliffe. A. B. Campbell announced that he would be a candidate against Sweeny, but later reconsidered his decision. Other senatorial candidates were Samuel H. Piles, John L. Wilson and Jacob Furth of Seattle, and Senator Addison G. Foster of Tacoma. The developments of this contest will be reviewed in another chapter.

After long infirmities, Colonel Patrick Henry Winston died at his home in Spokane, Sunday, April 3, 1904. A native of North Carolina, he came to the west in 1884, appointed by President Arthur to be register of the land office at Lewiston, Idaho. He later removed with his family to Spokane, bought an interest in the Daily Review and edited that journal for about two years. After the state's admission in 1889 he was appointed United States district attorney. Becoming a populist, he was elected attorney-general in 1896. He started Winston's Weekly in 1903, and was editing that paper at the time of his death. He had wit and eloquence in high degree, a well trained legal mind, and a vigorous, independent and captivating personality. Whether in high political council or in curbstone *causerie,* Colonel Winston could always be relied upon to add gaiety to the occasion.

One incident will illustrate his aptness for political repartee. While campaigning the state in 1894 for the republican party he was addressing a large audience down in the Palouse country. It was a night meeting and the mellow light of a large oil lamp, reflected from a tin background just above his head, imparted a peculiar beaming appearance to his utterly bald head. Out in the audience arose a tall figure, bewhiskered to the waist, to demand the privilege of asking a question of the speaker. "Colonel Winston," it said, "I should like to know why, if, as you say, there are no inequalities under the law, you account for the unequal distribution of wealth?"

"I will answer that question with pleasure," said Mr. Winston, "after the gentleman has first answered a little question that I am going to propound." Inclining his shining poll to the amused audience, he asked: "How do you explain Nature's unequal distribution of hair?"

Death claimed this year three other well known pioneers. B. C. Van Houten died at Seattle in January. He was for several years a towering figure in the political and financial world. He came to Cheney in 1881, and to Spokane in 1884. He organized the Citizens' National bank and became its president; was elected to the state senate, and after his fortune was swept from him by the panic of 1893, became Levi Ankeny's political manager in the Walla Wallan's senatorial campaign.

Francis Asbury Pugh, an Oregon pioneer of 1846, died at his home in Spokane,

January 16. He went to California in the gold rush of 1849, and came to Spokane county in 1881. He was father of the well known Pugh brothers, long prominent in Spokane county political life.

Rev. S. G. Havermale, who, as presiding elder of the Methodist Episcopal church, preached the first sermon ever delivered before a white audience in Spokane, died in a serene old age, January 13.

On the stormy night of January 8, 1904, the steamer Clallam was wrecked in the straits of San Juan de Fuca, near Victoria, and fifty-four persons perished, including every woman and child aboard. Among the victims was Miss Louise Harris of Spokane, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. W. J. Harris.

CHAPTER LXII

CHARLES SWEENY'S BRIEF TILT AT POLITICS

NO MATCH FOR OLYMPIA POLITICIANS—HE RETALIATES BY ELECTING PILES—INLAND EMPIRE PROFITS—DAGGETT DEFEATS ACUFF FOR MAYOR—LARGE PROJECTS OF W. W. POWER CO.—ACTIVE YEAR IN RAILROAD BUILDING—JUDGE WHITSON OPENS U. S. COURT IN SPOKANE—DEATH OF R. WEIL, "JIM" WARDNER AND COL. W. W. D. TURNER—INDIANS SIGN TREATY WITH THUMB MARKS.

CHARLES SWEENY could play the game in Wall street, but was no match for the seasoned politicians who made Olympia their rendezvous. They played him fast and loose; but once his eyes were open he retaliated hard. The first joint ballot in January, 1905, put Foster in the lead with forty-four votes; Piles had thirty-three, Sweeny twenty-seven, Wilson fifteen, Cosgrove five and Jones four. The democratic corporal's guard of seven legislators voted for Turner. Here were two wealthy men in the running—Sweeny of Spokane and Foster of Tacoma—Sweeny bold, bluff and open-handed; Foster cautious, canny and thrifty; and a number of politicians, eager to get forward in a financial way, thought they had discovered an easy scheme of playing one against the other. Sweeny considered their demands outrageous, and declared that he would be revenged. He would not, he said, pay their price, nor would he allow another to pay it. He would elect a poor man to the senate, "so poor that he had a mortgage on his home;" and he moved his support to Piles and made him the caucus choice. This combination the legislature ratified next day, when Piles received 125 votes, Foster two, Turner six. But Piles had to pay a price; and it took the form of a signed agreement binding him to do certain stipulated things for eastern Washington:

First, that he would stand with Roosevelt in enlarging the powers of the interstate commerce commission (and thereby enable Spokane to make another fight for terminal rates).

Second, that with the help of the King county delegation a railroad commission bill satisfactory to eastern Washington should be passed.

Third, that Piles should support the opening of the Columbia river.

Fourth, that he would work for a federal judicial district in eastern Washington, with headquarters at Spokane.

Fifth, that Spokane should speedily be made a sub-port of entry.

In fulfillment of this agreement, the legislature enacted the commission law, almost without opposition, even the senate, which for nearly twenty years had been

the bulwark of the railroad forces, passing the bill, thirty-six to four. Governor Mead signed the measure, and later appointed as commissioners H. A. Fairchild of Bellingham, John S. McMillin of San Juan county, and J. C. Lawrence of Garfield, Whitman county.

At the municipal election in May, 1905, the democrats elected Floyd L. Daggett mayor by 346 plurality over W. H. Acuff, republican. H. L. Lilienthal, independent, polled 1,542 votes, and C. A. Bungay, socialist, 557. Daggett carried the First, Second and Fourth wards, Acuff the Third and Fifth. For comptroller Robert Fairley had 542 plurality, and for treasurer, M. H. Eggleston 1,563. The democrats elected six councilmen—Leonard Funk, L. C. Brown, Fred. Baldwin, John Gray, N. J. Laumer and N. S. Pratt; and the republicans four—W. G. Estep, H. G. Stimmel, W. T. Horr and J. S. Phillips.

City and country ran lustily forward with fine growth. Spokane had a population in March, according to the directory estimate, which included Hillyard and platted additions outside the city limits, of 73, 852. The state statistical department estimated Washington's population this year at 874,310. Spokane it credited with 70,000, as against 36,848 in 1900, and 19,922 in 1890.

President Henry M. Richards returned from New York in February, to announce that the Washington Water Power company had provided $3,500,000 for extensions and improvements within the next three years, of which $1,100,000 was immediately available for 1905. With this fund the company completed its line to Medical Lake, built the large dam and power house at Post Falls, and carried electric power into the Palouse country.

Mr. Corbin pushed construction of the Spokane International. He had entered into a fifty-year traffic agreement with the Canadian Pacific, under terms which rendered it impossible that the Spokane International should ever pass to other control than the Canadian Pacific. Mr. Corbin announced in March that the bond issue of $4,000,000 was all sold; $3,000,000 had been taken by six men in equal amounts.

In April the Spokane & Inland, the Coeur d'Alene & Spokane Railway company and the Spokane Traction company (afterwards merged into the Inland Empire system) signed a ten-year contract with the Washington Water Power company for electric power, and decided to defer development of their own power at Nine Mile bridge, below the city. Construction was hastened this year on the line into the Palouse country.

It had now become apparent that the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul was in earnest with its Pacific Coast extension. In April it began acquisition of extensive terminals on the tide lands at Seattle.

The Weyerhaeuser interests in May let a contract for a railroad from the town of Palouse to pierce its white pine timber belt on the Palouse river, and decided to double the capacity of its mill at Palouse.

Robert E. Strahorn organized in September his mysterious North Coast railway, and announced that his company would build a system of steam railways in the Yakima valley.

Judge Edward Whitson of North Yakima, who had been appointed judge of the new federal court for eastern Washington, came to Spokane in March and organized his court.

Among the well known Spokane men who died in 1905 was R. Weil, in San Francisco in May. He came to Spokane in 1889, and from a small beginning built up the Palace store until it took rank with the great department stores of the Pacific northwest.

James F. Wardner, for whom the town of Wardner in the Coeur d'Alenes was named, died in March at El Paso, Texas. Wardner was a true soldier of fortune, whose cheerful optimism was known in every mining camp the world around. He went into the Coeur d'Alenes in an early day, and promoted the sale of the Bunker Hill and Sullivan mines by the original owners to S. G. Reed of Portland, Oregon.

Col. W. W. D. Turner died at Los Angeles in April. He was a brother of Judge George Turner, and contributed materially to the making of the Le Roi.

Granby paid a dividend of $405,000 in December.

Charles Sweeny this year disposed of the greater part of his interest in the Federal company. He said in an interview that he had received $2,660,000.

Near the end of 1905 a treaty was negotiated at old Fort Spokane for the opening of the south half of the Colville reservation. The Indians signed the agreement with thumb marks.

CHAPTER LXIII

"SPOKANE IS ALMOST A MODEL CITY"

TRIBUTE OF PRAISE BY COLORADO'S GOVERNOR IN 1906—GROWTH OF CHAMBER OF COMMERCE—PRESIDENT EARLING HERE—ELECTRIC LINE EXTENDED TO HAYDEN LAKE—J. F. SLOANE SLAIN BY HIS SON SIDNEY—RENO HUTCHINSON, Y. M. C. A. SECRETARY, MURDERED—ASSASSINATION OF GOV. STEUNENBERG—FUTILE ATTEMPT TO IMPEACH MAYOR DAGGETT—DEATH OF EX-GOVERNOR GEORGE E. COLE—FOUNDING OF WESTERN UNION LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY—FORMER MILLIONAIRE DIES AT POOR FARM.

SPOKANE," wrote Governor Alva Adams of Colorado in Harpers' Weekly, in 1906, "is almost a model city. Its great river and falls, its beautiful homes, lawns and trees, satisfy the love of scenic beauty. Its churches, schools, art and literary clubs provide the moral and intellectual sides. Its business men are young, enthusiastic and patriotic. Not satisfied to sit and wait for tribute, their capital and enterprise go out into tributary territory, where they plough virgin fields, dig canals, build railroads, transform the desert, mine gold, silver, copper and lead in the mountains. They are builders, creators, developers."

A generous, intelligent and accurate description this, of the city by the falls, grown opulent, metropolitan and highly ambitious within the decade which separated it from the distress and disaster of panic years. Progressive spirits had taken the measure of their city and its resources, and the knowledge that greater things were in store filled them with enthusiasm and a desire to play well their part in the inspiring work of empire building. The cooperative spirit was mirrored in the chamber of commerce, which had grown from a feeble, apathetic organization of ninety-five members in January, 1903, to a membership in 1904 of 205, in 1905 of 308, and in 1906 of 436. Under the able and enthusiastic leadership of Chairman G. B. Dennis, the chamber's publicity committee raised in 1906 its first great fund of $40,000 for promotion and publicity work. The Hundred and Fifty Thousand club, organized in 1905, had 2,000 loyal and enthusiastic members by New Year's day, 1906, with F. W. King for president, Ren H. Rice secretary, and W. E. Goodspeed treasurer.

Jay P. Graves and his associates organized in January, 1906, the Inland Empire railway company, with $20,000,000 capital stock,—a merger of the Spokane Traction company, the Spokane & Inland railway, the Coeur d'Alene & Spokane electric road and the Spokane Terminal company.

President A. J. Earling of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul came in Janu-

ary to spy out the land for that company's Pacific extension, and President F. E. Goodall, J. J. Browne and N. W. Durham, a committee from the chamber of commerce, called upon him and pointed out the advisability of choosing a route that would put Spokane on the main line.

"I can only say at this time," replied President Earling, "that we are as desirous of coming to Spokane as you are to have us come." The company hastened its work of securing right of way across the state, and let a contract in August for construction between the Bitter Root mountains and the Columbia river.

The Coeur d'Alene and Spokane electric line was extended to Hayden lake, and James J. Hill decided to build the Spokane, Portland & Seattle down the north bank of the Columbia.

The year 1906 was ill-starred by three peculiarly atrocious and shocking crimes. Morning of August 27 the murdered body of J. F. Sloane, a prominent pioneer of 1886, was found in an alley near his home. Suspicion fell immediately upon his son Sidney, 17 years of age. Under police questioning the youth advanced conflicting and improbable stories, and later confessed that he had slain his father with an axe, and used a wheelbarrow to remove the mutilated body from the death chamber to the open alley where it was found. The seeming motive was either robbery or rage arising from the father's refusal to meet his demands for money. The trial, which ran for more than forty days, constituted one of the most sensational criminal cases in the history of the town. It opened November 12 and ended December 24, and the work of selecting a jury consumed nine days. A plea of insanity was ably advanced and maintained by Attorney F. C. Robertson, and the jury acquiesced in this defense and rendered a verdict of not guilty; but the court, in accordance with a state law for such cases provided, committed the acquitted boy to the state penitentiary at Walla Walla.

Reno Hutchinson, general secretary of the Young Men's Christian association, was mysteriously murdered at the corner of Seventh avenue and Howard street, at 8 o'clock on the evening of October 15. A bullet from the assassin's revolver penetrated the victim's body, and falling, the dying man plunged upon the lawn at the residence of Postmaster M. T. Hartson. The murderer was seen to flee across the lawn and quickly vanish under cover of the darkness of an autumn evening. Whether the deed of a highwayman or an embittered enemy, was the mystery of the hour, and a mystery has ever since remained.

Ex-Governor Frank Steunenberg of Idaho, opening the gate at his residence in Caldwell, that state, exploded a terrific charge of dynamite which had been set with cunning fiendishness to encompass his death. Suspicion was instantly directed against Harry Orchard, who, under an assumed name, had taken a room in a Caldwell hotel, had been observed spying around the Steunenberg home, and asked questions about the business hours and habits of the ex-governor. Governor Steunenberg had vigorously enforced the laws at the time of the miners' riots in the Coeur d'Alenes, and as Orchard had been closely associated with the Western Federation of Miners, suspicion fell upon that powerful organization. An amazing confession by Orchard implicated President Moyer, Heywood and Pettibone, not only in this crime, but in a long series of similar outrages, and they were arrested in their eastern homes and spirited away to Idaho before their friends could fight their extradition in the courts. The legality of their arrest was contested in the

EDWARD WHITSON, DECEASED
First Federal Judge at Spokane

BISHOP LEMUEL H. WELLS
Of All Saints' Cathedral

BRUCE M. WATSON
City Superintendent of Schools, 1912

GOVERNOR M. E. HAY,
1912

W. L. LAFOLLETTE
Congressman, 1912

GEORGE TURNER
Former Senator

W. E. BORAH,
Senator of Idaho, 1912

MILES POINDEXTER,
Senator, 1912

highest courts, but the supreme court of the United States refused to interfere. Their trial at Boise City excited national interest, but the jury, after a fair and thorough trial, refused to convict the defendants on the sole testimony of a witness who stood confessedly the most monstrous criminal of the age.

A vigorous effort by the Law Enforcement League of Spokane to have Mayor Daggett impeached for failure to enforce the Sunday closing law was carried before the council. That body, by a vote of six to four, refused to proceed with impeachment proceedings—Funk, Baldwin, Gray, Baines, Snyder and Koontz supporting the mayor, and Estep, Horr, Pratt and Phillips voting to put the mayor on trial.

In state convention at Seattle, September 19, the republican party renominated Congressmen F. W. Cushman, W. E. Humphrey and Wesley L. Jones. One week later, in their state convention, also at Seattle, the democrats named against them Dr. P. S. Byrne of Spokane, Dudley Eshelman of Pierce county, and Wm. Blackman of King. For justice of the supreme court they advanced Warren W. Tolman of Spokane.

The republicans easily carried the state. Spokane county gave their congressional candidates 2,500 plurality, and elected nearly all of the nominees on the republican legislative and county tickets.

Death claimed a noted pioneer in the person of ex-Governor George E. Cole, who died in Portland, December 3, while en route to California for his health. Governor Cole came to Oregon in an early day, and to Walla Walla in 1861. He joined the rush to the Clearwater gold camps, with a pack train and stock of merchandise from Walla Walla. He was in business in Lewiston in 1862, but returned to Walla Walla in 1863, and soon thereafter was elected to congress. He was appointed governor of Washington in 1866, and when his term of office expired returned to Portland and became closely associated with Ben Holladay, the famous pioneer builder of railroads in Oregon. At the time of his death he had been a resident of Spokane for several years.

D. K. Oliver, a pioneer of 1878, died January 28.

The Western Union Life Insurance company, a local enterprise which has since enjoyed vigorous growth, was incorporated October 31, 1906, and began business November 23. R. Lewis Rutter was its first president; A. F. MacFarland, vice-president and manager; Philip Harding, secretary; T. H. Brewer, treasurer; C. P. Thomas, medical director. Directors: L. M. Davenport, R. B. Paterson, Alfred Coolidge, Henry M. Richards, Thomas George Thomson, J. P. McGoldrick, C. P. Thomas, T. H. Brewer, F. B. Grinnell, and A. F. MacFarland. The last official statement of insurance in force shows remarkable growth: 1906, $402,500; 1907, $3,716,000; 1908, $7,410,220; 1909, $7,995,270; 1910, $9,501,625; October 1, 1911, $10,789,268. The company's admitted assets increased from $85,528 in 1906 to $764,768 on October 1, 1911.

The Hazelwood irrigation project was started this year. With water conveyed from Silver lake, near Medical lake, it has brought under intensive cultivation a large area of rich soil lying on the plateau immediately west of Spokane.

The death of George H. Leonard, late in December at the county poor farm at Spangle, dropped the curtain on a tragic life drama of vivid contrasts and startling vicissitudes. Leonard, in the '80s, was a millionaire grain operator on the Chicago

board of trade, a partner of "Old Hutch," and mayor of the Chicago suburb of Hyde Park. At times he and Hutchinson were absolute masters of the wheat market. His fortune swept away in an unsuccessful "corner," Leonard came to Spokane in 1886 and engaged in the real-estate business with Herbert Bolster as partner. Fortune favored him again, and he amassed a fortune estimated at $200,000, but the panic of 1893 dissipated his wealth, and he never rallied from the second blow. His wife and children scattered to the four winds, he sank under adversity's blows, and in his declining years found a calm refuge at the county farm.

CHAPTER LXIV

YEAR OF PANIC AND CLEARING HOUSE CERTIFICATES

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE CHAMPIONS STATE COLLEGE—C. H. MOORE ELECTED MAYOR—PANIC BREAKS IN NEW YORK—LOCAL BANKS ISSUE CLEARING HOUSE CERTIFICATES—FLURRY SOON SUBSIDES—F. A. BLACKWELL BUILDS IDAHO & WASHINGTON NORTHERN—FINE TOWN OF SPIRIT LAKE SPRINGS UP IN THE WILDERNESS—DEATH OF D. F. PERCIVAL AND THOMAS GEORGE THOMSON—"REV." LESLIE DAY COMMITS SUICIDE—WILD DEMONSTRATION AROUND POLICE STATION.

EARLY in 1907 West Side enemies of the State College at Pullman opened a vigorous attack upon that institution, with the obvious object of crippling it by withholding adequate appropriations. To refute their misrepresentations and put facts before the people of Washington, the chamber of commerce appointed a committee comprising W. D. Vincent, David Brown, Samuel Glasgow, D. T. Ham, Jay P. Graves, A. L. White and N. W. Durham, which sent to Pullman a sub-committee consisting of Messrs. Vincent, Brown and Durham. Their report, laid before the chamber of commerce in February, was enthusiastically adopted and a copy sent to every commercial organization in Washington. "Your committee," said the report in part, "was particularly impressed by the appearance of industry which characterizes this college. The success with which this institution has been applied to the basic industries and resources of Washington is marvelous. Everywhere around the college—upon the grounds and in the buildings, earnest young men and women were at work. We saw students in large groups, surveying in the field, at work in the iron foundry, in the machine shops, in the great hall of manual training, in practical work in veterinary science, in dairying and the care of live stock, and in mining. The presence of such an institution is of incalculable benefit to the varied industries of all sections of the state." Other organizations took up the cause, and opposition to the college was easily routed.

At the election, May 8, 1907, C. Herbert Moore, republican nominee and candidate of the Good Citizens League, was elected mayor by 1,874 plurality over Floyd L. Daggett, democrat, on a total vote of about 10,000. The result surprised the element that favored a "liberal" town, who had bet their money with free-handed disregard of the evident magnitude and deep enthusiasm of the reform movement back of Mr. Moore. Robert Fairley, democrat, was elected comptroller by 1,709 majority, and M. H. Eggleston was reelected treasurer by a margin of 219 votes. To the council the democrats elected Leonard Funk, Fred. Baldwin and John Gray; the republicans M. B. Watkins, W. G. Estep, E. V. Lambert, Robert L. Dalke.

Charles W. Mohr, J. S. Phillips and B. R. Ostrander. A $400,000 bond issue was voted for new bridges, and four charter amendments carried: for the assessment of benefited property to defray the cost of laying water mains; for the initiative and referendum; to increase the salaries of city officials, and for the creation of a non-partisan park commission. Bungay, socialist candidate for mayor, polled 292 votes.

As the summer wore along, panic conditions developed swiftly at New York and other eastern financial centers. There was an ominous tightening of the money market, and the press dispatches brought increasing reports of flurries in Wall street and bank failures east of the Mississippi. The distant storm scarcely put a ripple on the placid financial waters of the Inland Empire, and a compilation of the year's production, made in October by August Wolf of the press bureau of the chamber of commerce, convinced even the timid ones, that Spokane and its neighboring territory were in excellent condition to withstand any disturbance which might sympathetically follow the eastern panic. Mr. Wolf's compilation showed that the industries of the Inland Empire had produced $128,500,000 of new wealth in the year just past, the equivalent of $207 for every person in the district. To lumber was credited $17,000,000, to wheat $32,500,000, to fruits $14,000,000, to dairy products $5,000,000, to live stock and poultry $14,000,000, and to other farm products $14,000,000.

As a measure of sheer self-protection the bankers of Spokane, after a conference lasting several hours and extending far into the night, decided, on Tuesday, October 29, to suspend legal tender payment, and, following the example of other cities, emit an issue of clearing house certificates. Accordingly they had printed $400,000 of these certificates in denominations of $1, $2, $5 and $10.

"Conditions which call for the protection of the current resources of western banks are not of home-making," explained the Spokesman-Review. "There never was a time in western history when the people were so prosperous, the burden of debt so light, the supply of money and credit so generous. The banks of many western cities have taken precaution to protect their cash resources from the strong pull exerted by desperate New York bankers. That action, in turn, has seemed to make it advisable for bankers still further west to protect themselves in like manner. Failing to adopt that safeguard, their cash would gradually be drawn from them by banks holding balances against them, while banks indebted to the home banks would refuse to settle their balances in cash. Thus the unprotected banks would soon lose their cash and hold instead certificates of clearing house associations in distant cities —sound enough as an investment, but worthless for the immediate needs of real currency."

With admirable spirit the public accepted the situation, and utilized the certificates as a passing makeshift. Business men, big and little, took the improvised currency at par, and were glad to get it; and real estate men advertised their willingness to take it in exchange for building lots in their additions.

A convention in Spokane, Sunday, November 10, was attended by the representatives of 161 bankers from all parts of the Inland Empire. After extended discussion resolutions were unanimously adopted approving the plans that had been adopted and affirming that no change was needed.

Early in December the Spokane banks began to retire their certificates, and

$133,000 of them were burned December 9. The flurry was over; confidence stood unshaken, and Prosperity's chariot rolled serenely on.

Meanwhile railroad building was progressing at many points in the Spokane country. In March F. A. Blackwell, his son R. F. Blackwell, and their associates incorporated the Idaho & Washington Northern Railroad company, put surveyors in the field, and began to acquire right of way for a line that was to connect with various other systems out in the Spokane valley and develop the country between Rathdrum and Newport on the Pend d'Oreille river. Mr. Blackwell had purchased extensive forest tracts around Spirit lake, forty miles northeast of Spokane, and entered vigorously on the work of clearing at the outlet a site for a large and modern sawmill. An adjoining section, bought from Mrs. S. M. Wharton, was cleared and laid out as a modern townsite, and October 3 the spick and span new town of Spirit Lake came into prosperous being. This marked a new departure in methods of building towns in the Inland Empire. The spot selected was in a virgin wilderness, and no roof had ever been erected on the new townsite. Broad streets were graded, miles of cement sidewalks laid, electric light and water plants installed, large public parks cleared and seeded; and a few months after the beginning, a beautiful and thoroughly up-to-date little city looked out upon the encircling wilderness. In the meantime Mr. Blackwell drove forward with fine energy the task of railroad construction, and by the February following carried on excursion to Newport several hundred representative Spokane business men. This line he subsequently extended down the valley of the Pend d'Oreille to Metaline Falls, near the Canadian border.

This summer the Milwaukee company built vigorously across the Idaho Panhandle, and the Palouse country forty miles south of Spokane. Work was driven, too, on the Spokane, Seattle & Portland. In September Mr. Strahorn's North Coast company made extensive purchases of Front avenue property.

D. F. Percival, a pioneer of 1872, died at Cheney, January 11, aged sixty-seven. He came to the Rock Creek section, then in Stevens county, in 1872; was elected county commissioner, to serve at Colville, in 1874, and served in the territorial legislature from 1876 to 1880. He engaged in the banking business at Cheney in 1881, and was there elected mayor for five consecutive terms. He was a citizen of unusual public spirit and enterprise.

The death of Thomas George Thomson, manager of the Hypotheekbank, occurred October 8. This Holland concern made extensive mortgage loans on city and country real estate in the Spokane country. After the panic of 1893 it acquired by foreclosure a large part of the improved business property of the town. With the return of better times it gradually disposed of this foreclosed property, and Mr. Thomson was sent from Holland to manage its affairs in and around Spokane. He quickly won the respect and confidence of all with whom he came in contact.

J. D. Labrie, who died October 14 at Medical Lake, came to Spokane county in 1871 from Douglas county, Oregon, and the next spring located on a homestead a mile north of the present town of Medical Lake. He helped to operate the first sawmill in Spokane, and was Medical Lake's first postmaster.

Perhaps the most picturesque figure about Spokane in the early '90s was "Rev." Leslie Day, alias Leslie R. Kingsley, who committed suicide at St. Paul in November, 1907. While in Spokane he was successively street preacher, miner, clairvoyant and healer. Leaving San Francisco for San Francisco's good, and on pointed intima-

tions from the police, he drifted to Spokane and found a fertile field. Masquerading as a minister while here, he not only failed to practice what he preached, but in his Jekyll-Hyde life was as much at home among the vicious element as among honest folk. He left Spokane at the time of the Klondyke rush. Day had a checkered career. Was born on a battle field of the Crimean war; was educated for the priesthood in St. Petersburg; became a lieutenant in the Russian army; wandered to Australia, and thence drifted to San Francisco. He was a man of powerful physique and deep resounding voice.

One of the wildest demonstrations ever witnessed on the streets of Spokane was that on the night of September 7, when a frenzied mob of more than 2,000 people surged around the police station and clamored for the release of Mrs. Ida Crouch Hazlett, a socialist speaker arrested for violating the city ordinance forbidding street speaking within the fire limits. Released on bail, she came out of the station bareheaded and without a jacket, and led a triumphant procession up Howard street to her headquarters in a lodging house.

CHAPTER LXV

ROOT-GORDON SCANDAL AROUSES THE PUBLIC

SINISTER RUMORS DEVELOP INTO OPEN CHARGES—CHIEF JUSTICE HADLEY CALLS FOR BAR ASSOCIATION INQUIRY—JUDGE ROOT RESIGNS—GRAND JURY CALLED—APPEARANCE OF JAMES J. HILL—PROSECUTOR PUGH CHARGES HIM WITH BAD FAITH—GREAT NORTHERN REFUSES TO AID PROSECUTION—GORDON ACQUITTED—PASSING OF SUNDAY SALOON AND BOX-RUSTLING—SPOKANE EQUAL SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION ORGANIZED—MILES POINDEXTER GOES TO CONGRESS—COSGROVE ELECTED GOVERNOR—JONES DEFEATS ANKENY FOR THE SENATE—NORTHERN PACIFIC'S SCHEME OF GRADE SEPARATION DEFEATED—150,000 CLUB FOSTERS CHILDREN'S HOME.

IN THE summer of 1908 a sinister whisper ran over the state that M. J. Gordon, Great Northern attorney at Spokane, was $50,000 to $100,000 short in his accounts with that company. Gordon had held for five years the high office of justice of the supreme court of Washington, and for three years was chief justice. He had resigned from the supreme bench to take service with the Great Northern. At first, men of cautious mind rejected these ugly rumors as mere fabrications of some sensational scandal-monger. But the rumors would not be silenced, and grew in persistence and circumstantial detail until they became in November an open secret among the well-informed lawyers of the northwest, and soon found their way into the columns of the public press.

Rumor added that a part of the alleged shortage had been paid to Judge Milo A. Root of the state supreme court. Chief Justice W. E. Hadley formally requested J. B. Bridges, president of the State Bar association, to investigate these charges of "conduct of a highly criminal nature," and Bridges appointed John H. Powell, and Harold Preston of Seattle, T. L. Stiles and R. G. Hudson of Tacoma, and H. M. Stephens of Spokane a committee to make the investigation.

November 24 Justice Root offered his resignation to the governor. "My relations with Judge Gordon," he affirmed, "will bear the closest investigation, and will reflect no more upon me than the indiscretions of friendship. Yet I realize that for a justice of the supreme court there should exist not even an indiscretion, especially as I realize that any reflection upon any member casts a cloud upon the entire court."

These sensational revelations stirred public sentiment to its depths, and the sensation was intensified by newspaper interviews wherein L. C. Gilman, general western counsel for the Great Northern, and W. R. Begg, general solicitor at St. Paul, admitted that a shortage existed in Gordon's accounts.

Gordon seemed dazed by the weight of his troubles, and personal friends maintained a close watch to prevent possible suicide. "Gordon," said a Spokane acquaintance, "is one of the most remarkable men I have ever seen. He could stay up all night, hire an automobile in the morning, go into the country with a party of friends, sing a few songs, drink more booze, and return to town apparently refreshed and ready for the legal business in which he was interested. On these trips he usually insisted on paying all expenses. He is a good story-teller, a good listener, and one of the best entertainers I ever knew. Apparently he had no sense of the value of money, and I often wondered what would be the finish of the clip at which he was going."

The Bar Association committee conducted investigations at Spokane, Seattle, Tacoma and elsewhere. Root and Gordon came before it at Seattle, and Root denied that he had ever received a dollar improperly from Gordon. In published statements Gordon denied that he was short with the Great Northern.

The investigating committee reported in January, 1909, that Judge Root had corresponded with Gordon regarding a money transaction; that Root accepted from the Great Northern, through Gordon, and from other railroads, free transportation; that Root filed as the opinion of the supreme court an almost verbatim draft of an opinion dictated by Gordon as attorney for the Great Northern in the case of Harris against the railroad company.

The committee was unable to obtain any facts to substantiate rumors of the giving out of advance information concerning decisions of the supreme court, or to obtain any facts to substantiate rumors of bribery and corruption. The committee held that the conduct of Root in receiving free transportation was highly censureable; that his conduct in the Harris case was a gross breach of judicial and professional propriety, and showed such a want of appreciation of the duties of a judge of the supreme court as to unfit him for occupying that position. The report recommended that the State Bar association request the judges of the superior court of Spokane county to call a grand jury to investigate fully the rumors of corruption.

Gordon was arrested on a specific charge of embezzling $9,200 from the Great Northern, and pleaded not guilty in the superior court of Spokane.

A grand jury was called at Spokane, and its investigations were vigorously conducted by Prosecuting Attorney Fred. C. Pugh. It returned a number of indictments against Gordon, who was arrested in May on additional charges of embezzlement.

While passing through Spokane, June 3, President James J. Hill of the Great Northern was served with a subpoena to appear before the grand jury, and went before that body the following day. "I have promised the grand jury that I will do all in my power to see that it gets the papers and documents which it desires," said Mr. Hill upon leaving the grand jury room. (Prosecutor Pugh had given him a list of the documents desired.) "I shall write to St. Paul this afternoon, so that a meeting of the board of directors may be held when I arrive." A few days later the board of directors decided not to supply the grand jury with the desired records and documents. "This shows bad faith on the part of James J. Hill," said Mr. Pugh.

Gordon's trial came on in the superior court March 11, but the state's inability to obtain important documentary evidence from the books and files of the Great

Northern, or to secure the presence as a witness of L. C. Gilman, greatly weakened the case, and Judge Kennan directed the jury to return a verdict of not guilty."

After an intermittent warfare of nearly twenty years, a slowly awakening public sentiment triumphed in 1908, over the Sunday saloon and the pioneer type of box-rustling variety theaters. Early in January Mayor Moore's administration warned the saloons that the Sunday closing law would be enforced, and, this warning disregarded, wholesale arrests followed. The liquor dealers appealed to the courts, and failing there, 125 of them forfeited their bonds in the police court in a single day and tacitly agreed to conform to the law. On the night of January 11 the Coeur d'Alene, Comique and O. K. theaters closed their doors. With this disappearance of a frontier type of amusement resorts, Spokane passed forever from a stage that was highly picturesque, but unsuited to an aspiring city of the modern mold, eager to rank as a social, educational and amusement center of the better kind.

Politically the year brought much of interest. In February was organized the Spokane Equal Suffrage association with Mrs. May Arkwright Hutton as president, Mrs. H. W. Allen first vice-president, Mrs. E. Phyllis Carlton second vice-president, Mrs. Nellie Colburn secretary, Mrs. Jessie S. Emery treasurer, and Mrs. J. G. Cunningham musical superintendent. This organization entered on a vigorous but dignified and effective crusade for woman suffrage, and by its enthusiasm and intelligent example helped to stimulate the statewide movement which later won a signal success at Olympia and the polls.

Miles Poindexter resigned from the superior bench of Spokane county to make the race for congress in the Third district, comprising all the counties of eastern Washington excepting Klickitat. Politics took on new interest this year, the people testing, for the first time, the new principle of direct primaries. At the primary elections in September Poindexter defeated a field of republican contestants which included T. D. Rockwell, W. H. Ludden and Harry Rosenhaupt, all of Spokane, Boone of Whitman, and Field of Chelan. For the United States senate Wesley L. Jones of Yakima defeated Senator Levi Ankeny of Walla Walla. For the governorship the contest was lively and exciting between Governor A. E. Mead, Ex-Governor Henry McBride and S. G. Cosgrove, with Col. W. M. Ridpath of Spokane and Atkinson also in the race. Spokane county went for Poindexter, Jones and McBride—for Poindexter by 2,300 votes, for Jones by more than 4,000, and for McBride by 2,097 votes over Mead, and 2,665 over Cosgrove. In the state a count of the second choice votes gave the republican nomination for governor to Cosgrove.

At the November election the republicans swept state and county. For president, Taft defeated Bryan in the state by 55,000, in the county by 5,000. Cosgrove was elected governor by about 45,000 majority, but death robbed him of the fruits of his victory. Weakened by exhaustion and disease, he broke down in the campaign, and was taken to California for his health. He returned to Olympia for inauguration, but lacked the strength to take up the duties of the office, and shortly after was removed by death. Lieutenant-Governor M. E. Hay of Spokane thereupon became governor.

In the Third congressional district Poindexter defeated William Goodyear, democrat of Whitman county, by about 12,000 votes.

In Spokane the republicans carried all the county and legislative offices, with the single exception of Lester P. Edge, democrat for the legislature.

The Northern Pacific presented a plan of grade separation this year, and that question was threshed out before the council in March. The plans excited a widespread protest, from the general public as well as owners of property and leases along the right of way. Objections were directed against the unsightly appearance of the proposed elevated structure, the treatment of intersecting streets, and the plan of readjusting the tracks to warehouses along the right of way. After several weeks of spirited controversy and the presentation of a vast number of remonstrances, the railroad company withdrew its plans and stated that, so far as it was concerned, the question of grade separation was a closed incident.

Mysterious and covert buying of Front avenue real estate, long suspected as in the interest of R. E. Strahorn's occult North Coast Railroad company, culminated in July when that company filed for record 114 deeds, representing purchases aggregating nearly $1,000,000 and covering an almost continuous strip from the city hall to the western city limits.

At a meeting of the 150,000 club, April 6, President F. W. King, to represent the club, W. S. Rogers for the contractor, and George W. Mackay, for the labor unions, were appointed as a building committee to take charge of construction of the new Children's home. A resolution was adopted thanking Asa V. Bradrick for his admirable and enthusiastic direction of the inspiring campaign to raise the needed fund. A handsome donation by John A. Finch of fourteen lots as a site for the new home, two and a fourth miles northwest of Riverside and Howard, lifted this worthy undertaking out of the realm of uncertainty.

Death claimed two pioneers—Mrs. Louis Ziegler, May 31, a pioneer of 1880, and Frederick Post, who died at Post Falls, August 7, in his eighty-seventh year.

In July the Woman's Club conducted the first Chautauqua in Spokane. The new city market was opened August 22. The North Central high school was built this year. The Orpheum theatrical circuit was extended to Spokane in June.

Big buildings started or completed this year were the Paulsen, $900,000; Spokane Dry Goods company, Railroad and Lincoln, $160,000; Kemp & Herbert, Main and Washington, $150,000; Peyton, $175,000, Spokane and Post, and the Federal building, Riverside and Lincoln.

By the accidental discharge of his fowling piece, Allan F. Gill, former city engineer and city commissioner, was killed while hunting on the frozen shores of Moses lake, in the Big Bend country.

The new Catholic church of Our Lady of Lourdes was dedicated on Thanksgiving day by Bishop Edward O'Dea.

Bank clearings in 1908 aggregated $308,000,000, an increase of more than $6,000,000. Postoffice receipts increased more than thirteen per cent, the jobbing trade twenty per cent. The manufacturing payroll showed an increase of $500,000. Building permits exceeded those of 1907 by $150,000, a gratifying record when the fact was considered that the 1907 record was rounded out by permits for the Paulsen and Federal buildings and several other unusually large projects.

CHAPTER LXVI

BILLY SUNDAY'S REVIVAL AND THE UNEMPLOYED

GREATEST RELIGIOUS MEETING IN CITY'S HISTORY—TEMPERANCE WORKERS MARCH ON OLYMPIA—CARING FOR ARMY OF IDLE MEN—PRATT DEFEATS OMO FOR MAYOR—SPOKESMAN-REVIEW CELEBRATES TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY—EXTRAORDINARY RUSH FOR INDIAN LANDS—FRIGHTFUL WRECK ON COEUR D'ALENE ELECTRIC LINE—PAN TAN DISCLOSURES—NATIONAL IRRIGATION CONGRESS—PRESIDENT TAFT VISITS INLAND EMPIRE—CITY'S CLASH WITH THE I. W. W.—YEAR OF FINE GROWTH—GREAT NORTHERN ABSORBS THE GRAVES SYSTEM—DEATH OF J. HERMAN BEARE, JUDGE NORMAN BUCK, E. H. JAMIESON AND C. S. VOORHEES.

ON SUNDAY, January 24, 1909, was held the greatest religious meeting in the history of Spokane, when 10,000 men assembled in a huge tented tabernacle to hear Billy Sunday's indictment of the saloon. Five thousand men outside, clamoring for impossible admittance, nearly precipitated a riot. Local option legislation was pending before the legislature. Under the auspices of the evangelical churches of the city, Mr. Sunday had been conducting a memorable series of revival meetings, and had stirred profoundly the religious and moral consciousness of the community. Thousands attended his meetings from the surrounding country. At the close of the revival, 5,666 conversion cards had been returned. To impress the legislature, one hundred Spokane citizens chartered a special train and accompanied the revivalist to the state capital, and presented to the Spokane county delegation petitions for local option signed by 8,000 Spokane citizens. Mr. Sunday addressed two great audiences in the Olympia theater. Among the well known citizens who accompanied the evangelist to Olympia were Senator Miles Poindexter, W. H. Ludden, Zach Stewart, J. L. Paine, W. H. Shields, J. C. Barline, M. L. Higley, Rev. H. L. Rasmus, A. V. Bradrick, H. C. Blair, C. H. Weeks, F. E. Elmendorf.

A large influx of unemployed taxed the capacity of the police department this winter, and engaged the attention of the charitably minded. Billy Sunday's big tabernacle was opened as a retreat for the homeless. 400 slept there on benches the first night, 600 the next, and their numbers rapidly grew to 900, to 1,000, to 1,250. Donations from citizens provided food, and nightly after the services were over volunteers remained to feed the homeless, hungry men. Word ran over the surrounding country, hundreds of miles away, that Spokane had food and shelter for all, and it became necessary for the ministerial association to limit its hospitality to free sleeping shelter for all and breakfast for 400; and a committee asked Police Chief

Rice to aid in the task of sheltering the wanderers. Chief Rice expressed a readiness to take care of 300, but that, he declared, was the limit of the city's capacity. With the return of milder weather came a thinning out of the unemployed.

For the first time the city campaign was conducted under the direct primary law. At the primary election, April 6, J. T. Omo, C. M. Fassett, R. A. Hutchinson and J. Grant Hinkle contested for the republican nomination for mayor, and finished in the order named, Omo leading Fassett by nearly 1,000 votes. In the democratic primaries N. S. Pratt defeated N. J. Laumer, 987 to 447. For comptroller, W. J. McKean was the republican nominee, Robert Fairley the democratic; and for treasurer J. Oscar Peterson, republican, was matched against M. H. Eggleston, democrat.

At the election a few days later, Pratt, supported by the Non-Partizan club, composed chiefly of republicans, was elected mayor over Omo by a majority of nearly 800 votes. Fairley was elected comptroller by a majority of 1,700, and Peterson treasurer by nearly 800. A million dollar park bond issue was defeated.

Representative Miles Poindexter announced his candidacy for the United States senate this year.

Former Senator George Turner was engaged by the state department as associate counsel for the United States before the Hague tribunal, in arbitration of the long-standing fisheries dispute between Canada and this country, growing out of the treaty of 1818.

With an anniversary number, June 17, the Spokesman-Review commemorated the twenty-fifth year of the establishment of the Daily Review. "Bound up in this eventful quarter of a century (said its leading editorial) and told from day to day in graphic story, lie all the hopes and aspirations, the victories and tragedies, the courage and devotion that are woven into the building of this fine modern city of more than 100,000 people. For the Spokane of this June morning has been erected since Mr. Dallam, on June 17, 1884, pulled from a little hand-press the first copy of the Daily Review. Scarce a building that stood then in the scattered village is here today. All has been obliterated by the tooth of time, the crushing car of progress and the hot flames of conflagration. But while the handiwork has vanished of those pioneer times, it is pleasant to reflect that many of the pioneers who were here a quarter of a century ago are with us today in enjoyment and pride of this spirited young city of the west."

Registration in July and August for the opening of the Coeur d'Alene, Spokane and Flathead Indian reservations drew into the northwest unprecedented throngs of land and fortune seekers. They filled the hotels and lodging-houses and taxed the transportation facilities of the railroads. Registration books were opened at Spokane, Coeur d'Alene City and Kalispel and Missoula, Montana. In excess of 105,000 registered for claims on the Coeur d'Alene reserve, nearly 100,000 for the Spokane, and nearly 90,000 for the Flathead—an aggregate of 286,238 applications for a few thousand claims.

Out of this mad rush came the most shocking railroad disaster in the history of the Spokane country. July 31 two trains on the Coeur d'Alene electric line, jammed with landseekers going and returning from the lake city, crashed together head on and at high speed, at La Crosse station a few miles out from Coeur d'Alene. From this awful wreck ten dead victims were taken out, four others who died soon

"BILLY" SUNDAY TABERNACLE

SPOKANE FRUIT FAIR

after, and seventy-five injured passengers, suffering from varying degrees of injury.

The political sensation of the year was the disclosure in August of the existence of a secret political society, the Panta Pantois, or as it was generally termed by the newspapers and the public, the Pan Tans, and having for a motto the slogan of the Musketeers of the French King Louis XIII, "One for all and all for one." Its membership included three judges of the superior court, the justice of the police court, two city commissioners, four members of the city council, and a number of other city and county officials, besides a sprinkling of business men. The exposure grew out of the expulsion from the order of Police Commissioner Carl Tuerke for his refusal, as alleged, to promote two members of the police department who were also members of the order.

As committee of investigation Mayor Pratt appointed Ex-Senator W. W. Tolman, S. Heath, Dr. W. W. Potter, Julius Zittel and J. T. Burcham.

"The number of members has never exceeded approximately seventy-five," the committee reported, "and of this number twenty-two at least, during the time they were members, have been public officials of this city or county, and a number more have been actively interested in local politics. Its activities have been largely confined to political matters, and particularly to securing public office for its members. Funds of the order have been applied in payment of the campaign expenses of the members who were candidates for office. Commissioner Tuerke was expelled because of his acts in connection with the candidacy of a member of the society to public office which was in his control as a public officer, which candidacy the order most aggressively supported."

"It has not been established before us," the report added, "that any public officer belonging to this society has been improperly influenced in the discharge of his public duties by his membership in this organization."

Commissioner Tuerke was removed by the city council September 28, by a vote of seven to two, a result that was ascribed to saloon hostility (he had been aggressive in enforcement of the anti-screen law) and resentment by members of the Panta Pantois. The order disbanded.

The seventeenth National Irrigation congress opened in Spokane August 9, with 1,800 delegates and 300 visitors. Thorough preparations were made and a cordial welcome extended by a local board of control, Robert Insinger, chairman. Among the notables in attendance were Secretary R. A. Ballinger of the interior department, Chief Forester Gifford Pinchot, Director F. H. Newell of the United States reclamation service, Ex-Governor Pardee of California, and President Howard Elliott of the Northern Pacific. An elaborately mounted historic pageant, organized by E. F. C. Van Dissel and Perry D. Tull, was the chief amusement feature of the week, introducing Indians, cowboys and numerous striking pioneer types. The sessions of the congress were enlivened by dramatic clashes between the opposing Ballinger and Pinchot forces.

President Taft was in Spokane September 28. He took breakfast at Davenport's restaurant, followed by a drive over the city, arranged to review the school children. At Riverside and Monroe a huge grand stand was erected, and there the president spoke to a vast audience that was estimated at 25,000. Governor M. E. Hay introduced the chief executive of the nation, and Governor Brady of Idaho

was on the platform. The famous apple luncheon followed at Davenport's, where the hall of the Doges was decorated with apple boughs and fruit, and several bearing apple trees transplanted from the orchard, and a menu scheme was elaborately worked out with the apple for its *motif*. Judge George Turner made an introductory speech, and the president responded in an extended address. In the afternoon the presidential party, escorted by several hundred citizens, went up the Spokane valley by electric train to Coeur d'Alene City and Hayden lake. At Coeur d'Alene the president spoke to 5,000 Idahoans. At Bozanta tavern on Hayden lake he was given rest and the privacy of his room for two hours, and after that came an elaborate game dinner, with mountain trout, venison, bear steaks and pheasant.

Some two weeks before the presidential visit the chamber of commerce entertained the Japanese commercial delegates, a party of half a hundred Japanese travelers, eminent in their native land in commerce, banking, manufacturing, education and journalism. At a banquet in the hall of the Doges Mayor Pratt spoke an address of welcome, and Baron Shibusawa responded. President F. E. Goodall of the chamber of commerce presided as toastmaster.

In sharp contrast to these festive scenes came the I. W. W. demonstrations, starting early in November. An organization styling itself the Industrial Workers of the World, and having largely for membership unskilled workers of the class that drifts around over the country, began gathering here in a concerted effort to make a demonstration against the ordinance which prohibited public speaking on streets within the fire limits. The Industrial Workers argued that this ordinance invaded the constitutional right of free speech, and as the membership had strong socialistic tendencies, local socialists aided and abetted them in their contention. Beyond their stubborn determination to violate this ordinance and defy and villify the police, the I. W. W. demonstrators were rather a peaceable lot, but some of their leaders were cantankerous to a degree, and succeeded in putting the police force and the entire city government to a deal of trouble before they were finally convinced that Spokane was just as resolute to enforce order as they were to create disorder.

By the night of November 2 the city jail imprisoned 103 of these "martyrs of free speech," and the next night this number had grown to 150. Their avowed tactics were to flood the city with volunteers and fill the jails to overflowing until the city, in sheer desperation, would repeal the ordinance.

Many exciting street scenes were enacted, and the police were kept on the quickstep, going from one point to another to arrest the street speaking conspirators. Throngs of idle men and curiosity seekers gathered around the speakers, and sympathizers jeered the police as they made arrests. The fire department was put under the orders of Police Chief John Sullivan, and streams of cold water turned on some of the more disorderly crowds.

When the city jail had been filled to overflowing, the city converted the abandoned Franklin school building into an auxiliary prison, and when that filled up, permission was had from the war department to use the guard-house at Fort Wright.

To create sympathy many of the prisoners refused food, declaring a purpose to die of starvation. The jails were made hideous by night and day with the shouts, the execrations and the incendiary singing of the prisoners.

The organization maintained a weekly newspaper organ, and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, a fiery young zealot, was brought here from Montana to edit it and make

street harangues. With several other women speakers she was arrested, but the women were turned loose on their own recognizance and a promise not to speak again in violation of the ordinance.

After this furor had continued for a month, the city caused the arrest of five of the ringleaders, including Mrs. Flynn, on conspiracy charges. December 9 a jury of leading business men convicted Mrs. Flynn in the justice court, and she was sentenced to three months in the county jail. Appeal was taken to the superior court, and her case and that of Filigno, another leader, was tried in February, resulting in a verdict of not guilty for the woman and guilty for the man. By this time the movement was broken up and the agitation stamped out.

The year was one of fine growth and substantial progress. The Old National bank decided in January, 1909, to increase its capital stock from $500,000 to $1,000,000; to sell for $200,000 its Marble bank building at Riverside and Wall street to the Union Trust company, a subsidiary institution; and to purchase for $300,000 from the latter company the double corner at Riverside and Stevens and erect thereon a fourteen story modern steel banking and office building. These plans were carried out with great energy and expedition.

This was a year of big constructive undertakings for the Washington Water Power company. The directors set aside $3,000,000 for extensions and improvements. The expenditure of $750,000 on the power plant at the Little Falls on the Spokane was the largest single item in this $3,000,000 budget. The company also vigorously carried forward the construction of its large sub-station on the west side of Post street and the south bank of the Spokane. Construction was started in the spring on the dam at Little Falls, twenty-five miles northwest of Spokane. This big project was completed in 1911, at a cost of about $1,600,000. Three hundred and fifty men were employed there in 1909.

One hundred jobbing firms were engaged here in business in the summer of 1909. Exclusive of the lumber trade, they embraced all lines of business, with $11,000,000 of invested capital, annual sales of $23,000,000, a payroll of 2,250 people and $2,000,000 a year. These statistics were compiled by President A. W. Doland of the Spokane Merchants association.

Data compiled at the end of the year by August Wolf, of the publicity committee of the chamber of commerce showed substantial growth all along the line:

	1909	1908
Bank clearings	$206,504,000	$153,895,000
Bank deposits	31,000,000	25,000,000
No. of building permits	2,963	2,937
Building expenditures	8,765,226	5,927,148
City water receipts	395,000	321,736
Postoffice receipts	426,820	360,504
Jobbing trade	27,500,000	24,500,000
No. of Man. Ind.	450	410
Capital invested	14,300,000	13,000,000
Output of product	19,000,000	17,000,000
Wages paid by m'f'trs	6,500,000	4,500,000
Wages paid by jobbers	2,500,000	1,500,000

No. of wage-earners	7,000	5,200
Wheat product of Inland Empire	50,000,000	27,500,000
Live stock and poultry	16,500,000	16,000,000
Lumber	19,250,000	18,000,000
Fruits	15,000,000	14,000,000
Dairy products	8,000,000	6,000,000
Other farm products	15,500,000	15,250,000
Mineral production	43,000,000	40,000,000
New mileage, steam and electric	600	453

The Great Northern acquired control in October of the Inland Empire properties, locally more widely known as the Graves system. By purchasing the stock held by Mr. Graves and associates, the Hill interests took possession of the electric lines into the Palouse country, the line to Coeur d'Alene and Hayden lake, the Traction street railway system in Spokane, and the developed power plant at Nine Mile on the Spokane.

Spokane's death roll this year included J. Herman Beare, principal of the North Central high school; Judge Norman Buck, E. H. Jamieson and Charles S. Voorhees.

Mr. Beare had in remarkable degree the happy talent of winning quickly and holding with hooks of steel the esteem and affection of students who came under the charm of his rare and winsome personality. The acquisition of wealth, the attainment of social eminence, the winning of political distinction—do these not seem sordid in contrast with the high ideals and intensely practical devotion of a life like his?

Judge Buck was a veteran of the civil war, and was one of the most widely known pioneer judges of northern Idaho and eastern Washington.

Mr. Jamieson was a pioneer attorney of Spokane, and a citizen of scholarly attainments who divided his time between business life in the city and country life at his extensive estate on Moran prairie. He built the Jamieson block, and was one of the few pioneers who withstood the shock of panic in 1893.

In territorial days, in the '80s, Mr. Voorhees was one of the most conspicuous political figures in Washington. He was a son of Senator Daniel W. Voorhees of Indiana; came to Colfax in 1882 and was elected prosecuting attorney of Whitman county. Was elected delegate to congress on the democratic ticket in 1884, and re-elected in 1886. He came to Spokane in 1889 and formed a law partnership with J. B. Jones, and a little later with H. M. Stephens under the firm name of Jones, Voorhees & Stephens.

CHAPTER LXVII

SPIRITED CONTEST OVER RAILROAD FRANCHISES

COUNCIL DEMANDS TERMINAL RATES AND A COMMON USER CLAUSE—CITIZENS DIVIDE AND A SPIRITED CONTEST FOLLOWS—COUNCIL YIELDS AND RAILROADS WIN—DISASTROUS AVALANCHES IN COEUR D'ALENES—AVALANCHE DEMOLISHES GREAT NORTHERN TRAIN—MORE THAN 100 LIVES LOST—ALLEN HAYNES SINKS $500,000 IN INLAND HERALD—DEATH OF PROF. FRANZ MUELLER—TWO HUNDRED LIVES LOST IN FOREST FIRES—POINDEXTER ELECTED TO SENATE—SPOKANE ENTERTAINS DRY FARMING CONGRESS—LARGE PROJECTS OF WASHINGTON WATER POWER CO.

AN ISSUE which deeply divided public opinion in 1910 developed out of the franchise applications of the North Coast and Chicago, Milwaukee & Puget Sound railway companies. Sitting in committee of the whole, March 3, the council unanimously adopted an amendment offered by Mr. Ostrander to make the yielding of terminal rates and a common user clause a condition of the granting of the franchises. Attorney H. M. Stephens, whose long and able championship of Spokane's cause before the interstate commerce commission gave great weight to his judgment, appeared before the council, and also a largely attended meeting of the chamber of commerce in support of the Ostrander resolution. Spokane, he said, paid annually $14,000,000 to the railroad companies, and if the North Coast and the Milwaukee found that entrance could not otherwise be gained, they would yield to the city's demands. Advocates of the terminal rate requirement argued that Spokane's chief need was lower rates rather than two more railroads to join with those already here in exacting excessive rates.

On the opposing hand, A. W. Doland, who had stood in the fore front for nearly twenty years, battling for terminal rates, carried great weight with the argument that it would be better to let in these new roads, with all their benefits of large expenditure and development of new territory, and continue the fight for justice along the old lines before the interstate commerce commission. Looking backward over the famous controversy it is seen that here was an issue presenting strong arguments on both sides, and it is not surprising that citizens of equal intelligence, experience and devotion to Spokane lined up in opposing ranks.

Apparently the council could not be shaken from its stand, for it adopted unanimously, March 10, a resolution that no further action would be taken on the franchise applications until the companies had signed a written agreement to accept them with the terminal rate and common user amendments. A resolution from the chamber of commerce asked the council to reconsider its action. Citizens divided into

two opposing ranks, one under the leadership of Chairman A. W. Doland of the Citizens committee, the other led by B. L. Gordon of the People's Terminal rate committee. Petitions actively circulated by the former were signed by 10,000 people, asking the council to reconsider its action. Opposing petitions urged the council to submit the issue to a referendum vote at the polls.

Impressed, evidently, by the strong showing of petitions from the Citizens committee, the council, June 14, granted the franchises, Councilman J. A. Schiller alone voting no. Mr. Ostrander's term of office had expired before the question came to final vote.

Deep snows fell in the mountains, winter of 1909-10, and with their melting late in February came a series of deadly avalanches in the Coeur d'Alenes and the Cascades and disastrous floods at many points in the Inland Empire. Snowslides the night of Sunday, February 27, extinguished twenty-one lives and injured scores of men, women and children. At Mace, on Canyon creek, twelve lives were lost, including those of R. H. Pascoe, superintendent of the Standard mine, and two Pascoe children. Five persons were killed at Burke, two at Carbonate Hill, and two at Dorsey. Many dwellings were buried under the avalanches. On Canyon creek hundreds of volunteers worked frantically by lantern light, taking out the dead and injured.

A yet greater disaster occurred on the snow-buried summits of the Cascade mountains. Early on the morning of March 1 a Great Northern passenger train, snowbound at the west portal of Cascade tunnel, was struck by a mighty mass of snow, rocks and trees rushing down the steep mountain-side, and rolled and crushed into the canyon's depths below. More than 100 lives were lost in this tragedy of the snowy wilds, and among the victims were R. M. Barnhart, C. S. Eltinge, Miss Katherine O'Reilly and Miss Nellie Sharp, all of Spokane. Mr. Eltinge was formerly cashier of the Traders National bank, and later one of its vice-presidents. Mr. Barnhart had served six years as prosecuting attorney of Spokane county, and his term had but recently expired. The work of taking out the bodies consumed several weeks.

Floods in Whitman county in March caused a property loss of $1,000,000. Colfax and Pullman were the chief sufferers. At Colfax scores of dwellings were swept off their foundations and a number of business structures were undermined. The floods came from a sudden rise in the South fork of the Palouse. Mains were washed out, and the water supply was hauled in barrels. Colfax is one of the wealthiest towns, in proportion to population, in the United States, but damage to railway lines reduced its food supplies, and as a relief measure the Spokane chamber of commerce sent down a carload of provisions and bedding.

Davenport, Walla Walla, and many other towns suffered in less degree.

A new daily journal made its meteoric appearance February 8—the Inland Herald, an afternoon and Sunday morning paper, financed by local capital, edited by Allan Haynes and published by the Allan Haynes Publishing company. Haynes brought to the task a remarkably persuasive personality which verged upon powers almost hypnotic. He had energy and enthusiasm, but was wholly inexperienced in the difficult business of editing and publishing a daily journal, and wasted enormous sums that could have been saved by an experienced publisher of careful judgment. After a year of tempestuous experiences and steadily waning income, the Herald

SPOKANE COUNTRY CLUB, 1912

NEW INLAND CLUB BUILDING
ON THE LEFT, 1912

HOME OF THE SPOKANE CLUB, RECENTLY COMPLETED AT A COST OF
THREE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS

went into a receiver's hands, and suspended publication May 8, 1911, fifteen months after its spectacular naissance. Receiver F. H. Sammis found that "a little more than $500,000 had been spent on the Herald since it started." F. B. Gregg was the largest individual loser, about $100,000. B. F. O'Neil, the Wallace banker and candidate for governor of Idaho, was another heavy loser.

Prof. Franz Mueller died March 12. He came to Spokane in 1889 to take charge of the musical department of the Methodist college. None labored more faithfully than he to breathe the soul of music into this young city of the west, and none has contributed so extensively in original compositions. Long after the turf has matted o'er his grave hundreds of young men and women who received instruction at his hands will cherish a pleasant remembrance of his kindly, genial manner and a certain sweet simplicity that dominated his hopeful, helpful and courageous personality. He left some sixty musical compositions, among them "The White Fawn," a tuneful light opera.

At a special election, May 2, a million dollar park bond issue carried by the narrow margin of eighteen votes. Members of the park commission were A. L. White, G. A. Sonnemann, F. E. Goodall, A. W. Jones, P. S. Byrne, D. H. Dwight, F. P. Hogan, N. S. Pratt, L. M. Davenport and W. J. C. Wakefield.

The South Central high school building burned the morning of June 21, throwing upon the district a loss of $250,000. When the schools reopened in the fall, the entire student body of the city was concentrated in the large modern North Central high school.

Approximately two hundred people perished in forest fires in August. The fire zone covered large parts of northern Idaho, eastern Washington and western Montana. Driven by high winds, the flames frequently traveled with incredible swiftness, and burning embers, whirled high by ascending columns of superheated air, were carried long distances to fire other sections of forest growth. The skies were palled by day and lurid by night, and gigantic smoke banks swept across the Rocky mountains and spread over the Dakota plains. Two thousand refugees came into Spokane, many of them having lost all their possessions and narrowly escaping with their lives. An army of several thousand fire fighters toiled desperately to check the flames, and in numerous cases detachments of these fighters were cut off by encircling flames and perished in the blackened woods. The exact loss of life can never be known, but approximately was covered by the following summary:

United States forestry employes (official) 104.

Settlers and loggers in the St. Joe valley (estimated) fifty.

On Big Fork, near Wallace, thirteen.

At the Bullion mine, western Montana, eight.

At Wallace, four.

At Newport, Wash., three.

At Mullan, Idaho, three.

Business men and property owners in Wallace suffered a property loss of one million dollars.

Progressive republicans won a brilliant victory at the direct primary election, September 13. Chief interest centered in the senatorial contest between Miles Poindexter of Spokane, progressive, and an opposition field comprising John L. Wilson and Judge Thomas Burke of Seattle and James Ashton of Tacoma. It became ap-

parent several weeks before the primaries that Poindexter was the strongest individual contestant, and after repeated efforts by the opposition to concentrate the reactionary forces, Mr. Wilson withdrew and advised his supporters to vote for Burke. Poindexter won a victory whose proportions surprised even his most ardent supporters. At home he was given eighty per cent of the republican vote of Spokane county. He defeated Burke in King county by 5,000 plurality, and led Ashton in Tacoma and Pierce county. In the state he had a plurality of 30,000. The result was so staggering that all talk of legislative disregard of the popular verdict was silenced, and when the legislature convened in January it promptly ratified the vote at the primaries.

In the Third congressional district W. L. LaFollette of Pullman, also progressive, defeated Seabury Merritt, C. H. Braden, S. A. Mann and E. A. Veatch.

At the election in November the state went republican by a normal majority and elected a legislature overwhelmingly republican and pledged to vote for Poindexter for senator. The equal suffragists won a brilliant victory in the adoption, by a large majority, of a constitutional amendment granting the ballot to women. LaFollette was elected to congress by a vote of more than two to one over his democratic opponent, H. D. Merritt. In Spokane county the republicans elected a solid legislative delegation, and their county ticket with the exception of sheriff, prosecuting attorney, clerk and one commissioner. The results in the county:

Superior judge—J. Stanley Webster.

State senators—Harry Rosenhaupt and George W. Shaefer.

Representatives—R. E. Buchanan, W. E. Stephens, George L. Denman, Dalbert E. Twitchell, Clyde Miller, A. M. Stevens, Lloyd E. Gandy, Guy B. Groff, E. H. Eshelman and H. H. Phipps.

Sheriff—George E. Stone.

Clerk—Glenn B. Derbyshire.

Auditor—Robert W. Butler.

Treasurer—Zach. Stewart.

Prosecuting attorney—John L. Wiley.

Assessor—Glen B. Creighton.

Superintendent of schools—F. V. Yeager.

Engineer—C. L. Graves.

Coroner—H. E. Schlegle.

Commissioners—Allen R. Scott (Rep.), Warner Cobb (Dem.). The death of Mr. Cobb in 1911 created a vacancy that was filled by the appointment of H. W. Collins.

Spokane had this year the distinction of entertaining the International Dry Farming Congress, which assembled in the Armory October 3. Funds for this convention, as also for the National Irrigation congress in 1909, were raised by the Greater Spokane committee working under the direction of the chamber of commerce. A local board of control, D. T. Ham, chairman, planned a most successful program of entertainment. At the opening telegrams were read from President Taft and ex-President Roosevelt. Governor M. E. Hay, Mayor N. S. Pratt and President C. M. Fassett of the chamber of commerce welcomed the visitors. Foreign delegates were in attendance from Chile, Hungary, Mexico, Great Britain, Canada, Brazil, Germany, Russia, France and Australia.

The federal census, taken in June, gave Spokane 104,402 population, in comparison with 36,848 in 1900, and 19,922 in 1890.

Constructively 1910 was a quiet year. In June the Pacific Telephone & Telegraph company bought ground at the corner of Second avenue and Stevens street, and began the erection of eight stories of what ultimately will become a twelve story, steel frame, modern office building for the company's requirements.

December 1 the Washington Water Power company opened its new transmission line between Spokane and the power station at Little Falls, twenty-eight miles down the Spokane river. The line is carried by 197 steel towers, from 60 to 70 feet high and set about 750 feet apart, and is capable of transmitting 40,000 horse power of current. Late in 1910 the company started preliminary work on a vast power plant twenty-three miles west of Spokane and five miles east of its Little Falls plant. President D. L. Huntington stated that the new plant would develop 70,000 horse power, twice the capacity of the Little Falls station.

The new American theater, Post street and Front avenue, was opened Christmas day by the Del S. Lawrence stock company.

CHAPTER LXVIII

COMMISSION FORM OF GOVERNMENT ADOPTED

PEOPLE GROW WEARY OF FUTILE ATTEMPTS TO PATCH UP THE OLD CHARTER—STUDY THE COMMISSION PLAN—MAYOR PRATT NAMES A COMMITTEE TO FRAME NEW CHARTER—CITIZENS DEMAND AN ELECTION—COUNCIL TRIES DILATORY TACTICS, BUT YIELDS UNDER PRESSURE—FIFTEEN FREEHOLDERS CHOSEN—CITIZENS VOTE FOR ITS PLAN OF COMMISSION GOVERNMENT—THE OPPOSITION TICKET—NEW CHARTER IS ADOPTED—FIVE COMMISSIONERS ELECTED FROM A FIELD OF NINETY-THREE CANDIDATES—NEW GOVERNMENT INSTALLED.

TWENTY years' trial of their old city charter, with repeated attempt to bolster up its general scheme by amendment and revision, drove into the voters' minds a conviction that it was unsuited to a growing city's needs. In general outline it was modeled after the national government, with an involved system of checks and balances, leading to interminable clashing of authority between mayor and council, council and commissioners, and commissioners, mayor and the various departments. The people found it difficult, and at times impossible, to fix responsibility, and finally gave up the effort and turned their attention to a study of the new and rapidly rising commission form of government. Gordon C. Corbaley, Adolph Munter and Mayor N. S. Pratt were pioneers in this field of investigation.

In November, 1909, Mayor Pratt appointed, as a citizens' committee to frame a proposed charter for a commission form of government, Dr. E. D. Olmsted, chairman, J. M. Geraghty, Gordon C. Corbaley, J. Grier Long, H. D. Merritt, John E. Blair, B. R. Ostrander, W. W. Tolman, Fred. E. Baldwin, D. C. Coates, Thomas H. Brewer, N. J. Laumer, F. P. Greene, Frank H. Walker, F. T. Post, Jacob Schiller and Zach Stewart. The committee met and delegated the drafting of a preliminary instrument to Messrs Corbaley, Schiller, Post, Stewart and Long. The work of this committee was chiefly of an educational nature, and it rendered valuable service.

Early in the summer of 1910 petitions were circulated and extensively signed, requiring the council to call an election of fifteen freeholders to draft a new charter. At the council meeting June 28, a report by the city clerk showed that these petitions contained 5,103 names, of which 2,302 had registered in 1909; that 94 were duplicates; that three of the petitioners resided outside the city; and that 3,600 names were 25 per cent of the total vote cast at the last city election and were necessary to call a special election.

Councilman R. Dalke moved that as the city had set aside no money for a special election, and the petition, in the opinion of the council fell short of the necessary number of signers, no election be held, but that the matter be submitted to the voters at the regular election in the spring of 1911. The motion carried, Nelson, Funk and Cartwright voting no.

This action aroused a spirit of indignation, and the charter revision forces, led by Adolph Munter, pointed out that the council's attitude was contrary to state law, as the supreme court had held that registration was not a test of qualification, but that residence in the state of one year and in the precinct thirty days made a citizen a qualified voter. Notice was served upon the council that if it continued to disregard the will of the people, 2,000 or more voters would be called into court on mandamus proceedings, to testify, at an expense to the city of $2.50 each, that they were qualified voters. The council yielded.

As their ticket of fifteen, the original commission forces advanced John E. Blair, Thomas H. Brewer, W. A. Clift, D. C. Coates, Gordon C. Corbaley, Samuel Evans, C. M. Fassett, H. A. Jarvis, G. Grier Long, O. B. Nelson, E. D. Olmsted, B. R. Ostrander, H. M. Stephens, Zack. Stewart and Frank H. Walker.

In the judgment of many conservative citizens, who represented extensive property interests, a number of the foregoing nominees, who were styled "the Munter ticket," were inclined towards a spirit of radical innovation. Accordingly they put forward an opposition ticket of twenty-one, fifteen to be elected. On this ticket of twenty-one were S. A. Anderson, Dr. T. L. Catterson, C. F. Clough, J. M. Comstock, F. R. Culbertson, A. W. Doland, Frank J. Dorsey, E. P. Galbraith, James M. Geraghty, Will G. Graves, W. C. Gray, F. B. Grinnell, A. E. House, R. A. Hutchinson, N. J. Laumer, Gus Meese, Fred. Phair, D. Ryrie, W. J. Sullivan, E. J. Tamblin and W. J. C. Wakefield.

The so-called Munter ticket, vigorously supported by the Spokesman-Review, was elected. Jarvis, who received the lowest vote on this ticket, polled 4,071 as against 3,755 for J. M. Comstock, the highest candidate on the opposition ticket.

Of the fifteen charter commissioners thus elected, nine had served on the original commission appointed by Mayor Pratt namely Blair, Brewer, Coates, Corbaley, Long, Olmsted, Ostrander, Stewart and Walker. Blair was a lawyer, and had served as assistant corporation counsel; Brewer was vice-president of the Exchange National bank; Clift was business agent of the Federal labor union; D. C. Coates was a printer and one of the publishers of the Labor Journal; Corbaley was in the real-estate business; Evans was a member of the carpenters' union; Fassett was president of the chamber of commerce; Jarvis president of the central trades and labor council; Long vice-president of the Washington Trust company; Nelson was a merchant; Olmsted a physician and former mayor; Ostrander a business man and former councilman; Stephens an attorney; Zach. Stewart county treasurer and F. H. Walker a printer and leader in the ranks of organized labor.

The commission promptly entered on its arduous labors. Its meetings, held at the public library, were open to the public, and the proceedings were fully reported in the press. It submitted the proposed charter to the city council November 11, and that body accepted it and set December 27 as the date for its submission to the voters. The new charter was adopted by a vote of 6,350 to 4,113. Excepting

ROBERT FAIRLEY

C. M. FASSETT

W. J. HINDLEY

Z. E. HAYDEN

D. C. COATES

SPOKANE'S FIRST COMMISSION

the Second, which returned an adverse majority of forty-four, all the wards gave it approval by majorities ranging from 164 to 736.

Under the charter thus adopted, "all power of the city, unless otherwise provided, shall be exercised by, through and under the direction of five commissioners, who shall constitute the council and one of whom shall be the mayor. The commissioners and council shall be subject to the control and direction of the people at all times, by the initiative, referendum and recall provided for in the charter."

The five commissioners are the only elective officers in the city government, all others holding office through appointment by the commissioners, whose terms are fixed at four years. General municipal elections are to be held every two years, "and at each alternative election two or three commissioners, respectively, shall be elected." Of the five chosen at the first election, the three who received the highest votes are to hold office until the second secular day of January, 1916, and the other two until the second secular day of January, 1914. The salary of the commissioners was fixed at $5,000 per annum.

In voting for commissioners the elector is given an opportunity to express first, second and third choice. He is required to vote first choice for as many places as are to be filled. He may (but it is not obligatory) vote second choice for as many places as are to be filled, no more, no less. He may (but it is not obligatory) vote third choice for all other candidates whom he may wish to support.

At the election March 7 ninety-three candidates had qualified in the contest for the election of five commissioners. The voter, therefore, was required to vote for five for his first choice. If he passed then to a second choice, it was obligatory that he vote for five. He then had the privilege of voting third choice for one or more of the remaining names on the ballot.

Robert Fairley, W. J. Hindley, C. M. Fassett, D. C. Coates and Z. E. Hayden were elected—Fairley, Fassett and Hindley winning the five-year terms. Appended is the detailed vote of those candidates who received 4,000 votes or more:

	1st Choice	2d Choice	3d Choice	Total
Robert Fairley	12,779	1,692	547	15,018
W. J. Hindley	7,513	1,755	628	9,896
C. M. Fassett	6,284	1,815	459	8,558
D. C. Coates	6,272	861	392	7,525
Z. E. Hayden	4,260	2,400	734	7,394
M. J. Luby	4,304	2,170	825	7,299
S. A. Anderson	4,661	1,734	617	7,012
J. Grier Long	3,891	2,099	703	6,693
N. W. Durham	4,604	1,552	494	6,650
W. J. Doust	2,752	2,544	1,169	6,465
Leonard Funk	4,007	1,523	564	6,094
F. M. Goodwin	3,243	1,753	722	5,718
N. S. Pratt	3,365	1,587	651	5,603
B. R. Ostrander	1,919	1,913	873	4,705
C. G. Hubbard	2,264	1,234	871	4,369

W. A. Clift 2,758, Hal. J. Cole 3,768, Thomas D. Gamble 3,157, John Gifford 3,362, J. M. Grimmer 2,663, R. A. Hutchinson 2,789, Henry L. Lilienthal 3,071, J.

T. Omo 3,406, J. Oscar Peterson 2,999, Milton N. Rogers 2,626, James J. Turrish 2,912, Otto A. Weile 2,867, E. M. Woydt 3,426, J. C. Argall 2,568.

The new government organized and took possession Tuesday, March 14, 1911, with the following adjustment of departmental duties:

Mayor and commissioner of public affairs, W. J. Hindley.

Vice-president of the council and commissioner of finance, Robert Fairley.

Commissioner of public safety, Z. E. Hayden.

Commissioner of public utilities, C. M. Fassett.

Commissioner of public works, D. C. Coates.

CHAPTER LXIX

WHICH BRINGS THIS HISTORY UP TO DATE

FORMER POLICE CHIEF JOHN T. SULLIVAN ASSASSINATED—CITY ENTERTAINS ROOSEVELT AND TAFT—$77,431 SUBSCRIBED FOR GREATER SPOKANE PLANS AND PROJECTS—SUBSTANTIAL INCREASE OF POPULATION—MANUFACTURE OF PAPER STARTS ON LARGE SCALE—NEW MONROE STREET BRIDGE OPENED—SPOKANE CLUB OCCUPIES ITS NEW HOME—REMARKABLE GROWTH OF INLAND CLUB—"DOC" BROWN ENDS HIS LIFE—GIPSY SMITH CONDUCTS LARGE REVIVAL.

ASSASSINATION of former Chief of Police John T. Sullivan, evening of January 5, 1911; the presence of Ex-President Roosevelt and President Taft; the raising of a large fund for the fourth national apple show and merchants' carnival; and the formal opening of the new bridge at Monroe street, were prominent events of 1911.

As Mr. Sullivan, then captain of police, was seated by his fireside, an unknown enemy fired upon him through an uncurtained window. The wound was mortal; the brave veteran of the police force lingered two days in a courageous and cheerful fight for life, and passed beyond after nearly twenty years of faithful and respected service on the force. Deep indignation for the crime and profound sympathy for Captain Sullivan were felt by the people of Spokane and surrounding country, and found quick expression in a fund of more than $10,000 collected by the chamber of commerce for the family of the murdered officer. The assassin escaped and baffled a determined effort to ferret out his crime.

Mr. Roosevelt's visit was the most extended ever made in Spokane by a president or ex-president of the United States. He entered the city by the Northern Pacific from the west, on a Friday evening in April, and remained until Sunday afternoon. A throng of several thousand admirers had gathered at the depot, and the former president, accompanied by Senator Poindexter and Governor Hay, was met by a reception committee headed by R. L. Rutter, and taken to specially prepared apartments at Davenport's. An extended program had been arranged for Saturday. It included a drive to Fort Wright and review of the troops; a sightseeing trip in automobiles; address before the teachers convention at the First Methodist church; chamber of commerce luncheon and reception at the hall of the Doges; parade through the business district; an address from the veranda of Masonic temple at Riverside and Madison; and a notable meeting at night in the armory, under direction of the Progressive Republican League of Spokane county.

President E. T. Coman of the chamber of commerce presided at the luncheon.

"No occupant of the executive chair since Jefferson," said Mr. Coman, "has had such keen comprehension of the possibilities of the west as the guest of today." After additional greetings had been spoken by Mayor Hindley, Mr. Roosevelt delivered an address.

The night meeting at the armory brought out the largest audience ever assembled within walls in Spokane to greet a political speaker. Thousands were unable to gain admission to the crowded auditorium. Sunday morning Mr. Roosevelt attended church at All Saints Episcopal cathedral, was a guest at luncheon at the residence of W. H. Cowles, and left in the afternoon for Moscow over the Inland electric line.

President Taft's visit, the night of October 7, was of a flying nature, as his itinerary allowed but two hours in Spokane. The chief executive of the nation was greeted at the Northern Pacific depot by a waiting crowd of several thousand and a reception committee under direction of R. Lewis Rutter, and taken directly for a parade on Sprague and Riverside avenues, and after that to the Interstate fair grounds, where the president spoke before a waiting audience of 12,000. The throngs along the line of parade were closely estimated at 25,000.

Nineteen hundred and eleven passes into history as a year of commercial and industrial dullness, as compared with more stirring years before it; but the apple show banquet, evening of August 18, when $18,000 was subscribed around the banquet tables as a starter for a greater fund of $40,000 to finance the fourth show and an accompanying carnival, gave abundant proof that the Spokane spirit was never more alive. The dinner was given by a committee comprising D. W. Twohy, H. M. Richards, D. C. Corbin, J. M. Comstock, W. J. Hindley, John A. Finch, R. E. Strahorn, H. M. Stephens, E. T. Coman, J. Grier Long, H. J. Neely and W. H. Cowles. A large part of the enthusiasm and success of the evening was attributed to G. B. Dennis. "I'm already down for $100, but I'll tell you what I'll do," said Mr. Dennis in way of challenge. "If there are nine men here who will give $100 each, I'll add another hundred to my subscription, and when that $1000 is raised I have another proposition to make to you." Mr. Dennis repeated this challenge till he was down for $500. R. L. Rutter was elected executive chairman of the citizens committee which completed the work of raising nearly $40,000.

At the largest annual banquet ever held by the Greater Spokane committee, evening of March 27, the fund for publicity and factories was launched with voluntary subscriptions of $20,542.

A total of $77,431 was subscribed by 1,489 contributors to the two large funds raised this year; 901 contributors subscribed $39,500 to the apple show and carnival, and 588 donated $37,931 to the Greater Spokane publicity and chamber of commerce fund.

The Interstate fair had a week of ideal weather, and the exposition was praised as the best in the history of the city. Paid admissions aggregated 116,980, as compared with 110,198 in 1910.

Publication in February, 1911, of the new city directory brought proof of fine growth in 1910. The number of directory names increased within the year from 55,150 to 61,143. Based on the ratio of directory names in 1910 to the United States census returns, this indicated, on the same calculation, a population at the beginning of 1911 of 114,654. The increase in directory names, from 20,010 in

RIVERSIDE AVENUE, LOOKING EAST FROM HOWARD STREET

1901 to 61,143 in 1911, revealed a growth of more than 200 per cent in the preceding decade.

Postal receipts for the fiscal year ended Sept. 30, 1911, were $481,923. The city's growth since 1896, the year that signalized the return of prosperity after the panic of '93, is impressively reflected in the postal receipts of the intervening years:

1897	$ 64,761	1904	174,321
1898	75,023	1905	202,201
1899	90,230	1906	250,234
1900	93,337	1907	318,662
1901	104,082	1908	356,714
1902	125,101	1909	426,640
1903	151,849	1910	469,531

A memorable event of 1911 was the formal opening of the new Monroe street concrete bridge, November 23, with the largest monolithic arch in the United States —one solid piece of concrete, 281 feet long, 136 feet high and 71 feet wide. The Rocky river bridge at Cleveland falls short of this great span by a single foot. The three arches of the Monroe street structure present a combined length of 784 feet, and a wooden approach at the south end brings the total length to 965 feet. In round numbers the bridge cost $475,000, and its construction extended over a period of two years. In its building two lives were lost, two other workmen were seriously injured, and nearly 50 workmen received minor injuries. The bridge was designed by J. C. Ralston, then city engineer, and was built under his direction and that of City Engineer Morton Macartney, his successor.

Constructively 1910 and 1911 had much to offer. In October and November the chamber of commerce conducted an interesting and revealing series of "seeing Spokane" excursions, designed to give its members a closer knowledge of their home town. The excursion of November 10 took 85 business men to the newly completed plant of the Inland Empire Paper company at Millwood, three miles east. Wilbur S. Yearsley and Don Ryrie, officers of the company, conducted the party. At that time the company had invested $350,000, and had planned an ultimate investment of $680,000. It had a daily output December 1 of twenty-two tons, and contemplates a daily output in 1912 of 57 tons. The factory then employed 96 people, with a monthly payroll of $8,000. When completed, employment will be provided for 225 people, with a $20,000 monthly payroll. To D. T. Ham large credit is given for the bringing of this new industry to Spokane.

Among the large buildings completed this year was the new Spokane club, finished for occupancy in August at a cost of nearly $300,000, with four floors and a roof garden above ground, and three basements of the size of the first floor.

Another notable structure was the home of the Inland Commercial club and Eilers music house, erected at Post and Sprague at a cost of $125,000. A significant indication of the Spokane spirit was evident in the remarkable success of the Inland club, which attained a resident membership of 700 before the close of the year, with 149 non-resident and 117 commercial traveler memberships. J. P. McGoldrick is president and E. A. von Hasslocher secretary, and the governing board is composed of Thomas S. Griffith, Joseph A. Borden, F. M. March, R. E. Strahorn, F. R.

Culbertson, A. Starke Oliver, J. F. Meagher, J. C. White, P. D. Tull, A. C. Ware, Seabury Merritt, H. C. Munson, Dr. A. E. Stuht, Don Ryrie, E. L. Ensign, Gordon C. Corbaley, Charles Hebberd, Bob Mabry and E. A. Moye.

Another impressive addition to the city's architecture was the Knickerbocker apartment house, Fifth and Howard, built by G. B. Dennis at an expenditure of $200,000.

The suicide at Oakland, California, April 18, of H. G. Brown, more widely known as "Doc" Brown, removed a remarkable pioneer personality. Brown came to Spokane in 1887 or 1888, and opened the old Arlington gambling house, at the northwest corner of Main and Howard. After the fire he reopened under canvas on Riverside avenue, near the big gambling tent of "Dutch Jake" and Harry Baer. The following year he established the historic Owl gambling house and restaurant, at Main and Howard streets, with Charles White and C. D. Bibbins, present owners of the Fernwell and Mohawk blocks as partners.

After the enactment of the law making gambling a felony in this state, Brown moved to Portland, and thence to Panama, in a hope that the building of the canal, with its attendant army of wage-earners, would afford him an opportunity to recoup his losses. Disappointed in this expectation, he drifted back to Spokane; but the old days had vanished, and with them the oldtime conditions that were nevermore to return. Open gambling had become history, and little or nothing remained that could be conducted profitably under cover. Discouraged, Brown went to San Francisco, grew despondent over his long continued losses, and ended his checkered career with a revolver. The tragic news shocked and grieved many an oldtimer who had known "Doc" Brown in his prosperous days. A more generous soul it would be hard to find in a day's journey. His gifts to charity, to public enterprises, and to individuals in distress had long been proverbial. In the years of his affluence few were the subscription papers circulated in Spokane without his signature. To his reputation for liberality he added a quiet, gentlemanly demeanor, a mild voice and an almost diffident bearing. You always felt that in some manner "Doc" Brown must have been a victim of untoward circumstances, else he could hardly have drifted into the life of a professional gambler. "The whitest man that ever engaged in a bad business" was the verdict of that portion of the public who had known him personally in happier days.

Two developments of unusual interest in church circles this year were the Gipsy Smith meetings and the Men and Religion Forward movement. In a large tented tabernacle at Front and Division, the famous English evangelist directed his powerfully persuasive appeal nightly for two weeks in October. Nearly 700 conversion cards were signed, some of them by church members as a pledge to consecrate themselves anew to the Christian life.

Spokane was among the 90 American cities selected for the great laymen's movement, and a local committee of 100 was organized here with W. S. Gilbert as chairman.

CHAPTER LXX

PIONEER CHURCHES OF SPOKANE

CONGREGATIONALISTS AND METHODISTS EARLY IN THE FIELD—FIRST SERMON TO A WHITE CONGREGATION PREACHED BY REV. S. G. HAVERMALE—FIRST ORGAN FROM WILLAMETTE VALLEY—FIRST M. E. CHURCH—PIONEER BAPTIST LABORS—MISSION WORK BY THE EPISCOPALIANS—REV. T. G. WATSON ORGANIZES FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH—CENTRAL CHRISTIAN CHURCH—UNIVERSALISTS AND UNITARIANS—EARLY DAY EASTER SERVICES—CHRISTIAN HOME IN COLVILLE VALLEY IN 1854.

Dim as the borrowed beams of moon and stars,
To lonely, weary, wandering travelers,
Is Reason to the soul; and as on high
Those rolling fires discover but the sky,
Not light us here, so Reason's glimmering ray
Was lent, not to assure our doubtful way,
But guide us upward to a better day.
And as those nightly tapers disappear
When day's bright lord ascends our hemisphere,
So pale grows Reason at Religion's sight,—
So dies, and so dissolves in supernatural light.

—*Dryden.*

CREDIT for initial religious effort in Spokane (apart from Indian mission work) lies fairly divided between the Congregationalists and the Methodists. Congregationalism has the record of the first organized church, but Rev. S. G. Havermale, then presiding elder in the country north of Snake river, preached here the first sermon to a white congregation, November 14, 1875. Dr. P. A. Cool, former pastor of the First Methodist church, is authority that Mr. Havermale, in May, 1875, in company with G. W. Grannis, made his first visit to the site of Spokane, finding here Mr. and Mrs. J. N. Glover, H. T. Cowley and family, and Mr. and Mrs. Yeaton and child. He preached his first sermon in a little box house just west of the city hall site at Howard and Front. Mrs. Yeaton, who had brought an organ from her home in the Willamette valley, supplied music and led the singing.

Rev. T. G. Watson, pioneer Presbyterian minister, says that Mr. Havermale started a Sunday school in Glover's hall in 1876, and this being given up, a new one was started by Rev. H. W. Stratton in 1878. Mr. Watson was also of belief

that Mr. Havermale conducted here a Methodist Episcopal class about the time, possibly before, the Congregationalists founded their First church, May 22, 1879.

Rev. Rosine M. Edwards says this pioneer Congregational church was organized in the home of Rev. H. T. Cowley, Division and Sixth, by the Rev. G. H. Atkinson, D. D., superintendent of home missions in Oregon and Washington. Mr. Cowley was elected acting pastor, and R. G. Williamson deacon. Services were held for two years in the town schoolhouse, near the corner of Railroad avenue and Post street. Rev. F. T. Clark, who arrived in the spring of 1881, was the first regular pastor, and December 20 that year a church building was dedicated on the corner of Sprague and Bernard. Rev. G. H. Atkinson and Father Cushing Eells took part in the dedicatory services.

After two years, the Rev. Mr. Clarke resigned the pastorate and during the two succeeding years, the Rev. J. B. Renshaw served the church, resigning in November, 1885. In the spring of the following year, the Rev. Jonathan Edwards became pastor. In September, 1889, this church with its site was sold, and a location secured at Fourth and Washington, where the Granite church now stands.

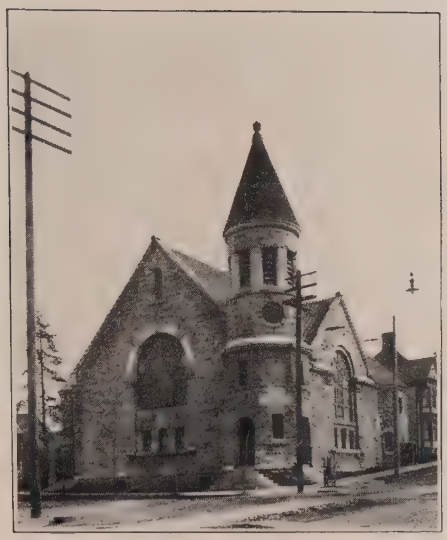
Soon after organization of the First Congregational church, in 1879, the Rev. J. H. Leard organized the first Methodist society, still known as the First Methodist Episcopal church of Spokane. The charter members were the Rev. and Mrs. S. G. Havermale, the Rev. and Mrs. J. H. Leard, Mr. and Mrs. A. E. Ellis and the Misses Ollie and Ida Ellis. Mr. Ellis was class leader.

The second pastor, says Dr. Cool, was Rev. M. S. Anderson, who was appointed August 15, 1880. The list of preaching places outside of Spokane included Cheney, Crescent, Egypt (twelve miles north of what is now Davenport), Mondovi, Saltese lake and Moran prairie. "The roads were long, the field was wide, and the workers few. A lot was secured on the corner of Sprague and Washington, and the first church building erected." This property was sold in 1887, and a lot on the corner of Sprague and Bernard purchased, where a large brick church was completed and dedicated February 3, 1889. This church was sold for $35,000 after the fire, and a temporary tabernacle erected at Howard and Third.

The first Baptist work in Spokane county, according to the Rev. A. M. Allyn, was in the winter of 1879-80, when the Rev. S. E. Stearnes, of pioneer fame, both in Idaho and Washington, came from Colfax to Spangle, sought out the scattered Baptists there and began regular preaching. On the 13th of March, 1880, he organized the First Baptist church of Spangle. The second Baptist church in Spokane county was organized at Cheney, in May, 1881, by the Rev. D. W. C. Britt. It started with seven members.

First efforts towards a Baptist church in Spokane were made by Rev. D. J. Pierce and Rev. S. E. Stearnes, "who selected and purchased a lot for the future Baptist church, and is said to have paid for it out of his scanty salary of $300." The Rev. Mr. Britt organized this church with seven members, December 8, 1881. Soon thereafter a house of worship, the first Baptist meeting house in the county, was erected at a cost of about $2,000.

The Rev. R. D. Nevius conducted the first Protestant Episcopal services in Spokane, "about 1880," according to one authority—in 1881, according to a brief historical review by the Rev. T. G. Watson. Jonathan Edwards' History of Spokane County says a little church was built on the corner of Riverside and Lincoln,



Westminster Congregational

Central Christian

First Presbyterian

Swedish Evangelical Lutheran

All Saints' Episcopal

GROUP OF SPOKANE CHURCHES, 1912

and there a parish school for boys was conducted for a while. Later this little building was moved to the present site of the cathedral, and subsequently burned down. The Rev. Dr. H. Compton Burnett succeeded Dr. Nevius as missioner, and the Rev. Charles B. Crawford succeeded him and was the first rector of All Saints parish.

In 1889 the parish completed and furnished its church on the present site, at a cost of $8,000. A vested choir of twenty boys and men had been organized, and the first choral service was held on Christmas, when $1,000 was collected towards a pipe organ fund. All Saints had then 150 members, and a Sunday school of 160 with thirteen teachers and officers. St. Mary's hall, afterwards burned (now Brunot hall), had been completed and occupied at a cost of $8,500. St. Andrews Brotherhood had a flourishing athletic club.

The First Presbyterian church of Spokane was organized June 10, 1883, by Rev. T. G. Watson, at that time the only acting minister of his church north of Snake river in eastern Washington, and the care of that broad region, together with that of Idaho north of Farmington was laid upon him. E. H. Jamieson, J. S. Allison, James Gibson, A. M. Cannon and R. W. Forrest were the first trustees. At first the congregation worshiped in a hall in Cannon's block, at Riverside and Mill, but in the spring of 1884 services were held in the Van Dorn opera house, at Riverside and Post. In the fall of that year the congregation moved to Glover's hall, Howard and Front.

The first church was housed for some time in a brick structure on the present site of the Review building; but the congregation sold that church, and late in 1889 was holding service in Concordia hall, on Second avenue. Presbyterian leaders here and others had recently incorporated "the Spokane University," and with high hopes and ambitions were conducting a girls' seminary in rooms adjoining Concordia hall, with Miss Mary Edmiston and Miss Lillian Feazel as teachers. The university board of trustees comprised Rev. T. G. Watson, president; Dr. J. D. McLean, secretary, H. N. Belt, treasurer, and J. J. Browne, A. M. Cannon, W. H. Taylor, George H. Leonard, Rev. Donald Ross, Rev. T. M. Gunn, L. B. Cornell, J. W. Goss, C. S. Penfield, and N. F. Holman. The university scarce passed beyond the incorporation stage.

A church edifice was erected in 1890 at Second and Jefferson, and after several years of growth in that location, the church bought lots in the old Cannon homestead block, and erected there their present beautiful, spacious building.

The Centenary Presbyterian church was organized February 3, 1888, by the Rev. Mr. Watson and H. W. Stratton, who as a retired minister had come here several years before and homesteaded the land that later was laid out as Stratton's addition, north of the river. Centenary's first pastor was Philip M. Jamieson.

While the Christian church did not enter the city field until 1886, it was among the first to win a foothold in Spokane county. Elder C. J. Wright organized a congregation at Spangle, April 4, 1880, with a charter membership of 28. For a while services were held in the schoolhouse, and later in the Baptist church under a harmonious arrangement growing out of liberal contributions by members of the Christian church towards the building of that edifice. Afterwards the congregation built their own church, and held there the first services in 1892.

Elder Wright organized a church in Alpha schoolhouse, two miles from Latah,

in March, 1883, with 23 members, and when the town of Latah was founded, a church was erected there.

Evangelist A. W. Dean came from Colfax, Illinois, to Cheney in 1886, and held revival services and organized churches in Cheney, Medical Lake, Deep Creek, and Spokane. Central Christian church was organized April 1, 1886, with 21 members, among whom were Dr. J. M. Major, A. P. Wolverton, Mrs. S. J. Pynor, Mrs. Lizzie Wright, Major and Mrs. R. H. Wimpey, William Hix, and Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Brockman. For a time weekly services were held in the Congregational church, and then successively in a hall over the First National bank building, in Y. M. C. A. hall and W. C. T. U. hall. Rev. S. B. Letson, coming in January, 1888, was the first regular pastor. A lot was purchased in 1888 at Post and Third, and the first church building erected thereon. Later a site was acquired at Third and Stevens, and a more commodious building erected. Evangelist Dean died at Medical Lake in 1888, remembered, says Jonathan Edwards, "with great affection by all for whose salvation and happiness he had so faithfully labored and suffered."

Rev. W. A. Spalding arrived in Spokane in August, 1890, commissioned by the Home Missionary Board of the United Presbyterian church to organize a congregation here. In the Phoenix block, Second avenue and Jefferson street, November 7, the church was organized with the following charter members: John Anderson, Mrs. Maggie Anderson, W. H. McCoy, Mrs. Ella McCoy, Isaac McCracken, Mrs. Isabel McCracken, W. E. Reed, Mrs. Millie Reed, H. C. Blair, D. E. Blair, Miss Sarah E. Blair, Miss Agnes L. Thompson, W. C. McMillan, J. M. McMillan, Miss Emma Patton, Miss Mary A. Taggart, W. H. Shields, J. G. McCracken, John E. Reed, Mrs. Maggie Reed, Miss Lena McCoy, Thomas H. Brewer, Mrs. Margaret B. Spalding, Mrs. Sophia Cannon, Mrs. Matie Shields, J. F. Carnahan, Mrs. Tallie Carnahan. The congregation purchased a lot at Third and Adams, built a chapel in 1891, and in 1898 erected a permanent edifice.

The Spokane Universalist society was organized March 16, 1892, by the Rev. Q. H. Shinn, with a charter membership of ten. In January, 1893, a parish was organized with an enrollment of forty-five names, and August 27, same year, a church was organized by the Rev. A. C. Grier, with a membership of 28. For several years lay meetings were held in Oliver hall, until the summer of 1896, when the Rev. Asa M. Bradley, Pacific coast missionary, came from Oakland, California, and conducted services for eight months until called to another field.

The Methodist Episcopal church, South, organized in February, 1888, with 21 members. Rev. Reginald B. Swift of Tennessee was its first pastor.

At a meeting in the law office of George M. Forster, in the spring of 1887, the First Unitarian church of Spokane was organized by Mr. and Mrs. Forster, Mr. and Mrs. A. J. Ross, Mr. and Mrs. F. H. Graves, Mr. and Mrs. R. E. Clarke, Mr. and Mrs. A. L. Davis, Mr. and Mrs. H. W. Greenberg, Mrs. J. F. Sloane, Mr. and Mrs. C. W. Brundage, N. G. Willis, F. E. Curtis, E. R. Cushing, Mrs. Alex. Warner and D. W. Lockhart. The Rev. Edwin M. Wheelock was organizer and first pastor of the church, and under his guidance a strong society was organized, with a Sunday school and Ladies Aid society. Under his pastorate the building in which the congregation still worships was erected in 1888 at Sprague and Jefferson.

The first Christian Science meetings were held here in 1890, in the Granite building, and later in the Review building. The First Church of Christ was organ-

ized in 1896. Meetings were held for a while in the Jewish Temple, but with the rapid growth of the congregation a lot was acquired at Fourth avenue and Post and a spacious and beautiful church erected.

In the winter of 1887 Elder H. W. Decker, first missionary of the Seventh Day Adventists to preach in Spokane county, held meetings in a tent. The first regular meetings were held in the Presbyterian church building, where the Review building now stands, and the Rev. L. W. Scoles was the first pastor.

The African M. E. church was organized in 1890, in a house at 168 South Stevens street, by Rev. Augustus, sent here by the California conference. It started with ten members.

In January, 1885, Rev. J. Bowersox, presiding elder of the Oregon conference of the Evangelical Association, organized a class of eight members in Spokane, one at Rockford with seven members, and another at Wild Rose prairie with six members. In May, the same year, the Rev. H. Schuknecht came here with his family from Michigan, as missionary of Washington territory, and under his zealous care a number of churches were organized throughout this section. The churches have flourishing missionary societies, Young People's Alliances, women's societies and Sunday schools.

Salem church, of the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran denomination, was organized here June 25, 1888, by the Rev. P. Carlson, with nineteen members. In 1889 a theological student, S. G. Youngert, had charge of the work. A church building was erected at Broadway and Walnut. Rev. C. P. Rydholm was the first ordained pastor of the church.

German Lutherans held their first services here about 1888, with missionary preaching in the Congregational church. Rev. P. Groschupf was their pioneer pastor.

The Norwegian Lutherans began work in Spokane about 1887, and in 1890 erected their church at Washington and Sinto.

PIONEER EASTER SERVICES

According to a writer in the Spokesman-Review, April 16, 1911, the Episcopalians began to hold regular services in Spokane in 1880, in a rickety building near the present city hall site, probably the same in which the Rev. S. G. Havermale had formerly preached. A saloon occupied the ground floor. The Rev. R. D. Nevius was the pioneer pastor. Jacob Hoover was the first warden. Bishop L. H. Wells was then a missionary priest at Walla Walla, to which station he had come in 1871.

"The Rev. C. C. Burnett, the first resident rector of All Saints, came to Spokane in 1883, and his family followed shortly. Their best remembered Easter came in 1884. The church was a small frame structure, on the present site of the Empire State building, Riverside and Lincoln, and was surrounded by pine trees. A lean-to of five small rooms sheltered the rector's family of eight. The Rev. Mr. Burnett came originally from England, and moved to Spokane from a comfortable rectory in Iowa. Mrs. Burnett and her daughter, Miss May C. Burnett, still live here, and they have forgotten few particulars of that first Easter in their new home. May, with Margaret and Jean Gibson and Amy Sherlock, now Mrs. Will Newman, gath-

ered the buttercups and ferns with which they decorated the church. A parlor organ of indifferent quality, played by John Keogh, supplied the instrumental music. Mrs. John L. Wilson, wife of the former senator, was the soloist, and the choir included Mr. and Mrs. Eugene Fellowes, Miss Katherine Clark and Frank Hemmenway. In the congregation were Mr. and Mrs. Horace L. Cutter, Mr. and Mrs. F. Rockwood Moore, Mr. and Mrs. Jacob Hoover, Mr. and Mrs. C. H. Bryer, Mr. and Mrs. H. M. McCartney, Mr. and Mrs. Fred. Furth, Mr. and Mrs. J. M. Grimmer, Miss Victoria Fellowes, J. M. Kinnard, J. Kennedy Stout.

"There were five communicants at All Saints when the Rev. Mr. Burnett arrived. The bell now on the cathedral was secured in 1886, and rang out Easter greetings the day after it arrived.

"Mrs. W. W. Stillman of this city remembers an Easter Sunday, April 23, 1887, when they gathered twenty-three varieties of wild flowers for decoration of the Congregational church. The church stood where Bernard and Sprague now intersect. The Rev. H. T. Cowley, the Rev. Jonathan Edwards and the Rev. J. B. Renshaw were early pastors there. The latter occupied the pulpit at the Easter services which Mrs. Stillman recalls, and he also sang bass in the choir. Mrs. D. M. Thompson was the organist. Mrs. I. N. Peyton and Mrs. Alice Houghton were members of the choir.

"The first formal Catholic Easter ceremonies were held in a little carpenter shop on Main, near Bernard, in the early '80s. Father Diomedi, S. J., recalls that they observed the usual rites there, so far as they were able in a room capable of accommodating fifteen people on a pinch.

"Father J. Rebmann, S. J., first president of Gonzaga, had charge of the church of our Lady of Lourdes when the first Easter was held there. The church was built by Frank Johnson, on the lot adjoining the carpenter shop chapel, and it was an elaborate structure in its day. On Easter morning of 1886 Father Rebmann rowed across the river from the college, built the fire in the church and rang the bell. The principal decoration was a painting of the Virgin, her heart pierced with a sword, the work of Brother Carignano. He painted the picture on tin, and the tin was trimmed to conform to the figure. The bell used then is now serving Our Lady of Lourdes church. It was donated by a member named O'Connor, in memory of his mother. Among the worshipers at that service were Mrs. William Bell, mother of Mrs. D. W. Twohy; Miss Genevieve Bell, now Mrs. E. Cullen; Wm. O. Brien, F. P. Hogan and Peter Graham.

"Mrs. L. M. Flournoy had charge of the music at the Easter service the following year. The choir for that service consisted of twelve voices, and among the congregation were Mrs. Fred. Mason, Mrs. Charles Sweeny, Mrs. William Bell, the Misses Louise and Flora Haas, Mrs. Traverse, Mrs. Blanchard, Mrs. Schoen, Mrs. Harry Bell, Mr. Williams, Frank Bracht, Mrs. Sauer, Mrs. Peter Graham and Mr. and Mrs. M. M. Cowley."

BROWN FAMILY CAME IN 1854

In the records of the Congregational church at Chewelah appears this initial entry: "The first religious service in the (Colville) valley was in September, 1838, conducted by Rev. Cushing Eells, and the first protestant church was organized

Our Lady of Lourdes, Catholic

First Church of Christ, Scientist

Temple Emanuel, Jewish

Emmanuel German Lutheran

First Methodist Episcopal

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by him at Chewelah, September 14, 1879, with four members, viz: Mrs. Thomas Brown, Andrew Mowatt (her brother), Mr. and Mrs. George McCrea." On the fly leaf of the pulpit bible is written: "This bible is sent by Rev. Cushing Eells, to be used as a pulpit bible by the people of Colville valley when they have religious services. August 14, 1875."

Mrs. Thomas Brown was the first white woman, after the mission wives had left Walker's prairie, to find a home in the wilderness of the Spokane country. With her husband, Thomas Brown, and four small children—Mary, Margaret, Robina and John, the oldest but six years of age, they struggled into the Colville valley, December 10, 1854. They were seven months on the trail between Selkirk Settlement on the Red River of the North and Colville, and endured many hardships, privations and perils. At the Kootenai lakes they would have perished of starvation but for the providential aid of a countryman, a Scotch trader and trapper of the Hudson's Bay company. "When they arrived," says W. P. Winans, "it was winter, and they were almost destitute of everything but courage and perseverance. Mr. Brown, being a carpenter, soon had a shelter for them, and such comforts as his neighbors enjoyed. Mrs. Brown was the first white woman to make her home in all that vast region between the Cascade and Rocky mountains, north of the Columbia and Snake rivers. She was an inspiration of good works. Her courage in danger, her patience under adverse conditions, her Christian fortitude and perseverance in the struggle to bring up her family to Christian manhood and womanhood amid such unfavorable surroundings, are worthy of all commendation." She died at Chewelah July 20, 1900, in her 79th year, "full of years and good works."

CHAPTER LXXI

CATHOLIC INSTITUTIONS OF SPOKANE

FIRST PLACE OF WORSHIP A SHACK, 15x22—FIRST CHURCH OF OUR LADY OF LOURDES—FOUNDING OF THE CHURCH OF ST. JOSEPH—BEGINNING OF ST. ALOYSIUS—BIRTH AND GROWTH OF GONZAGA COLLEGE—ITS PROGRESS FROM FATHER REBMANN TO FATHER TAELMAN—FOUNDING OF SACRED HEART HOSPITAL IN 1886—EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE SISTERS OF THE HOLY NAMES—ST. JOSEPH'S ORPHANAGE—OTHER INSTITUTIONS.

FOR the following history of Catholic institutions in Spokane I am largely indebted to a historical review by the Very Rev. Leopold Van Gorp, S. J., former general superior of Indian missions, Gonzaga college; and to information obligingly supplied by the Rev. Louis J. Taelman, S. J., president of Gonzaga college, and Father George F. Weidel, S. J. Aid has also been found in the files of the Spokesman-Review.

Among the early settlers there were of course Catholics to be found, who, hearing that there was a priest among the Spokane Indians soon availed themselves of the opportunity to visit him. But St. Michael's (on Peone prairie) was quite out of the way, and yielding to the reiterated petition of the white Catholics, Father Cataldo, then superior of the Rocky mountain mission, in the fall of 1881 purchased the lot and small building, 15x22, on the corner of Main and Bernard streets. This building, which is still standing, was used temporarily for church purposes. At the Christmas mass in 1881 there were but twelve persons present. Rev. Aloysius Jacquet, who arrived in Spokane April 12, 1882, and said mass in this little chapel the following Sunday, had a congregation of fourteen persons, five of whom were protestants. This father, who resided at St. Michael's, was given charge of the outlying districts, and visited, besides Spokane, Cheney, Sprague, the Big Bend country, Forts Spokane and Sherman and the Coeur d'Alene district.

During the winter of 1881-82 a temporary building was erected just at about the present crossing of the Spokane & Northern and Union Pacific tracks, on property purchased from the Northern Pacific railroad company. This building served as residence for the fathers until Gonzaga college was completed in 1886. Besides attending to the little parish in town, the Fathers continued their work at St. Michael's mission, where Father Joset had a congregation of between 100 and 150 Indians.

On April 9, 1884, Father Ruellan arrived at St. Michael's mission, and, after spending Holy Week there, came into Spokane with Father Cataldo, who appointed

him resident priest for Spokane Falls. The want of a church able to accommodate the congregation was keenly felt, and to meet this want Father Ruellan opened a subscription list for a new brick church. But in December, 1884, he was appointed superior of the Colville mission, and went there on the 21st of December, but died a few days after arriving.

He was succeeded at Spokane Falls by Rev. Aloysius Jacquet, who at once exerted himself to gather the money necessary for the new church. This was no easy task, as the Catholics were few and just starting in life. However, they did what they could. The Father, moreover, found great generosity on the part of non-Catholics. At last the money required was gathered, and before long the church of Our Lady of Lourdes which stood on Main street between Washington and Bernard, was completed. On Sunday, July 4, 1886, the church was dedicated by the late Bishop Junger. A few days afterwards Father Jacquet was sent to DeSmet mission to replace Father Tosi, who was setting out for Alaska, and Father Rebmann, who was already in charge of Gonzaga college, assumed the charge of the church and parish.

On October 6, 1887, the Catholics of Spokane had the pleasure of paying their respects to Cardinal Gibbons. Hearing that he was to pass through the city, they sent a committee to meet him at Rathdrum, and when the train arrived at the Spokane depot, quite a crowd, not merely of Catholics but of other citizens as well, greeted the Cardinal, who was accompanied by Archbishop Gross, Bishop Bundel of Helena, and Dr. Chappel of Washington, D. C.

It was during the pastorship of Father Rebmann that the Sisters of Providence came to found the hospital, which has been such a blessing to Spokane.

In March, 1887, Father Jacquet was recalled to Spokane to raise money to put up the parochial school which stood next to the Main street church. Work was begun soon after, and the building was opened in 1888, with the Sisters of the Holy Names in charge.

The Catholic population had so much increased that even the church of Our Lady of Lourdes was not sufficient, so during the pastorship of Rev. Charles Mackin the church of St. Joseph, situated on Dean avenue, was built by the Jesuit Fathers and was dedicated by Bishop Junger, May 15, 1890. Father E. Kauten attended it, together with the Main street church, for about a year and a half, when its present pastor, Rev. J. DeKanter, took charge. In connection with St. Joseph's there is a flourishing parish school, in charge of the Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary.

In 1890 Rev. J. M. Cataldo, then superior of the Jesuits of the Rocky mountains, turned over both the church of Our Lady of Lourdes and that of St. Joseph's to the secular clergy. Rev. Emile Kauten was on May 1, 1890, assigned by the bishop as pastor of the church of Our Lady of Lourdes, where he long remained, endearing himself to his flock by his untiring zeal. His death occurred at Seattle, January 7, 1912.

On October 4, 1891 an event of great interest in the history of the Catholic church in the Northwest was celebrated at Gonzaga college, the golden jubilee of the founding of the Rocky mountain missions.

On November 16, 1891, another Catholic church, that of the Sacred Heart, situated on Fifth avenue, was dedicated by Rev. Father Joeren of Uniontown, who

was delegated by Bishop Junger to act in his stead as the Bishop lay sick at the time at the Sisters' hospital in this city. This church, which has since disappeared, was bought and removed to its present site by Rev. Barnabas Held, O. S. B., who had come to Spokane August 17, 1890, as an assistant to Father Kauten.

After turning over the two churches to the secular clergy, the Jesuits confined themselves to their new parish and college work and as quite a few Catholic families lived near the college the college chapel was opened to them as a place of worship. But the number of students as well as the number of Catholics on the North Side increasing, it was deemed necessary to build a church on the college grounds, especially as the Bishop had lately erected the new parish of St. Aloysius, with the college chapel as its church. Accordingly work was begun in the summer of 1892 by Rev. J. B. René, on a new church, and on November 20, 1892, it was dedicated by the late Bishop Aegidius Junger, D. D., and named St. Aloysius church. With the growth of the parish the congregation outgrew this church, and in its place arose the present spacious and beautiful St. Aloysius, one of the finest places of worship in the northwest.

When, in 1893 the Great Northern railroad established its yards at Hillyard, the Jesuit Fathers bought ground and erected thereon a small church at their own expense; and on its being completed it was blessed, as had been the other Catholic churches of Spokane, by Bishop Junger under the title of St. Patrick's church. It has since been replaced by a handsome brick structure at a cost of about $20,000. The church has now a resident pastor.

GONZAGA COLLEGE

As stated in the first part of this article, the Jesuit Fathers bought land from the Northern Pacific Railroad company, on the north side of the river, intending it for school purposes. But it was not until 1884 that work was begun on what was to be Gonzaga college, and it was not until 1886 that the building was completed. It was first opened to students in the fall of 1887 under the presidency of Rev. J. Rebmann. Its beginning was quite modest, only eighteen students appearing on its roll for the first scholastic year, and these were mostly small boys in the lower classes. The following year, however, the number of students was doubled, and the course of studies advanced from that time until the scholastic year of 1892-93, when the college had 100 students; its progress was steady, not only in increase of students, but in a continual raising of the standard of studies. In 1889 the Rev. Charles Mackin, S. J., succeeded Father Rebmann as president. On April 22, 1894, this college was incorporated and empowered to confer such degrees and literary honors as are usually conferred by similar institutions of learning, and on June 28 of this same year, the degree of Bachelor of Arts was conferred on two students who had completed the prescribed course. From that time on the success of Gonzaga college was assured.

It soon became apparent that a new building was necessary, and on July 29, 1897, ground was broken for the new Gonzaga college building, situated on the beautiful site overlooking the bay and facing Boone avenue, near the old college building, which it replaced.

In September, 1899, the new college opened, under the presidency of Rev. Geo.

de la Motte, S. J. Nearly 200 students were enrolled during this year, while for the following year 240 names appeared on the registry. The old college, though a brick structure, some 120 ft. by 160 ft., having been safely moved from its original site to a more convenient location near the new building, has been devoted exclusively to the Jesuit scholastics, to pursue here an advanced course of philosophy, mathematics and natural science.

Having been chosen as general superior of the Rocky Mountain Mission, Father de la Motte resigned the presidency to the Rev. Raphael J. Crimont, S. J., during whose administration the present addition, which doubled the capacity of Gonzaga, was begun. In May, 1904, Father Crimont was appointed to the responsible post of prefect-apostolic of Alaska and was succeeded as president of the college by Rev. Francis C. Dillon, who completed the main building and the gymnasium.

In 1905 the Rev. Herman J. Goller, S. J., took up the reins of government and guided the destinies of Gonzaga until he was appointed first provincial of the California province of the Society of Jesus in September, 1909.

During the administration of Father Goller many improvements were made at Gonzaga, the most important being the erection of the infirmary building, situated at the west end of the main building. Father Goller was succeeded in his office of rector by the incumbent, the Rev. Louis J. Taelman, S. J., whose aim and purpose is to make the college the leading educational institution of the great northwest.

The main building of buff brick and granite trimmings is five stories and has a frontage of 445 feet along Boone avenue, with a depth of 120 feet on Standard street. In the basement are located the dining halls, kitchen, music rooms and rooms for the heating plant. The first floor contains the office of the faculty and several large, well lighted class rooms. The second floor has two large study rooms and several class rooms. The students' chapel with a seating capacity of 700, occupies the greater part of the third floor, which also contains the lecture halls of the science departments and the college museum. The fourth floor is devoted entirely to dormitories.

The gymnasium fronts on Boone avenue and is 116 feet long by 67 feet wide. Ninety feet of the length is for the open floor space and 25 feet for the reading and billiard room at the north end. This gymnasium is, with its floor space of 6,000 square feet, one of the largest in the West and is fully equipped with all the modern apparatus, billiard rooms, swimming pool, shower baths, dressing rooms and lockers.

The infirmary is a separate building and is conveniently situated at the second part of the quadrangle. It is equipped with every modern convenience. There are three wards containing twenty beds, besides thirteen private rooms for such as are not ordinarily indisposed and who need special attention. A pharmacy and a doctor's office, bath rooms and toilet rooms are annexed. A lay brother with assistants, is in constant attendance and the college physician calls every day to visit the sick and advise those who desire consultation.

In 1889 Rev. Charles Mackin, S. J., then president of Gonzaga college, turned the little frame building on Main street, near the Catholic church, into a day school, St. Ignatius, under the direction of the college authorities. It was intended to prepare children residing in the city for the higher classes of the collegiate course.

EARLIEST CATHOLIC CHURCH IN SPOKANE

Congregation worshipped at first in the little box house on the right. Later the brick church on the left, Our Lady of Lourdes, was erected

FATHER LOUIS TAELMAN, S. J.

President of Gonzaga College

DEDICATION OF THE NEW CHURCH OF OUR LADY OF LOURDES

FATHER JOSET

Famous Jesuit Missionary in the Spokane Country

This school in 1889-90 had forty boys on the roll, and was taught by Mr. Thomas Purcell, later a priest in charge of Coeur d'Alene City and surrounding missions. It was conducted until 1892, when its teacher and most of the pupils entered Gonzaga college.

SACRED HEART HOSPITAL

One of the needs most keenly felt in the early days of Spokane was a place where the sick and maimed could find the care their condition required. To meet this pressing want, the Sisters of Providence were invited to come here and erect a hospital, and on August 30, 1886, Sister Joseph of the Sacred Heart and Sister Joseph of Chrimathea, left Vancouver, Washington, for Spokane, where a site was secured. The former supervised the work of constructing the hospital; the latter became its first superioress.

They put up for a while at the California hotel, while a rough shanty was being built as a temporary residence near the ground purchased for the hospital. This was a rude structure, and the Sisters had to cover themselves with oilcloth when retiring to rest in rainy weather. Contracts for the new hospital were given out and work commenced. The cornerstone of the new hospital was laid by the late Bishop Junger, assisted by the Catholic clergy of the town. While the building was going up two more Sisters came to Spokane, and shortly after two of the four then here visited the Coeur d'Alene miners to beg some alms for the completion of the work. The miners received the Sisters kindly, and gave them liberal alms. The first patient was admitted while the carpenters were still at work. He was a young man found sick and alone in a shed. The Sisters took him in and cared for him, but all they could do was to smooth the pillow of death, for he expired in four days.

On January 27, 1887, the Sisters took possession of the new building, and at once received seven patients. On the first Friday of February, 1887, mass was said for the first time in the chapel of the hospital. The good work had now begun in earnest, and at the end of the first year, as a summary of the year's work, the Sisters could point to 122 patients attended to in the hospital, and 1,040 visits to the poor and sick outside.

With the passing of the years Sacred Heart outgrew this building, and extensive ground was acquired at Eighth avenue and Browne street for a new and more spacious structure. An engraving of this majestic building appears on another page.

SISTERS OF THE HOLY NAMES

The arrival of the Sisters of the Holy Names in Spokane takes us back to the summer of 1888. At the pressing invitation of the Rev. James Rebmann, S. J., the School of Our Lady of Lourdes was erected on Main street. Five sisters from the provincial house of Portland, Oregon, assumed charge of the new school in September, 1888. On opening day three hundred children responded to the roll call. To meet the demands three teachers were added. This school was subsequently removed to its present location adjoining the new church of Our Lady of Lourdes.

The Very Rev. Joseph M. Cataldo, S. J., was in 1889, superior of the Jesuit missions of the Rocky mountans. The reverend father made a formal request to

the Sisters of the Holy Names to open a boarding school in Spokane and generously donated for the purpose a tract of five and two-tenths acres in Sinto's addition. The corner stone of the future academy was laid September 14, 1890. It was now only a question of time when the cherished wish of the Jesuit fathers would be realized. While Gonzaga would provide for the home life and education of the young men, the Academy of Holy Names would become a center of Christian training for young women.

On July 31, 1891, the large and commodious institution was dedicated by the Rev. J. B. René, president of Gonzaga college, and classes were opened August 31. It was evident that the new academy had been built for a greater Spokane and not for that of 1891. Its location on the north side of Spokane river was suburban, the car services were irregular, so the attendance was at first meager—but on beholding the success which had crowned the elder institution, Gonzaga college, the Sisters read their brighter days in the distant future.

Another decade ushered in an era of rapid development in Spokane. The Sisters were no longer at the extreme limits of the city; it had stretched far beyond them. In 1902, 235 students had been entered and of these eighty-one were resident students.

The building could not accommodate greater numbers. Matters so apparent found a speedy relief. The frontage of the original building is not to be recognized in the modern elevation. Two extensive wings were erected, one on either side of the central structure, the whole presenting an elegant design. What is true, literally of the beautiful lawns, and shaded campus, is no less true figuratively—"the wilderness has blossomed as the rose."

In perfect company with the material advancement of the academy, has been its progress along educational lines. Holy Names Academy was chartered in 1891 as one of a group of academies under the direction of the Sisters of Holy Names of Jesus and Mary in the states of Oregon and Washington. By this act it came into the ranks of the secondary school of the state. In 1908 it was placed among the State accredited high schools.

An amendment to the School Laws of the State, passed during the legislative session of 1907, empowered the faculty of Holy Names Academy to establish the advanced normal training course of two years as maintained in the state normal schools. The normal course was inaugurated in September, 1907, and in November the work was officially examined by three inspectors appointed for this purpose by the State Board of Education. On December 31, 1907, at a meeting of the State Board of Education held in Seattle, the normal department was formally accredited. A student on being graduated in this department receives a professional certificate entitling her to teach in the public schools for a period of five years. After twenty-seven months of successful teaching in Washington, Oregon, Idaho or Montana, the holder receives a life diploma.

From the foundation of the Normal department, the faculty saw the fitness and wisdom of having the department presided over by a local board, to which body all matters pertaining to the Normal school might be referred. Edward O'Shea, senior chairman of the board; James Monaghan, M. M. Cowley, Frank P. Hogan, E. J. Cannon, D. W. Twohy, James P. McGoldrick, Dr. P. S. Byrne, Judge P. F. Quinn and M. B. McGowan, constitute this board.

ST. JOSEPH'S ORPHANAGE

The invitation extended by Spokane to the Franciscan Sisters to come and found an orphanage in Spokane was cheerfully accepted, and Sister Barbara as superioress, and three other Sisters, all from Philadelphia, reached Spokane in September, 1890, to commence the noble work of protecting and instructing the orphaned and homeless. Rev. Joseph Cataldo donated land in Sinto addition near the Spokane river, and the united offerings of certain of our citizens had a simple frame building put up. The building was not quite finished when the Sisters arrived, but Mrs. James Monaghan cared for them till their own building was habitable. They opened this same month with only four children, but it was not long before the orphanage became known, and in 1891 the number of children had already run up to 70.

The orphanage had only been in existence a year when the first building put up was found wholly inadequate for the ever increasing number of children brought to these good Sisters to be cared for. Charitable friends aided the Sisters to have an addition made to their house, and this was finished in August, 1891, and no sooner finished than it was filled. But it was not until November 2, 1891, that the orphanage was formally blessed by the Rev. President of Gonzaga college.

Other Catholic institutions are the refuge of the Good Shepherd, for unfortunate girls; St. Ann's church in Union Park; St. Francis Xavier's church and school in Lidgerwood; St. Anthony's church in the Northwestern section of the city; and a new parish organizing in January, 1912, in the southeastern part of town, and including Sacred Heart hospital.

CHAPTER LXXII

SPOKANE'S JEWISH COMMUNITY

EARLY DAY HISTORY REVIEWED BY RABBI LEVINE—SIMON BERG ESTABLISHES A STORE IN 1879—OTHERS WHO FOLLOWED SOON AFTER—FIRST JEWESSES BY THE FALLS—FIRST BIRTH AND FIRST DEATH—FIRST DIVINE SERVICE—RABBIS WHO HAVE SERVED HERE—VARIOUS JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS.

OUR Jewish citizens have played well their part in building up Spokane and the Inland Empire. To Rabbi David Levine, Ph. D., the editor is indebted for the appended concise and interesting sketch:

About a score and five years ago the first beginnings of a Jewish community were discernable in Spokane. The early comers were attracted by the splendid possibilities of the little town growing up around about the falls of Spokane river.

The first Jew to take up his abode in this city was Simon Berg, who arrived in 1879 and established a general merchandise store on the corner of Howard and Main. Others who followed within the next half dozen years were Ben Scheeline, S. J. Holland, Albert Heller, Eugene Michael, Simon and Joseph Rosenhaupt, Isaac Baum, Jacob Barmon, Solomon and Simon Oppenheimer, Ben Loewenberg, Mose Oppenheimer, Simon Auerbach, and Emanuel Schwartz. Those who came between 1886 and August, 1889, when Spokane was reduced to ashes, were Joe and Sam Hanauer, Leopold and Sam Stern, Frank Wolf, Sol Mayer, A. B. Goldstein, I. Bramson, A. W. Siegel, Ben Solomon, Joseph R. Grinsfelder, Nathan Toklas, D. Holzman, J. A. Schiller and Sam Bayless. Of those who came shortly after the great fire were Louis Reubens, Samuel Katz, Arthur Benjamin, A. W. Voorsanger, H. L. Jackson, Reuben Weil, Hugo Fisher, A. F. Levy, Herman Hanauer, the Galland brothers (Adolph, Julius and Sam), and A. Friedlein.

The first Jewesses to arrive in Spokane were Miss Tillie Oppenheimer (now Mrs. Isaac Baum) and her sister, Mrs. Ben Scheeline, who came in the fall of 1883 and saw the town leap from a population of 1,500 to 5,000 in six months.

Their brother, Simon Oppenheimer, was most prominently identified with the development of the city. By attracting Dutch capital to Spokane Simon Oppenheimer was incidentally responsible for the establishment of the Holland Bank. He was one of the incorporators of the Traders National Bank.

The first Jewish child born in Spokane was May Rosenhaupt (Mrs. J. Howells) —February 5, 1888.

The first death in the little Jewish community occurred in 1886 when Amy Scheeline, a child 9 years old, died of scarlet fever. Owing to the nature of the

disease the authorities would not permit the body to be shipped to another town for burial in a Jewish cemetery. The family was therefore obliged to inter the remains in the general cemetery then located at what is now Maple street and Eleventh avenue. The body now lies in the Jewish section of the Fairmont cemetery.

The very first Jewish divine service in this city was held in 1885 in the home of S. Auerbach, who acted as precentor. A meeting for the purpose of organizing a congregation was held at Concordia Hall September 28, 1890. J. W. Toklas acted as chairman and Hugo Fisher as secretary. Committees were appointed to draft a constitution and to secure additional members. At a subsequent meeting, held October 5, 1890, a temporary constitution and by-laws were adopted and the organization of Congregation Emanuel formally effected. The following officers were elected: J. W. Toklas, president; Ben Solomon, vice-president; A. W. Voorsanger, treasurer; Arthur Benjamin, secretary; and J. Kellner, Albert Heller and N. Phillips, trustees. On December 28, 1890, the committee on constitution and by-laws reported that they recommended the adoption of the complete constitution and by-laws of Temple Emanuel of New York City. This document was read, discussed and rejected as the congregation felt that it did not cover their special needs. Accordingly the temporary constitution and by-laws were, with slight alterations, permanently adopted.

In August, 1891, a call was extended to the Rev. Dr. Emanuel Schreiber to serve for one year. The congregation was incorporated September 16, 1891. On September 14, 1892, a newly erected synagogue was dedicated with appropriate ceremony. In October, 1892, the religious school was organized by Arthur Benjamin and Miss Hannah Munter, who acted as the principal teachers for a number of years.

The following have been presidents of the boards of trustees: J. W. Toklas (October, '90—October '91); Louis Reubens (October, '91—October, '93); Sam Bayless (October, '93—October, '94); H. L. Jackson (October, '94—January, '95); Sam Bayless (January, '95—September, '96); Leopold Stern (September, '96—September, '98); Louis Reubens (September, '98—September, 1911); Sam Galland (September, 1911—). Of the vice-presidents, Aaron Kuhn holds the record for the longest period in office (1903-1910).

The following have served as ministers of the congregation: Dr. Emanuel Schreiber (September, '91—August, '92); Dr. Rudolf Farber (November, '95—September, '97); Rabbi Jacob Bloch (September, '92—June, '94); Dr. David Levine (September, 1904—).

The present officers of the congregation are: honorable president, Louis Reubens; president, Sam Galland; vice-president, Harry Holland; treasurer, A. Friedlein; honorary secretary, A. Feuchtwanger. Other members of the board of trustees are Eugene Michael, L. Dellar, Sam Ofner, S. R. Stern, P. Saffron. The Women's Auxiliary Society of the Congregation is presided over by Mrs. S. Sternberg.

The Orthodox element of Spokane Jewry is represented by Congregation Keneseth Israel, organized in 1902. During the first seven years of their existence they worshiped in Odd Fellows hall. In 1909 the congregation erected a synagogue at a cost of $35,000. The chief lay workers of this congregation have been the Cohn brothers (Hyman, Joseph and Harry), Abraham Phillips, Abraham Coll,

Wolf Goldberg, and B. Asheim. The congregation has thus far had two Rabbis: the Rev. S. Reuben, and the present incumbent, the Rev. B. H. Rosengard. Abraham Coll is president of the board of trustees. Mrs. Hyman Cohn is president of the congregation's auxiliary society.

The following are the communal organizations conducted independently of either congregation: the Ladies' Benevolent Society, president, Mrs. Eugene Michael; The Jewish Brotherhood, the men's benevolent society, A. Feuchtwanger, president; the Sisters of Loving Kindness, president, Mrs. L. Dellar,—this society pays the last respect to departed sisters in Israel; Abraham Geiger Lodge, No. 423, of the Independent Order of the B'nai B'rith, S. Edelstein, president; the Progress Social Club, president, S. Galland, and the Free Hebrew School and Educational Alliance, principal, A. Villkomirson.

The Jews of Spokane are contributing their share toward the moral and material upbuilding of the city and the development of the tributary territory. Their deep interest in the well-being of this city is evidenced by their generous response whenever called upon in behalf of the common good. Although numbering at the most about 2,000 souls, they either lead or are counted with the leaders in the following lines of business: Wholesale and retail crockery, wholesale and retail toys, wholesale and retail bakeries, wholesale and retail cigars, wholesale post cards, wholesale liquors, wholesale and retail men's clothing and furnishing goods, banks, cloaks and suits, millinery, ladies' tailoring establishments, department stores, real estate, insurance, theatres, shoes, drugs, jewelry, hides and junk, furs, furniture and other household furnishings, groceries and optical goods.

CHAPTER LXXIII

EARLY DAY HISTORY OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

FIRST SCHOOL HOUSE AT CHEWELAH IN 1869—HOW THE PIONEER SCHOOL WAS BUILT IN SPOKANE—JAMES MONAGHAN COUNTY SUPERINTENDENT IN 1875—ONLY ELEVEN CHILDREN OF SCHOOL AGE IN SPOKANE DISTRICT—J. J. BROWNE FIRST SUPERINTENDENT OF NEW COUNTY OF SPOKANE—FIRST TEACHERS' INSTITUTE—RECOLLECTIONS OF A PIONEER TEACHER—BENJAMIN P. CHENEY ACADEMY, AND STATE NORMAL AT CHENEY—GROWTH BY YEARS.

"Let the soldier be abroad if he will; he can do nothing in this age.** The schoolmaster is abroad, and I trust to him, armed with his primer, against the soldier in full military array." —*Lord Brougham.*

ACCORDING to W. P. Winans' diary, the first schoolhouse in the Spokane country was built of peeled round logs at Chewelah, in 1869, by Thomas Brown and others, and was used until 1884. Thomas Brown moved to Chewelah in 1866, and school was taught in his dwelling until this house was built.

At the meeting of the Inland Historical Association in December, 1908, J. J. Browne spoke of the location in 1878 of the first schoolhouse in Spokane. "At the time," said Mr. Browne, "the school district covered about a third of Spokane county. The people with families wanted a schoolhouse, but there was a larger number of settlers who were miners and bachelors. They owned the most of the taxable property and could not see why they should be taxed to educate children that had no claim upon them. The opposition developed to an alarming extent. I had been superintendent of schools in Multnomah county, Oregon, but had reached here to spy out the land. I was brought to the meeting to aid in the fight and made a speech in which I set forth the advantages of the school. The matter was voted through and all seemed well. The meeting had voted a ten mill levy and wanted to raise $200. The law required $20,000 worth of assessable property in the new school district. The district here lacked just $550 of coming up to the total of $20,000. I wrote the officials of the county seat at Colville to give in $550 worth of personal property in my name and that I would pay the taxes on it.

"This was done and the school was located at the place where Davenport's restaurant now stands. This school district comprised the territory laying south of the Spokane river and east of Hangman Creek and running back to the Idaho line."

The first Spokane school district was organized in 1874. James Monaghan

was then superintendent of schools in Stevens county. It was school district number 8, and was bounded as "Commencing at the mouth of Hangman creek, following up the creek to the Idaho line; thence north along said line to Spokane river; thence to place of beginning." The first report on record is by C. F. Yeaton, clerk, dated November, 1875: Number of children of legal age, 11; average attendance, 4; months taught, 3; amount paid teacher, $67; books principally used, Pacific Reader and Speller, Cornell's Geography, Davis' Primer and Arithmetic, and Greene's Grammar.

Although Clerk Yeaton's report for the following year showed an increase of 47 of the number of children over 4 and under 21, no school was taught that year.

In 1877 S. G. Havermale was clerk, and his report showed a falling off of 10 in the number of children of school age, probably the result of the Indian war scare of that year. Mr. Havermale reported "school in session."

As a vivid contrast to the splendid educational equipment of the present day, we here quote the annual report of James Monaghan, school superintendent of Stevens county, for the year ending December 31, 1875:

"Number of scholars, 319 (in territory then embracing the greater part of eastern Washington); number of schoolhouses, 5; number of schools kept, 7; number of scholars attending, 105; amount of fund apportioned, $850.57; amount raised by subscription, $94.49; amount paid teachers, $945. The principal books used are Sanders' series and Davis' geography; branches taught are reading, writing, spelling, grammer, geography, arithmetic and history.

"Some of the districts are so thinly settled, and the school fund so small, that it is difficult to give all the children the advantage of the public schools, hence the small attendance of scholars. But the desire to promote the cause of education is steadily growing stronger amongst the people of this county, and there appears to be a disposition at present to increase the school fund by private contributions and special taxes, especially in the sparsely settled districts, that will, if persevered in, give better facilities for all the children to attend school than at present exist. I have prepared a school map of the county, with district boundaries plainly defined. In the altering of boundaries and establishing new districts, I have, to the best of my ability, arranged the lines for the benefit of all the scholars residing in the county. I would respectfully call your attention to section 7, page 424, school law 1873, requiring county superintendents to visit all the schools in the county once a year, and state that there is no provision requiring clerks or directors to notify the superintendent during the time the schools are going on. In a county like this, having a large territory and very little mail facilities, it is difficult to know when a school in a remote district is in active operation. I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,
"J. MONAGHAN, Superintendent."

When Spokane county was cut off from Stevens in 1879, J. J. Browne was appointed school superintendent, and at the first county election in 1880, Mrs. Maggie M. Halsell was elected to the office. She conducted the first teachers' institute, held in the public school building in Spokane, November 5, 1880, and opened the program with a paper on "Education." Miss Belle Spangler read a paper on "Gram-

SPOKANE'S FIRST SCHOOLHOUSE

It stood near present site of Davenport's restaurant

INTERIOR OF FIRST SCHOOLHOUSE IN SPOKANE

mar." At a county institute in this city in 1892, Mrs. Halsell read a reminiscent paper.

"Many were the times the war-songs were heard at dead of night, bringing the thought of horror and despair to the unprotected pioneers. Spokane county at that time was about three times its present size. The broad prairies abounded with wild animals and savages. There were no cities or railroads, few roads and only two or three villages within the limits of Spokane county. Most of my work was in the field. Filled with vigor and enthusiasm when I accepted the county school superintendency, I did not realize (although dismayed by parental opposition), the dangers abroad to be any greater than those at home. Being surrounded by painted Indians, armed with bows and arrows, singing their war songs, was a living horror to be endured by the pioneers.

"Spokane county's first surveyor, while on duty in the Coulee country, was severely wounded and left for dead by the Indians, who mounted his horse and disappeared in the woods. On the same day, while returning from visiting a school, when within four miles of home, I was startled by two drunken Indians, one of whom clutched the bridle rein of my horse, which, taking fright, reared frantically, loosening the hold of the fiendish captor. No time was lost in making good my escape. With fear and caution many miles were traveled across the broad prairies, only to find myself at the door of a little log cabin called a schoolhouse, in which the teacher had from four to twelve urchins seated on hewed slabs which were laid upon sawed cuts of logs.

"On one occasion, while visiting a school, I was surprised to find two teachers partly employed in teaching seven children. I decided that the teachers, (an elderly man and his wife) also boarded and lodged in the same apartment in which they taught. Although it was small, they seemed to find room for all, seating them on trunks, boxes and the bed. Nothing had the appearance of order. The children were accustomed to talk aloud, and it did not seem to be any part of their program to devote their time to study."

The second county superintendent of schools, says Jonathan Edwards, was A. J. Stevens, who started a private school at Medical Lake, and was also principal of the Cheney school. Mr. Stevens conducted a teachers' institute at Cheney, September 27 and 28, 1881, with fifteen teachers in attendance. Miss Nellie Muzzey of Spokane Falls was made secretary. Miss Waterhouse and Miss Nash of Spokane, and Miss Gilkey of Medical Lake were the committee on arrangements. The program included a discussion on "Organization of Schools," and the following papers: "Primary Arithmetic," Miss Gilkey; "Teaching Notation," Mr. Thrall; "Numeration," Misses Waterhouse and Nash; "School Government," Superintendent Stevens; "Language," Rev. Cushing Eells; "Reading," Mr. Doolittle and Mrs. Bentley. "Among the superintendents of this time," adds Historian Edwards, "we find, after the ones mentioned, A. J. Warren, who was one of the early teachers of Spokane Falls, and died here a few years ago; Mrs. Lizzie (Halderman) Foraker, and Mrs. W. C. (McMahon) Jones, now the wife of Ex-Congressman W. C. Jones, residing in Spokane. They proved themselves devoted and efficient officers."

On another page is reproduced a photograph of the first public school building in Spokane. So slow was the growth of the town through those early years that this building was not erected until 1878. It stood on or near the Northern Pacific

right of way, about the intersection of Lincoln street. Subsequently it was moved to a site near the corner of Post and Sprague, and later, when a better school building was provided, the old structure was occupied by Frank M. Dallam, and there the Review was first published.

"Miss Whitehouse is the teacher, and has twenty-two scholars," chronicled the Times of April, 1879; and the issue of September 18, the same year, contained this item:

"School was opened last Monday by Captain Tobias, who speaks very flatteringly of his pupils. We are pleased to learn that the Captain is favorably impressed with his school. He is the right man in the right place. He has had fifteen years' experience in the schoolroom."

On the honor roll of the school for the two months ending November 7, 1879, appeared these names: Marie Clark, Alice Post, Willie Smiley, Julia Post, Nettie Piper, Gracie Gray, Charley Smiley, Eddie Nosler, John Masterson, Katie Clark, George Clark, Gertie Goodner, George Glover, Hattie Warner, Fred. Lowery, Sarah McGourin. Seventeen boys and eighteen girls were enrolled, and the average daily attendance was 27.

Rev. W. H. Stratton and A. J. Warren taught the school in 1880-81. "I secured the position of teacher of the higher grade pupils in this school at forty dollars a month," said Mr. Stratton shortly before his death. "I had about forty-five young men and women in my room, which was about 16x22. We were so crowded that there was hardly room to seat the class reciting at the time. Prof. A. J. Warren, Mrs. Lamona's brother, taught the lower grades in a somewhat larger room. Among my pupils were the Ellis girls—Ida, now Mrs. S. Heath, Ollie, who married A. E. Keats, since dead, Perry Lamona and Winnie, she who is now Mrs. Fruit, Belle Dawson and her sister Eva, Ed Whinery, Frank Waterhouse, Minnie Morgan, now Mrs. Josie Clark, Judge Nash's son Frank, E. Hyde, Julia Post, Alice P. Wagner and her sisters, Eva and Edith, James Stafford, Ed Robinson, and Luella, Zillah and Lue Parker. The school continued to grow, so that in the fall of 1883 there was an enrollment of 200 scholars, necessitating four teachers."

The fall and winter term, 1882-83, was taught by Miss Mattie Hyde, (now Mrs. J. B. Blalock) and Ella E. Davenport, and school closed April 5, 1883.

October 22, 1883, school opened in the new four room building, on the site of the present Lewis and Clark high school, with W. W. Johnson principal, and Mattie Hyde, Stella Mariner and Lizzie Haldeman assistants. When the high school building was erected, this old structure was moved several blocks to the east, and used as a Catholic parochial school under Father Held.

Says Jonathan Edwards' history: "Prof. L. H. Prather, afterwards judge of the superior court, succeeded W. W. Johnson as principal, and continued until 1886. The Judge took up a ranch six miles east of the city, and often walked both ways from his place to the schoolhouse. During his principalship an addition was built to the schoolhouse, making it a six room building. During the last year it became necessary to hire a separate room for the primary department. Miss Rose Rice, now Mrs. W. B. Turner, taught the primary grades a part of the time in the Congregational church, on Sprague and Bernard, and also in a frame building on Post street near Second avenue. During the last year of Judge Prather's administration, the ninth grade of study was pursued.

NORTH CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL, SPOKANE

NEW LEWIS AND CLARK HIGH SCHOOL, SPOKANE

"In the fall of 1886, Prof. W. B. Turner, afterward principal of the state normal school at Cheney, became principal. At the close of the fall term there was an enrollment of 523 pupils, with seven teachers. In the following April the enrollment reached 648. Prof. Jonathan Heaton succeeded Turner as principal in the fall of 1887. At the opening there was an enrollment of 715, with thirteen teachers.

"The population was increasing rapidly. The district was divided. A school was opened on the North side, and several churches were used. In the fall of 1888 Prof. Bruce Wolverton was elected superintendent of schools. The high school system having been fully inaugurated, Prof. Heaton was made principal thereof, with Miss Kate North as assistant. The number of scholars increased rapidly, passing the thousand mark before the close of the fall term."

Then followed a period of demoralization, too often the hateful handmaid of sudden growth. Reviewing those times, one of the daily journals said: "Politics, selfishness and poorly concealed corruption crept into the public schools in those booming years of 1888 and 1889. Quarrels, plots, counterplots and startling charges culminated at last in the open charge of bribery—the plain statement that teachers had bought their places and secured high salaries by paying a commission to certain trustees. It was the first cry of 'boodle,' the beginning of that disgraceful era when extravagance, carelessness, fraud, theft and bribery ran riot in the public offices of Spokane. The whole town was in ferment. Old pupils withdrew from the schools in disgust, and new ones declined to enter till peace should be restored. The teachers were angry and discouraged; the high school was so nearly deserted that some thought it might as well be abandoned as a needless expense."

The source of all this trouble lay in the bad citizenship of the "good citizens" of the town—in their neglect of civic duty, their failure to take interest in the public schools or in the elections where directors were chosen. At the election November 5, 1887, when P. D. Michael was elected director and Richard Miles clerk, only 28 votes were cast for director and 99 for clerk.

"But the following year," says Edwards, "there was a revival of interest and the election was a lively one. The women turned out in large numbers, so that 581 ballots were cast. F. M. Spain was elected director and Richard Miles clerk. Fortunately an experienced educator passed through this city, who was known to some of the teachers. He was called to the position of superintendent and accepted it. In the fall of 1889 Prof. D. Bemiss took charge of the schools. Then was ushered in a period of reorganization, harmony and progress. There were many difficulties to be faced and great obstacles to be surmounted. There were nearly 2,000 pupils, with a seating capacity for about 600. The superintendent took hold of the work with commendable courage. The studies were systematized and made more thorough, and the corps of teachers increased. The needs increased with the population. Major E. A. Routhe, president of the board of education, in his 1890 report, stated the needs to be four large ward schoolhouses and a large central building for the high school. It was found that $250,000 over the tax levy was needed to provide the necessary accommodations. The people voted to issue bonds for that amount. The central building for the high school, costing $90,000, and six ward buildings, costing $29,000 each, were erected. They were all given historical names—Lincoln, Franklin, Logan, Bryant, Bancroft, Irving."

STATE NORMAL AT CHENEY

The state normal school at Cheney is an outgrowth of a privately endowed academy. Thirty years ago, when the Northern Pacific railroad was under construction across the Inland Empire, Benjamin P. Cheney of Boston, its president, for whom the town had been christened, donated $10,000, and the company gave a site of eight acres, for the establishment of the Benjamin P. Cheney Academy. The first board of trustees organized in 1881, comprised the pioneer Congregational minister, Rev. George H. Atkinson, the pioneer banker, D. F. Percival, and Gen. J. W. Sprague, then superintendent of construction of the Northern Pacific. School opened April 3, 1882, in a building erected especially for the academy. The institution enjoyed encouraging growth, and when Mr. Cheney visited his name-town in 1883, the citizens tendered him an appreciative banquet.

At the session of the legislature in 1890 a bill introduced by Representative S. G. Grubbe of Spokane county was enacted and approved by the governor to locate a state normal school at Cheney, provided the building and grounds of the academy were conveyed to the state for normal school purposes. We are advised by a recent official report of the board of trustees that the first board consisted of L. Walter, A. F. Suksdorf, S. A. Wells, W. H. H. McClure, and W. E. Weygant. It met on August 18, 1890, and organized with Mr. Walter for chairman, and Mr. Weygant for secretary. The deed for the transfer to the state of the property of the Cheney Academy having been approved by the attorney-general, the board of trustees accepted the gift in behalf of the state. The building then accepted answered the purpose of the board, and on October 13, 1890, the State Normal School was opened, with W. W. Gillette as principal. There were present on the opening day nineteen applicants for admission, sixteen of whom were admitted. By the close of the first half year the enrollment had reached twenty-five, and by the end of the first year, fifty.

In the spring of 1891 a two-story addition, 40 by 60, was constructed for use as an assembly room, library, and laboratory. These were newly furnished and equipped when, on the night of August 27, 1891, just a week before the opening for the new year, the entire building and contents were destroyed by fire. The board met the misfortune by securing a business block on First street, and here for two years the State Normal was housed. During these two years the attendance increased and the accommodations became so overtaxed that the newly erected public school building was secured for the Normal School, and here the State Normal remained for three years. The legislature at its session in 1891 provided for the maintenance of the school for the following biennium, but no further appropriation was made until 1895. During the interim the school continued its work, the principal and instructors receiving but a portion of their salaries, and this from the generosity of friends of the school.

The phenomenal growth of the institution under such circumstances, and the high character of work done by the faculty and students won the approval of influential people in the state, and the legislature of 1895 not only appropriated money to pay the expenses of the preceding biennium, as well as the following one, but also appropriated $60,000 to erect a new building. This was expeditiously and carefully built and the class of 1896 was the first to graduate from the new building.

GONZAGA COLLEGE, 1912

SPOKANE COLLEGE, 1912

PIONEER SCHOOL IN THE PEND D'OREILLE WOODS

OLD HIGH SCHOOL, DESTROYED BY FIRE IN 1910

STATE NORMAL SCHOOL AT CHENEY

In 1897 the governor vetoed the appropriation and the school closed its doors. But in the fall of 1898 it was opened again and was maintained by tuition and the aid of local friends, and during this year the attendance reached 101. In 1899 the legislature again made an appropriation for the following biennium, and since that time appropriations have regularly been made each biennium.

In the 22 years of its existence the normal school has been directed by the following principals: W. W. Gillette, W. J. Sutton, J. J. Rippeteau, W. B. Turner,—Miller, Lewis B. Alger, H. M. Shafer, H. C. Sampson, C. S. Kingston and N. D. Showalter. It has taken high rank as one of the strong, progressive normal schools of the United States.

CHAPTER LXXIV

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF POLICE FORCE

E. B. HYDE TOWN MARSHAL, WILLIAM KOHLHAUFF NIGHT WATCHMAN—JOE WARREN JOINS THE FORCE IN 1884—LOCKUP ON SITE OF AUDITORIUM—WARREN CAPTURES BILL JACKSON, A "WICKED CUSS"—INDIANS MURDER GEORGE RUSK ON DEADMAN CREEK—WARREN KILLS A BAD INDIAN IN PEACEFUL VALLEY—WHEN "WILD BILL" CRIED—INDIAN LYNCHED BY CITIZENS AT CHENEY.

E. B. HYDE was town marshal in 1884, the only paid officer on the "department;" but William Kohlhauff served as night watchman under an arrangement with the business men. Joel F. Warren was added to the force in the spring of 1884. The lockup was on ground now covered by the Auditorium building, and police headquarters were at first in the council chamber, at Front and Howard, but afterwards were moved to the hose house of Rescue company No. 1, corner of Railroad and Howard. James Glispin was elected marshal in 1885, and the next spring the office of chief of police superseded the marshalship and he was reelected.

A noted pioneer peace officer was Joel Warren, who came to Walla Walla with his parents in 1865 and to Deep Creek, Spokane county, in 1879. "It was practically an accident that I became a peace officer," said Mr. Warren, recalling early day experiences in Spokane. "It was in 1884 that Bill Jackson, a half breed, killed the Indian Chief 'Three Mountains,' and had nearly everybody in the county afraid of him. Jackson defied the whole county and seemed to be making good. He was what they called a 'wicked cuss' in those days. I wrote to Sheriff Patrick Dillon from Deep Creek that I believed I could capture Jackson. Meantime Lane Gilliam, who was deputy sheriff, arrested Jackson, but he got the drop on Gilliam and there was nothing for Lane to do but let Bill get away. The sheriff recalled my offer and gladly sent word to me to capture Jackson if I wanted to. He deputized me on March 23d, 1884, to make the arrest.

"I employed old Curly Jim, a lame old Indian around town, to tip off the movements of Jackson to me. Jackson came back to Spokane and on the evening of March 24th I went out and found him. Two Catholic priests and Henry Preusse the architect, were a few feet away, but did not know the identity of Jackson until I hollered for him to surrender. At the sound of the command and sight of the gun play, Mr. Preusse jumped astride a cayuse and started over the hill at breakneck speed, the two fathers keeping up with him. It was so ludicrous a race that I began laughing, although I had my man covered. I brought Jackson into town and

surrendered him to the authorities. There was much excitement following the arrest.

"Daniel Drumheller met me in Cheney shortly after and insisted that I come to Spokane and be the first policeman. They offered me $65 a month, but that was not enough. Finally Mel Grimmer, the truckman, said he would add $2.50 a month, if I would come, Eugene Hyde, ex-receiver of the land office, who was the town marshal, agreed to contribute $5 a month and I took the position when they raised the pot to $75 a month. I was sworn in April 13, 1884. Since those days I have often remembered the advice that Eugene Hyde gave me. He was a man I always liked to work with, because you never had to ask him to come along, he was always in the lead when there was trouble. He carried a 44-caliber double-action revolver and was quick with a gun. When I was sworn in, Eugene said to me, 'Read the ordinances, Joe, and never lose a fight; if you lose, it will have a bad effect upon the community and cause you lots of trouble.' I have always tried to follow that advice.

"George Rusk was the second man put on the police force and he joined in 1885. He was a good officer. I remember when he was killed. Mr. Rusk came down to the wooden calaboose which stood where the Auditorium now stands. A drunken Indian was locked up and other Indians were chopping down the jail. Rusk told them to wait and he would go and get the keys. He came back with help and threw the choppers into jail. A week later Rusk got a vacation and was killed by Indians at Deadman Creek, nine miles north of town. I was one of those who found the body a week later. There were seventeen in the party, George Crane, the shoe man, being one. Later with the aid of Indian Jim, I found the two Indians who had done the killing, and they were convicted and sent to Walla Walla for twenty years.

"My next important arrest was that of Jack Conover, who killed a man when the first 5-cent beer hall was opened in Spokane. The hall stood on Howard street between Main avenue and Front avenue. Conover killed an innocent carpenter in a wanton and cruel manner on the opening night. I trailed him ten miles up Hangman Creek to his cabin, and when the door was opened he had me covered with his gun. He stuck me up for about twenty minutes before I talked him into surrendering. Waterhouse was coroner and lived at Deep Creek. When I arrived with the coroner the next day, the dead man still lay in the saloon. When I arrived with the prisoner, the people formed a plan to lynch him, but I got him into the calaboose and away from the crowd; then I whisked him to the county jail at Cheney, then the county seat. Conover broke jail or dug his way out and I never heard of him until about a year ago, when a friend told me in Nome that he was running as conductor on a passenger train out of Denver.

"The oddest game I was ever up against was in Peaceful Valley in 1888. An Indian was down there and was reported to be a bad man. When I met him he got the drop on me with a cavalry carbine at forty paces. I dropped to the ground and he missed me. He got in three more shots at me and in the meantime I got my six shooter in operation. He became rattled after the first shot. The Indians buried him next day. Later we learned that he had killed two prospectors and fatally injured a third on the Idaho line the preceding day, and thought I was after him for that offiense.

"In the early days there were always a few blood-curdling four-flushers in town. I remember one fellow who called himself 'Wild Bill.' He blew into town with a mammoth six shooter strapped to his person and carrying a bowie-knife in his boot. I heard a lot of him and did not know but that he would cause me some trouble. Wild Bill carried things with a free hand and entered a saloon that stands where the Grand hotel now stands. He was running the house with the aid of a gun; was doing as he pleased. I went in and told him he was under arrest. Wild Bill cried and begged me not to shoot him.

"The last important Indian arrest I made was that of a buck who had assaulted a white woman on a lonely road west of the city. The Indian stuck Lane Gilliam up with a six shooter. After I had landed him in the county jail at Cheney, the citizens broke into the jail and lynched him. Other Indians blamed me for the lynching, and for two or three years I was warned that these Indians were watching for a chance to kill me."

Mr. Warren was elected chief of police in 1887, again in 1888 and 1889. When the office of chief of police became appointive, he was appointed by Mayor Olmsted. In 1900 he went to Nome and has since been a resident of Alaska.

CHAPTER LXXV

SPOKANE'S LONG FIGHT FOR JUST FREIGHT RATES

RATES ADVANCED 100 PER CENT IN 1887—A SHARP PROTEST—FIRST SUIT BY BOARD OF TRADE IN 1889—SHIPPERS DIVIDED IN 1890—INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION HERE IN 1891—ADVENT OF JAMES J. HILL—GIVEN FREE RIGHT OF WAY—INDIGNATION OVER BROKEN PROMISES—COMMISSION ORDERS REDUCTION IN CLASS RATES—RAILROADS IGNORE THE ORDER—COURTS HOLD COMMISSION CAN NOT MAKE RATES—MYSTERIOUS DISAPPEARANCE OF HILL'S TARIFF SHEETS—A. W. DOLAND AND OTHER SHIPPERS GO BEFORE JUDGE HANFORD—LORENZO SAWYER KNOCKS THEM OUT—INDIGNANT SHIPPERS ORGANIZE BOYCOTT—RAILROADS GRANT CONCESSIONS—HEPBURN LAW PASSED—SPOKANE RENEWS FIGHT BEFORE COMMISSION—TENTATIVE DECISION IN 1909—FULLER DECISION IN 1910—COMPLETE DECISION IN 1911—HOW SPOKANE CELEBRATED.

Justice is itself the great standing policy of civil society; and any eminent departure from it, under any circumstances, lies under the suspicion of being no policy at all.—*Burke.*

Whoever fights, whoever falls,
Justice conquers evermore.—*Emerson.*

DISCUSSING the injustice of discriminating rates, the writer of this volume said in an editorial article in the morning Review of December 27, 1890, "If Spokane were given her rights, if those things which are Caesar's were rendered unto Caesar, this city would become the greatest commercial center in the state of Washington. The way to the problem of our future growth lies in recognition of this important fact. When Judge Deady of Portland decided that railroads might charge more for short than long hauls of merchandise, when the long hauls entered into water competition, he struck a most effective blow at the growth of this city. If the other interpretation had been taken, if the merchants of this city could obtain the same rates that are obtained by merchants five hundred miles farther from the centers of shipment, Spokane would be the Seattle of the State. People often declare that we want manufactories above all else. That is hardly correct; we want equitable freight rates. Given that, the factories will come along of their own volition.

"Repeatedly the Review has pointed out that the claims of this city will have to be recognized, that the interests of the city and railroads are identical, and that in discriminating against Spokane in order to enter into ruinous competition with

water shipments, they are cutting down their own earnings. As matters now stand, there is lamentable waste of energy. While Spokane sits four hundred miles nearer the manufacturing and commercial centers of the East, and from two hundred to four hundred miles nearer the consumer, and has an admirable railroad system, the transcontinental lines have pursued a false policy of hauling freight through to the sea-port and then hauling it back to the consumer, twice climbing one of the world's great mountain ranges. Much of this freight passes through Spokane before it can reach the terminals. This is extravagant waste of time and power. If the Transcontinental roads would make this city their distributing center, if they would stop the prevailing waste of energy and time that are now consumed in a longer haul and an unnecessary back haul to the consumer, they might snap their fingers at water competition, earn dividends for their stockholders and give the people the benefit of more advantageous rates."

Twenty-one years after that was penned, the interstate commerce commission uttered substantially an identical argument when it rendered its final decision upholding Spokane's claims:

"Spokane (the decision runs), is a great distributing center and aims to be a greater one. It demands the right to rates which will enable it to bring from the east and distribute into territory lying east of the Cascade range. Such traffic, when distributed from Spokane, is hauled a less distance by 400 miles than when distributed from Seattle, and the distribution haul itself is also much less expensive. It is a manifest economic waste to haul traffic over the Cascade mountains and back again. The interest of the carrier and the public as much require that this business should stop at Spokane instead of going on to Seattle as that it should originate in the middle west instead of upon the Atlantic seaboard.

"The carriers insist that they may determine as a matter of policy whether they will meet this water competition and in what manner and at what points; and this is true so far as that is a matter of policy. To a disinterested observer it would seem to be in the true interest of these transcontinental lines, which begin at the Missouri river, to make rates which would build up interior points as against the coast. The haul to these points is shorter and less expensive. The distribution from these points is easier, but, above all, the traffic which is created at such a point belongs to the rail line which creates it, while the traffic which is fostered upon the Coast is the prey of every vessel which sails the sea. Carriers in the future will doubtless adopt this method and will voluntarily make rates to interior points like Spokane which will enable those localities to compete with coast cities."

As early as 1887, with rapid growth of population and increasing development of transportation, the people of Spokane grew restive and indignant under the discriminating policy of the railroads. The discontent found expression in the Review of May 19.

"Since the suspension of the fourth section of the interstate commerce law," said that journal, "charges on freight to Spokane Falls have been increased fully 100 per cent. This thing smacks very strongly of what is popularly termed 'the grinding corporation.' It is a violent outrage on every rule of fair dealing in business transactions and is disastrous in its effects upon the business of Spokane Falls merchants. If we are not mistaken the Northern Pacific railroad is building up

a formidable sentiment against itself, which in days to come will repay these injuries to local business dollar for dollar."

By suspension of the fourth section, the Review had reference to a recent decision by Judge Matthew P. Deady of the federal court at Portland, holding that water competition was a factor which justified, under the law, the charging of higher rates to interior points than to sea-ports.

In the annual report of the board of trade, rendered late in the year 1889, appears this reference to the subject: "The question of freight rates and unjust discrimination against this city by the railroads has been a subject discussed by the board of trade in the past year. In June last, as the result of the work of the committee, a case was prepared against the Northern Pacific railroad for adjudication before the interstate commerce commission. That case was laid by an association known as the Merchants' Protective association of this city. The board of trade prepared that case, but the Merchants' Protective association stepped in to fight it. Judge Cooley visited this point and set a date for hearing, but the case was postponed, and is now on the docket of the commission in Washington, and will come up for hearing on the 17th inst., *when we hope it will be pushed to a determination.*"

Spokane's organized fight for justice, therefore, began twenty-three years ago, and within the intervening period our citizens have resolutely employed every legitimate weapon that seemed to offer a hope of redress of their wrongs. The interstate commerce commission, the courts, conciliation, rataliation—all have been seized upon and used. From the discouragement of one defeat Spokane has rallied with renewed courage for another expensive and arduous contest, and then to another, and yet another. Many a time and oft has it seemed that the city and surrounding regions were helpless victims of a system that endeavored to hold

"Right forever on the scaffold,
Wrong forever on the throne."

In the summer of 1890 shippers were divided in opinion. A few wanted to wage an aggressive fight for terminal rates, but others criticised the board of trade for antagonizing the railroads, and advocated a more friendly policy of pleading for more favorable distributing rates. To checkmate the O. R. & N., which had entered the city the previous fall, the Northern Pacific was offering longtime leases of warehouse sites on its right of way. "Rates being equal," ran one provision, "said party of the second part agrees to do his transportation business on the railroad of the party of the first part in preference to any other." This, of course, would have the certain effect of discouraging rate reductions by the new railroad, for the Northern Pacific, by meeting any possible cut, would continue to hold the business.

Spokane's first case was filed in June, 1889. Nearly two years after, in April, 1891, Judge George Turner was advised by the secretary of the interstate commerce commission, that the commission would soon be prepared to take up the case of the Spokane Merchants Protective association against the Northern Pacific.

Commissioners W. G. Veazey, Wm. R. Morrison ("Horizontal Bill"), Walter L. Bragg and M. Knapp arrived in Spokane in May and conducted public hearings

from the 27th to the 30th. George Turner and Corporation Counsel H. E. Houghton represented the association and the city. The railroad came fortified with a strong array of attorneys and officials. A meeting of citizens in the rooms of the chamber of commerce resolved to push the case with vigor.

While the commission deliberated, a new factor came over the continental divide. The Great Northern railroad, then more widely known as the Manitoba, was pushing its resolute way to tidewater. Here seemed a potent competitor in the Spokane field, and shippers and consumers took renewed hope from the captivating, honeyed words of the remarkable genius at its head.

President James J. Hill met the citizens in public meeting, February 9, 1892, and asked for a free right of way through the town. In an extended address he intimated that if a donated right of way were not forthcoming, the Great Northern would pass twenty miles to the north. On the other hand, if a right of way were given, his road would make rates which would enable Spokane to compete successfully with any city to the west or the south. His roseate promises awoke the liveliest interest and a committee of active citizens was appointed to take up with vigor the task of securing the required right of way. Its members were J. J. Browne, A. M. Cannon, L. C. Dillman, H. L. Tilton, James N. Glover, G. B. Dennis, I. S. Kaufman, A. K. McBroom, D. P. Jenkins, E. J. Webster, W. S. Norman, E. B. Hyde, Charles Monteith, C. R. Burns, N. Toklas, O. B. Nelson, T. S. Griffith, James Monaghan, and S. Rosenhaupt.

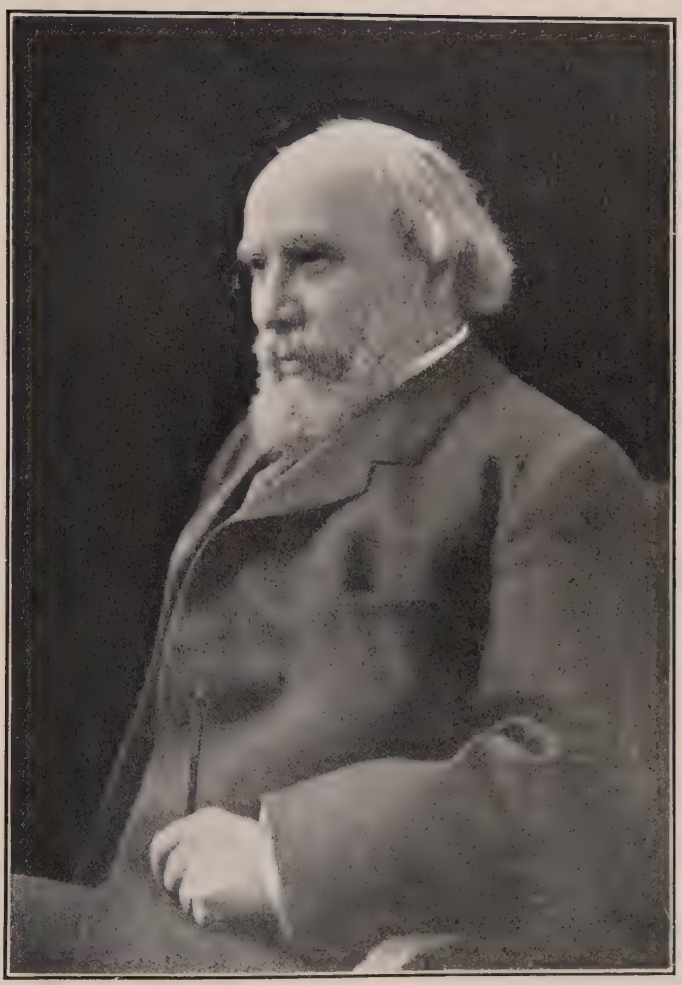
As managing editor of the Review, the writer of this volume obtained from Mr. Hill a carefully prepared and authorized statement for publication.

"Mr. Hill (so ran this interview), if you had come to this country eight years ago, and been the only transcontinental carrier here, would you have pursued the policy that has been pursued by the old roads of adjusting the tariff so that merchandise brought here from the east would go through to the coast, only to be carried back to the consumer, far in the interior, thereby entailing an unnecessary haul of from 500 to 1,000 miles, twice over a great mountain range?"

"No, I would not," was the emphatic answer. "For one reason, I think it would be illegal. I think you people have made a mistake in going before the interstate commerce commission. You should have made a test case—allowed some shipper to refuse to pay more than is paid by the shipper on tidewater, and thus carried the grievance straight into the United States court. I don't think a jury of twelve men could have been found to decide that such a charge was legal. In that manner you could have settled this matter in short order—in a day once the case got before the courts."

At Mr. Hill's request a proof sheet of the foregoing statement was submitted to him, and he returned it to the newspaper office with his approval. In after years this publication was introduced in evidence before the commission. Mr. Hill has never denied its authenticity or its accuracy.

After the right of way had been acquired, Hill returned the following June, and in press interviews "hedged" on his terminal rate offer. "When I was here before," he said, "I promised that Spokane should have rates which would enable her to compete for business with any city west or south of her. By that I meant that she should be put in a position to do the business of the territory rightfully



JAMES J. HILL—"THE EMPIRE BUILDER"

tributary to her. I stand by that pledge, and it will be redeemed at the proper time." BUT—

"Rate wars are things to be avoided. They do nobody any good. The inevitable result is that the companies get together and agree on a readjustment. Now I believe in adjusting these things in a friendly way."

In an interview given out at Sprague, Mr. Hill said:

"A number of gentlemen, representing, I think, the chamber of commerce, waited on me last evening, and attempted to force me to make a reduction of rates at this time, saying that the right of way had been secured for our road under a promise of terminal rates. I never made any such promise, nor did I intend that any one should put such a construction on my words. All promises made to the people of Spokane by me on behalf of the Great Northern will be made good, in every respect, but no small or large number of men can force us to take any steps that our own business judgment does not approve, and we will at no time pursue any arbitrary or unbusinesslike course with our railroad neighbors. Any freight rate that is made must be a matter of conference and agreement between the parties making it. That is the situation in a few words."

A decision was handed down, November 29, 1892, by the interstate commerce commission in the case of the Merchants Protective association of Spokane against the Northern Pacific. It held that water competition warranted higher commodity rates to Spokane; but the commission found that blanket class rates to Spokane were unreasonable in themselves. "Defendants are ordered," said the decision, "to cease and desist from charging rates on property from eastern points to Spokane which materially exceed 82 per cent of the class rates now in effect, both to Spokane and Pacific coast terminals."

This decision the railroads ignored, contending that the act of congress which created the commission and defined its powers conferred no authority for it to prescribe rates. About that time a federal judge in Georgia sustained this railroad point of view, and it was subsequently confirmed by the supreme court of the United States. In our search for justice, we had traveled many years in a circle, and now found ourselves precisely at the 1889 starting point.

Under date of February 15, 1893, Robert Easson, secretary of the chamber of commerce, wrote a letter to the Review. "I will say (said he) that the new freight rates are much higher than the rates in Ananias Hill's tariff sheets, sent here in December. The new commodity rates, in nearly every instance, in the grocery line, are just double what they were in Hill's tariff, and the class rates are twenty per cent higher. It would not be politic at this time to make public the rates named in Hill's tariff. Suffice it to say, they are in good keeping, to be used when the opportune time comes."

The disappearance of these sheets, which Mr. Hill had sent out from St. Paul in December, 1892, to be shown by his agent to certain shippers as evidence of reductions he would presently make, remains one of the unsolved mysteries of the town. The secret of their location seems to have died with Mr. Easson when, in seeming health and buoyant spirits, he reeled and fell on a Lewiston street on the occasion of a most successful excursion of Spokane business men to that neighboring city.

On complaint of A. W. Doland and other shippers, Judge Hanford, in Septem-

ber, 1894, entered an order directing the receivers of the Northern Pacific to make answer within twenty days to grievances set forth in an extended petition for justice. This complaint was the outgrowth of a suggestion from Judge Hanford to some of the shippers, that a proceeding of this nature would be found the better and more satisfactory way of seeking justice. Upon the Northern Pacific coming into court as directed, Judge Hanford, on November 21, appointed Lorenzo Sawyer of San Francisco to take testimony in the case.

But the city's hopes of winning justice from the hands of the federal court were dissipated when the master in chancery, appointed by Judge Hanford nearly three years before, returned a crushing decision against the plaintiffs. On every point involved Sawyer found in favor of the railroads.

A month later, May 24, 1897, the United States supreme court decided that the interstate commerce commission had no power under the law to prescribe freight rates. After ten years of brave hope and effort, the "joker" in the law was ferreted out by the highest court in the land, and the commission stood stripped of authority and power.

Appeal to the interstate commerce commission had failed, and recent decisions in other United States courts indicating that little or no measure of relief could be expected from that quarter, some of the more aggressive Spokane business men advocated, in 1896, an organization of shippers to pool freight shipments. In support of that plan the writer of this volume wrote, editorially, in January:

"The shippers here should organize and pool their business. If they would do that with energy and entire loyalty to their own interests, they would possess a power that could be exerted with effect. They could fight the matter in the courts, or they could arrange for an exclusive delivery of their business to a single line for one, two, three or five years. As matters stand now they are powerless; they can not have even a hearing."

Leading shippers of the city formed a new association in March, with W. D. Plant, president, and T. F. Spencer secretary. The firm of D. Holzman & Co. had adopted successfully a plan of replevining cars, and Jacob Schiller of that firm said he had started out to fight alone. He tendered the company terminal rates, which were refused, and thereupon he had recourse to the replevin process in the United States court, and in that way got the goods and kept the money, pending an ultimate decision of the case.

A month later this Spokane Freight association raised a fund of $5,700 to fight a rate case before Judge Hanford, the city subscribing $1,000 and the county $500. But this effort, like others gone before, brought no relief to shipper or consumer.

Matters drifted until February, 1904, when a strong and aggressive organization of shippers devised a plan to set the traffic officials of the Northern Pacafic and the Great Northern to serious thinking.

"Whereas (the signed agreement ran), we know that rates of freight to Spokane from eastern points should never justly exceed the prevailing rates to terminal points, plus twenty-five per cent of the corresponding prevailing rates from terminal points back to Spokane.

"Therefore, be it resolved, that until such an adjustment of freight rates can

be effected, without increasing any rates now in effect to Spokane from eastern points, we agree to give all our business to the O. R. & N."

Signers were Child Bros. & Day, Holley, Mason, Marx & Co., Jones & Dillingham, John W. Graham & Co., B. L. Gordon & Co., F. B. Wright & Co., Grote-Rankin Co., Spokane Drug Co., Spokane Paper Co., Crane Shoe Co., Empire Candy Co., Shaw & Borden Co., Boothe-McClintock Co., Best Clothing Co., Cohn Bros., Griffith Heating, Plumbing & Supply Co., Jensen, King, Byrd Co., Spokane Paint & Oil Co., Tull & Gibbs, Miller, Mower & Flynn, Whitehouse Dry Goods Co., Spokane Implement Co., Washington Liquor Co., D. Holzman & Co. These firms paid the railroads annually $750,000.

This drastic remedy grew out of a meeting at Chicago of the freight men of the western roads, where every request of Spokane shippers was coldly ignored. These resolutions attracted immediate attention, and the railroads promptly offered minor reductions which were promptly rejected by the Spokane organization. To emphasize its dissatisfaction, the association reaffirmed its resolutions. But in April it rescinded the resolutions and agreed to meet in Chicago representatives of the Northern Pacific, Great Northern and O. R. & N. As outcome of that conference the railroads conceded reductions and promised Spokane jobbers control of a territorial circle with a diameter of 200 miles. That is to say, Spokane should command the trade for 100 miles in every direction. The principle involved in this adjustment is theoretically unsound, and the basis flatly arbitrary, but failing to win justice by other means, the Spokane jobbers felt justified in their use of this weapon, and public sentiment generally has sustained them throughout the Inland Empire. Shippers, however, have always contended that the railroads failed to live up to this agreement.

Meanwhile a nation-wide demand had found expression, that the law be amended —that clearly defined power be conferred on the interstate commerce commission to fix rates in cases where, upon proper hearing, it should appear that injustice was suffered by shipper or shippers. Congress heeded the demand, and enacted the Hepburn rate law in 1906. Spokane filed the first complaint under the new law. The fight was renewed, at exactly the point where it had started in 1889. The commission conducted hearings at Spokane, Chicago, Portland, and Washington.

The chamber of commerce put itself behind the new case, city and county lent their encouragement, a fund was raised to carry on the contest, and H. M. Stephens was employed to make the long and arduous legal fight before the commission, and if need be before the courts. Actively identified with the bringing of the new suit were F. E. Goodall, Charles Hebberd, A. W. Doland, B. L. Gordon, J. A. Schiller, J. M. Comstock, R. B. Paterson and O. C. Jensen.

After nearly three years more of waiting, the commission, March 2, 1909, rendered a tentative decision in favor of Spokane. Reduced rates were ordered on twenty-seven of the thirty-two commodity rates specifically set out in the complaint, and the decision intimated that if Spokane should institute supplemental proceedings, similar reductions would be granted throughout the entire commodity list. A reduction of about sixteen per cent was ordered on class rates from St. Paul and Chicago. In the preparation of its case Spokane had enumerated thirty-two commodity rates as illustrative of the general unjust discrimination in the entire range of commodity rates, and the commission held that it could order reductions only on

commodities actually enumerated in the complaint. The commission found that "the earnings of both the Great Northern and Northern Pacific in recent years have been excessive."

"At this time when the people of Spokane are rejoicing over their victory, after years of struggling," said Chairman A. W. Doland of the committee, "the oldtimers should not forget that we owe a great deal to one who is no longer in our midst; I refer to our old friend, the late Robert Easson. I believe that more than to any other man is due to him the protest against unjust freight discriminaion."

But the battle was not yet ended. The decision was an entering wedge, and little more. The commission invited the railroads to submit revised rates in line with the principle of its decision. This the railroads did in May, and the commission held a hearing June 9 for the consideration of the railroad scheme of rate revision. The rates proposed by the roads were not satisfactory to Spokane, and were disapproved by the interstate commerce committee of the chamber of commerce—A. W. Doland, J. A. Schiller, J. M. Comstock, A. A. Kraft, O. C. Jensen, J. M. Fitzpatrick, B. L. Gordon, F. E. Goodall and J. D. Sherwood.

Traffic Manager J. G. Woodworth of the Northern Pacific, and Assistant Traffic Manager W. P. Kenney of the Great Northern came to Spokane to explain their proposed schedules, but it developed that neither had authority to treat with local interests, and a joint committee of the chamber of commerce and the Spokane Merchants' association insisted on the rates ordered by the commission, and to support this demand sent a delegation to Washington which included A. W. Doland, J. A. Schiller, O. C. Jensen, H. D. Trunkey, W. H. Cowles, F. E. Goodall and R. B. Paterson.

At the hearing in Washington in June, H. M. Stephens filed a supplemental complaint asking for terminal rates on all commodities. The commission ordered in the new class rates July 1, and the railroads accepted that order; but further action on the commodity list was deferred until fall. In September Commissioner Prouty came to Spokane and conducted a hearing on Spokane's supplemental complaint. One by one Mr. Prouty went through the long commodity list, and the railroad representatives, who were present in force, were asked to explain their reasons for enforcing a higher rate to the interior than to the terminals. In numerous cases the railroad attorneys and traffic agents were forced to admit the unreasonableness of the higher rates, and in other commodities they knew of no reason, but expressed the belief that there must be one, and promised to make inquiries regarding it. In this detailed manner Commissioner Prouty covered 297 commodity rates the first day of the hearing. The hearing was concluded October 5.

On the fourth anniversary of the passage of the Hepburn law, June 29, 1910, and twenty-one years after Spokane first took up the fight, the commission handed down its decision in this famous case. It condemned the railroad system of rate-making for towns and cities in the Inland Empire. Spokane rates were held to be unjust and unreasonable in themselves, without regard to coast rates. The Merchants' Association calculated that the decision carried a twenty-five per cent reduction. "The committee," said Chairman Doland, "feels great gratification at the outcome of this long fight. Spokane is the only city that has steadily and consistently followed every development, not only locally but in Washington."

But the new rates were not ordered into immediate effect. Out of a desire to

ONE OF SPOKANE'S CONCRETE BRIDGES

SOUTH SIDE OF RIVERSIDE AVENUE LOOKING EAST FROM POST STREET, 1911

show a spirit of fairness which the railroads could not in reason challenge before the courts, as a test of the new rates the commission directed the railroads to keep an account for three months of receipts and expenditures both under the old schedules and the new. If, by October 1 the new schedule should be found fair and reasonable, it would be made effective by order of the commission. This test was amended later to cover October, 1909, and January, April and July, 1910—one month in each quarter of a fiscal year.

Congress amended the long and short haul clause this summer, but the amendment did not become effective until February, 1911, and the commission deemed it desirable to consider the amended law in connection with its final decision of the Spokane case. This carried the case over to 1911, and at a hearing in March the carriers submitted a statement of their losses on the basis of the tentative rates of the commission, and also presented evidence in support of their applications for suspension of the amended fourth section, and presented arguments opposing the constitutionality of the amended long and short haul clause.

At last came the long heralded decision, July 24, 1911, a round five years after the inauguration of a case which had now become noted from ocean to ocean; and which was testing, as no other single case had ever tested, the nation's adopted principle of government regulation of the railroads. By unanimous decree of the commission, Spokane (and this practically applied the reductions to all commercial centers in the Inland Empire) was granted terminal rates on all freight originating in Missouri river territory, including Duluth, St. Paul, Minneapolis, Omaha, Denver and Kansas City. Carriers might charge, the commission said, rates not exceeding seven per cent above terminal rates on shipments to Spokane originating in Chicago territory. Not exceeding fifteen per cent above terminal rates on shipments originating in Cincinnati territory. And not exceeding twenty-five per cent. above terminal rates from New York and Atlantic coast territory as far south as Virginia.

"It is a great benefit," commented A. W. Doland, chairman of Spokane's militant committee; "the decision, as I gather it, means much cheaper rates and more territory. It admits boldly the justice of Spokane's stand. We are repaid for the long fight. It's our time to rejoice, and we must celebrate."

"The decision," said Attorney H. M. Stephens, who had fought the long fight over an arduous range of five years, "is better than the one rendered a year ago, which set forth a tentative tariff and tentative rates."

And Spokane celebrated. Tuesday, July 26, is a day that will long be remembered in the city's history. Pandemonium broke loose at 9:30 a. m., with a wild ringing of bells and screeching of factory whistles, a clangor which lasted for a quarter of an hour and notified the city's population that the celebration was started. At 10 o'clock the parade moved, the longest and most impressive industrial demonstration that had ever moved over the business streets of the town. The chamber of commerce signalized its gladness by holding a memorable noonday rally and a huge night celebration in front of Masonic temple aroused the public to a high pitch of enthusiasm. Red lights flared out their rosy illumination, auto horns contributed their quota of raucous sound, and dynamite blasts sent their deep reverberations through the city's encircling hills to an accompaniment of human shouts.

"Out of the ruins of 1889 (spoke President E. T. Coman of the chamber of commerce), a greater Spokane arose, built by energy and money and the enthusiasm of many staunch citizens. Out of the victory of a twenty year rate fight a greater Spokane yet is to grow. You who have read and understood the decision know the vast benefits. They are not for the business man alone, not for the merchant alone. They are for the people, the workingman as well as the banker." Mayor Hindley spoke next, and then the appearance of A. W. Doland and B. L. Gordon, the two surviving members of the original committee, brought a storm of applause. Another tumultuous demonstration greeted the appearance of Mr. Stephens. T. S. Griffith, another member of the committee, spoke on "Friendship With the Railways," and F. K. McBroom, chairman of the board of commissioners, spoke for the county.

A street dance followed, with R. L. Rutter leading the grand march on Riverside avenue. Twenty thousand people saw the parade in the forenoon, and 12,000 joined in the demonstration at night.

Mr. Doland sold his interest in the Spokane Drug company in July, and took an extended trip to the Orient. In his absence the chairmanship of the joint rate committee of the chamber of commerce and the Merchants' Association was conferred on Ex-Mayor J. M. Comstock, another veteran rate fighter.

Attention was now turned to the railroads. Would they accept the commission's decision, or would they appeal to the courts? They chose the latter course, and on their petition the United States court of commerce enjoined the commission from ordering the new rates into effect. From that decision Spokane has appealed to the United States supreme court, and there the long issue hangs in the balance as this history goes to press.

CHAPTER LXXVI

ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF NATIONAL APPLE SHOW

BIRTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF AN IDEA—FIRST SHOW IN 1908—DELIGHTED THOUSANDS VIEW THE BEAUTIFUL EXHIBITS—PRESIDENT TAFT PRESSES A GOLDEN KEY—SPLENDID ENTERPRISE IN PERIL—SAVED BY ENTHUIASTIC WORK—GREAT FUND OF $60,000 RAISED IN 1911—BRILLIANT CARNIVAL FEATURES—TWENTY-SEVEN VISITING BANDS—NATIONAL COUNTRY LIFE CONGRESS—THIRTY-THREE PRINCESSES ROYALLY ENTERTAINED.

THE National Apple Show has an interesting history. According to Ren H. Rice, for three years its secretary and manager, David Brown and a few acquaintances discussed a plan, early in the spring of 1908, to determine the district in the United States growing the largest perfect apple. They were confident that a thorough going test by acknowledged authorities would award that honor and distinction to the Pacific northwest, and reasoned that the publicity growing out of the investigation would focus favorable attention on Spokane and the Inland Empire.

The idea was taken up by the Spokane Horticultural society at a meeting on April 4, 1908, and it was proposed to have a local apple show the following fall. The Washington State Horticultural association and the Spokane chamber of commerce fostered the project. Changes followed rapidly as the idea worked out, and from a county show it passed to an Inland Empire exhibit, and finally, by unanimous agreement of the various interests, it was decided to have an exposition of national scope and character.

Incorporation of the National Apple Show followed, with $100,000 capital, and these officers: President, Louis W. Hill; first vice-president, L. F. Williams; second vice-president, E. F. Cartier Van Dissel; treasurer, W. D. Vincent; secretary and manager, Harry J. Neely; trustees, E. F. Cartier Van Dissel, chairman; F. W. Gilbert, St. Paul, general superintendent of the Northern Pacific (deceased); William McMurray, general passenger agent of the O. R. & N., Portland; D. C. Corbin, president Spokane International; J. P. Graves, president Spokane & Inland Empire electric system; Henry M. Richards, president Washington Water Power company; Nelson W. Durham, editor Spokesman-Review; L. F. Williams, capitalist and orchardist; J. P. McGoldrick, president McGoldrick Lumber company; F. L. Daggett, president Arcadia Irrigation association; W. D. Vincent, cashier Old National bank; David Brown, president Hazelwood company; L. MacLean, president Spokane Canal company; F. E. Goodall, president chamber of commerce; Phil T. Becher, of Becher

& Thompson; Gordon C. Corbaley, manager real estate department of A. D. Jones & Co.; and H. J. Neely, secretary treasurer of Neely & Young.

This organization was continued in 1909 with but two changes in the executive board. H. J. Neely became first vice-president, and Ren H. Rice succeeded Mr. Neely as secretary and manager.

From the beginning the enterprise captivated the people of the Inland Empire, and was cordially encouraged by property owners and business men of Spokane, by high officials of the transcontinental railroads, and by orchardists in all sections of the Pacific northwest. The armory was utilized as nucleus of the site, and vacant ground and public streets adjoining were put under a huge frame and canvas structure to house the extensive exhibits and provide space for amusement and other features. The formal opening, December 7, 1908, was attended by President Louis W. Hill of the Great Northern, Governor Albert E. Mead, Lieutenant Governor-Elect M. E. Hay, and many prominent officials and horticulturists from all parts of the Inland Empire. People came by thousands to marvel at the magnitude and beauty of the displays, and went home to impart their enthusiasm to neighbors and friends. Paid attendance for the six days ran respectively, 14,352, 14,070, 18,000, 20,070, 19,270, 17,000—a grand total of nearly 103,000.

With Howard Elliott, president of the Northern Pacific, at its head in 1909, the National Apple show repeated the success of 1908. On the opening day, November 15, President Taft pressed the golden key at Washington which signalized the beginning of King Apple's reign, and the presence of President Elliott, Governor Hay, Congressman Poindexter and Mayor Pratt imparted additional official approval and interest.

The people of the Inland Empire had now come to regard the apple show as a fixed institution, and preparations in 1910 for the third great exhibition were carried forward with enthusiastic interest. Three and a half acres of space were needed for the twenty-one carload exhibits, thirty-six district collections and hundreds of smaller displays. Monday, November 14, was the opening day, and in the evening Miss Mary Idell Ide of Colville was crowned queen with appropriate exercises.

Nineteen hundred and eleven was a year of comparative industrial and commercial lassitude throughout the United States, and the seeming difficulty of raising the necessary fund led many to believe that it would not be prudent to hold the fourth national show. At one time in early summer the trustees thought that the splendid enterprise would have to be abandoned. The difficulties confronting these zealous and public-spirited workers came to the attention of W. H. Cowles and a number of other progressive citizens, and they promptly came to the assistance of the trustees with an offer to go out and raise the needed funds. A quick and enthusiastic response from property owners and business men prompted these energetic spirits to carry out a greatly broadened scheme of popular entertainment, and it was determined to supplement the apple show with a week of brilliant carnival attractions, commemorative of the completion of the $500,000 Monroe street bridge, and to take under their cordial patronage the first National Country Life congress which David Brown, Editor E. A. Smith of the Twice-a-Week Spokesman-Review and Dan Morgan had already fostered into an event of national interest.

The official board of the apple show was enlarged and strengthened, and com-

ROBERT COSGROVE

Secretary of the Interstate Fair

HERBERT BOLSTER

Manager of the old Spokane Fruit Fair

F. E. GOODALL

For many years president of the Chamber of Commerce

H. J. NEELY

First manager of the National Apple Show

REX H. RICE

Manager of the National Apple Shows

prised the following well known citizens: E. F. Cartier Van Dissel, W. D. Vincent, J. P. McGoldrick, Julius Zittel, Gordon C. Corbaley, Harry J. Neely, P. D. Tull, Joseph A. Borden, Waldo G. Paine, W. H. Cowles, H. A. Flood, R. L. Rutter, Samuel Galland, R. O. McClintock and F. E. Goodall.

R. L. Rutter, W. D. Vincent and Samuel Galland were appointed a committee on finance and a brisk solicitation quickly brought the handsome fund of $60,000, of which $33,000 were assigned the apple show and the remainder to the carnival features and the country life congress.

November 23 to 30 were the dates chosen for the triple attraction, and for the apple show a new site was selected, on the north side of Front avenue, between Bernard and Browne streets, and a vast structure erected of lumber and canvas. Under the efficient and enthusiastic direction of Ren Rice everything was ready on opening day, and the arrangement of the exhibits, with an attractive array of auxiliary attractions and careful provision for the comfort of the throngs, combined to form an ensemble which made the fourth national apple show the most pleasing of all. Total paid attendance, 50,607, as compared with 49,554 in 1910.

The carnival features elicited universal expressions of admiration. They included a number of bewildering and beautiful parades, by day and by night; the bringing in of twenty-seven bands from all parts of the Inland Empire, including the famous mounted cowboy band from Pendleton, Oregon, and the elaborate social entertainment of thirty-three princesses from as many towns in Washington, Idaho, Oregon and Montana.

The identity of King Apple IV was maintained a profound secret until the closing night of the carnival. It was then revealed that Judge George Turner had been endowed with the royal prerogatives.

The list of princesses, their hostesses and the knights follows:

HOSTESSES	PRINCESSES	KNIGHTS	TOWN
Mrs. Harry Wraight	Bertha Leverich	H. L. Barrett	Kennewick
Mrs. W. G. Ramage	Edna Conlee	Clarence Hammerlund	Davenport
Mrs. Slater	Carrie Hanson	Mac Rae Stevenson	Wilbur
Mrs. Chas. Larkin	Margery Paton	H. D. Zimmerman	Cashmere
Mrs. E. F. C. Van Dissel	Effie Parks	M. F. Middleburg	Pendleton
Mrs. W. H. Ude	Effie Finrow	Jos. Acheson	Reardan
Mrs. J. H. Johnson	Eliza Gannon	Dr. Harrington	Pasco
Mrs. Walter P. Edris	Sadie Sellards	H. J. Soessell	Prosser
Mrs. Harry Neely	Ethel Rogers	Arthur Hammerlund	Asotin
Mrs. R. Insinger	Edith Nibbler	Henri Crommelin	Uniontown
Mrs. R. Insinger	Emma Cornwell	Harry Whitehouse	Sunnyside
Mrs. Daniel Morgan	Beryl Crabtree Gano	J. W. Boyd	Kamiah
Mrs. Daniel Morgan	Beatrice Volkel	Gordon Lamey	Post Falls
Mrs. W. D. Vincent	Rose Mills	W. Leuthold	Krupp
Mrs. R. L. Ford	Margery Monteith	E. G. Pyle	Republic
Mrs. Cyrus Happy	Minnie Spangler	Russell Millard	Lewiston
Mrs. H. W. Newton	Winnie Strain	Murray Davenport	Pomeroy
Mrs. Frank Tebbets	Anna Cameron	Jack Richards	Moscow
Mrs. Charles Hebberd	Mabel Meuli	George Mohr	Rosalia
Mrs. Harry Hooper	Alberta Perry	Guy Amsden	Mullan
Mrs. W. P. Edris	Stella Scott	Chester Coulter	Tekoa
Mrs. R. L. Rutter	Virginia Sparks	John Doran	Soap Lake

HOSTESSES	PRINCESSES	KNIGHTS	TOWN
Mrs. G. C. Corbaley	Essie Chichester	Charles Tierney	Ephrata
Mrs. G. C. Corbaley	Edna Featherstone	Mr. Lefferty	Leavenworth
Mrs. T. S. Lane	Eliza Grathwohl	Richard Oakley	Oroville
Mrs. T. S. Lane	Zoe Kent	R. H. Demott	Bonners Ferry
Mrs. R. C. Dillingham	Eunice Krech	Ray Wilson	Spirit Lake
Mrs. C. W. Winters.	Rinda Salisbury	Wallace Fawcett	Chewelah
Mrs Chas. Larkin	Marion Wylie	Wm. P. Birney	Waterville
Mrs Chas. Larkin	Anna Hopkins	H. C. Sootheran	Deer Park
Mrs. M. W. Weeks	Lelia Lavin	W. M. Baker	Pullman
Miss R. Sicklespell	Anna Rhuby	Walter May	Odessa
Mrs. Chas. Hebberd	Loretta McCarthy	George Sieler	Kalispell

Credit for the brilliant success of the carnival was awarded to Charles Hebberd, Roy Slater, W. S. Yearsley, Gordon C. Corbaley, W. P. Edris, Seabury Merritt, Earl Constantine, C. H. Moore, A. C. Ware, Alex. Green, R. C. Sweatt, R. Insinger and C. B. Stuht.

The spirit of friendship between Spokane and its neighbors was made still more cordial by the fourth national apple show and its accompanying carnival; and the inspirational influence on the citizens of Spokane, coming at a time when public enterprise seemed at a low ebb in many other cities, east and west, was of incalculable benefit. Confidence was keyed anew in the country and its resources, and conviction deepened in the minds of thousands that close cooperation between Spokane and its neighbors will always contribute greatly to their mutual prosperity and well-being.

CHAPTER LXXVII

GENESIS, GROWTH AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE 150,000 CLUB—EXTRAORDINARY FUND-RAISING CAMPAIGN FOR THE Y. M. C. A. AND THE CHILDREN'S HOME—FIRST PIANOS IN SPOKANE—V. H. BROWN CALLED HERE IN 1883 TO TUNE TEN INSTRUMENTS—SPOKANE'S FIRST MUSIC STORE AND FIRST MUSIC TEACHER—HISTORY OF THE SPOKESMAN-REVIEW—HOW THE RIVAL MORNING JOURNALS WERE CONSOLIDATED—WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN TERRITORIAL DAYS—WOMEN SERVE ON JURIES.

THE 150,000 Club of Spokane, possibly the pioneer organization of its kind on the continent, was organized in 1905 for the purpose primarily of interesting the general public in organized effort for the benefit of the community. A report by one of its officers says:

The first year the Club had sixteen hundred members, and second year twenty-two hundred.

Among the big things attempted by the Club was first the preservation of Fort George Wright to the city, by the fight waged to prevent the railroads crossing the reserve and destroying its usefulness and beauty.

It brought about the passage of a charter amendment creating a non-partisan park commission.

In 1907 the Club raised a fund of $60,000 to complete the Y. M. C. A. building. The Club has always conducted an aggressive campaign for home industry and has done much to bring about a liberal patronage of home manufacturers, which has resulted in great benefit to the city.

For several years a city beautiful or general cleaning and planting campaign was conducted with the result that over 80,000 trees were planted in four years. The Playgrounds association was an incorporated branch of the Club and its pioneer work in securing playgrounds and equipment for the boys and girls is much appreciated by the citizens.

The officers the first year were: F. W. King, president; W. D. Vincent, treasurer; Ben H. Rice, secretary; and all were reelected for a second term. Upon the resignation of Secretary Rice, Fred H. Gaston was elected treasurer. The third year G. C. Corbaley was elected president, M. H. Eggleston treasurer and A. W. Jones, secretary.

H. J. Neely was president in 1909, W. D. Vincent, treasurer; A. W. Jones, secretary, and the following board of managers: J. F. Meagher, A. C. Ware, F. W. King, J. A. Tormey, C. H. Moore, W. H. Wilcox, C. H. Larkin, J. L. Paine, P. D. Tull, J. C. Cunningham, Phil T. Becher, S. A. Mann and H. E. Oswald.

The Children's Home of Spokane owes its existence to a most unique campaign

for funds. Late in 1907 it became apparent to some of our citizens that the old home was inadequate as well as dangerous, it being termed a veritable firetrap, and at a meeting of the 150,000 Club, the question of raising funds for a new building was proposed by A. V. Bradrick. A committee headed by Mr. Bradrick was appointed by the club and the subject given much favorable publicity by the newspapers. On March 20, 1908, a committee of two hundred men of all walks of life met in the hotel Spokane and after luncheon were divided into subcommittees of five and each given a territory to work. $40,000 was the amount decided upon to be raised that day. At two p. m. the committees went out and at six p. m. they reported back the entire amount raised in subscriptions ranging from $1.00 to $2,500.

John A. Finch contributed the site, and the building labor unions came to the front with promises of a day's labor per man on the buildings, which promises have been since made good; the laborers, stone-masons, bricklayers, cement workers and plumbers donated much free labor. The lathers and plasterers and Mosso-Berry, electricians, did all their work entirely gratis. The carpenter's union donated $1,000 from their treasury, and many other unions donated varying amounts.

The 150,000 Club appointed a building committee, consisting of F. Wallace King, chairman, H. M. Stephens, J. M. Corbet, Geo. Mackie and Mr. Rogers, with W. D. Vincent, as treasurer, and in charge of the collection of the fund. The services of R. C. Sweatt, as architect, were secured, and to these gentlemen, who for several months gave freely their time, is due much of the credit for the splendid home opened for the orphan children of Spokane.

Including the labor donations, the building is worth at least $75,000.

V. H. BROWN TELLS OF FIRST PIANOS IN SPOKANE

Going to Portland, Ore., in November, 1879, to reside, I began, in March, 1881, making regular semiannual trips as far east as Lewiston, Idaho to tune pianos, and when in Walla Walla in October, 1882, I received a letter from Geo. Brandt in which he said there were several pianos in Spokane much in need of tuning, and he would like to know what I would charge to come up and tune them. I replied that I would make the trip for $75.00 and tune all the pianos there. He informed me they could not pay that much.

When I was in Walla Walla in April, 1883, Mr. Brandt wrote me he had ten pianos for me to tune at $10.00 each and I soon came here, arriving April 26th or 27th. I can now recall only five of the names of the owners whose pianos I tuned at that first trip. They are J. J. Browne, A. M. Cannon, B. B. Bravender, . . . Warner, and Hotel Sprague.

I am reasonably certain this was the first piano tuning done in Spokane.

I came to Spokane again in October, 1883, and continued making semiannual trips until I came here to reside, which was January 19th, 1888.

The first pianos sold in Spokane were freighted here with teams from Walla Walla in the summer of 1881 by A. L. Davis & Son and placed in a small frame building on the ground now occupied by the Orpheum Theater on Howard street.

Soon after the Northern Pacific railroad was completed to Spokane from the west, making shipping easy from Portland, Davis & Son occupied a part of the W. L. Turner Drug Store on Howard street near Front avenue with some ten or twelve

SACRED HEART HOSPITAL

ST. LUKE'S HOSPITAL

pianos. They moved to Mill street into the rear store in the old Jamieson Building, corner of Riverside avenue and Mill street, about the beginning of 1885 and put in a general stock of pianos, organs, small musical instruments and sheet music.

Snyder & Dorsey bought out A. L. Davis & Son late in 1888 or early in 1889 and continued the business in the Jamieson Building until the big fire in August 1889. As soon as new stock could be shipped in they opened up in one room in E. C. Dorsey's residence, corner of Main avenue and Washington street, where they remained until new business blocks could be occupied when they moved to the Eagle Block into the room now occupied by the Spokane Cab Co.

E. C. Dorsey succeeded to the business of Snyder & Dorsey in 1892 and moved to the corner of Sprague avenue and Stevens street where he continued until he closed out in 1893.

Mrs. Geo. Brandt, who was probably the first piano teacher here, had two or three pianos on sale when I came here in April 1883 and continued as agent for a piano house in San Franscisco until the latter part of 1887 when Mr. Brandt opened a store in the Falls City Block, corner of Riverside avenue and Post street.

I had charge of this store in February and March, 1888, while Mr. Brandt was in California and he sold it to Frank Bracht about May 1st, 1888.

Mr. Bracht moved to the Cascade Block, Riverside avenue, between Post and Monroe streets, a few days before the big fire in 1889, then to the Bracht Block, on Howard street, between Riverside and Sprague avenues where he continued until he closed out in May 1901.

Hemmings & Joslyn opened a piano store on Monroe street near Broadway avenue, about September 1st, 1889, and were succeeded by the D. C. Josyln Music Co. about September 1st, 1890.

The Chant Music Co. bought out the D. C. Joslyn Co. about April 1st, 1894.

About October 15th, 1895, D. S. Johnston came to Spokane with two or three car loads of pianos for a "rush sale" and opened out in the corner store of the Jamieson Block, corner of Riverside avenue and Mill street.

He came again in January, 1896, for the same kind of a sale occupying the store at the corner of Riverside avenue and Post street. April 1st, 1896, he opened a permanent store on Riverside avenue, between Post and Lincoln streets, and continued business until the latter part of 1898 when he sold to the Eilers Piano House.

August Myers opened a piano store about 1901 or 1902 and sold to the Spokane Piano House in 1905. They continued business until about July, 1909.

In September of 1891, Geo. H. Kimball & Co. (Geo. H. Kimball and H. N. Cockrell) opened a piano store on the second floor of the Temple Court Building. In November of the same year Mr. Cockrell bought out Mr. Kimball and continued the business under the name of H. N. Cockrell & Co. In the spring of 1892 Cockrell & Co. bought out E. H. Beals & Co., who had been in business but a few months, and moved to No. 9 Mill street where they remained about eighteen months, when they moved to the corner of Mill and Sprague. In the fall of 1895 they moved to No. 7 Post street, Whitten Block, and remained there, doing a very successful business until they closed out in 1904.

V. H. Brown.

HISTORY OF THE SPOKESMAN-REVIEW

The Spokane Falls Review was established as a weekly, May 15, 1883, and the first number was printed on a Washington hand press at Cheney. It continued a weekly to June 16, 1884, when it was advanced to an afternoon daily. A year later it became a morning paper.

On July 1, 1886, Horace T. Brown acquired an interest from Dallam, a "pony" Associated Press service was taken on, and the paper was enlarged. A few days later H. W. Greenberg, a pioneer printer, was added to the partnership. Under their control, the paper was enlarged or contracted from time to time, as exigencies demanded.

In the summer of 1887 Brown and Greenberg bought the remaining interest of Dallam, and on April 1, 1888, they disposed of the property to Patrick Henry Winston, James Monaghan, C. B. King and Willis Sweet, who formed a joint stock company. On April 12, 1888, they incorporated the Review Publishing company.

October 1, 1888, the property was again sold, this time to Harvey W. Scott and Henry L. Pittock, editor and manager, respectively, of the Portland Oregonian, and A. M. Cannon. At that time there were only eleven names on the payroll.

October 12, 1889, N. W. Durham, coming from the editorial staff of the Oregonian, took editorial control.

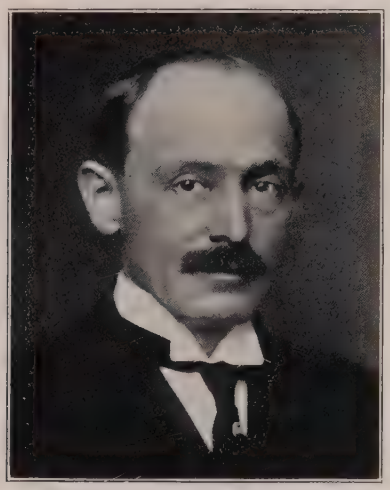
In 1893 the Review and its morning rival, the Spokesman, were merged, and on February 23 of that year W. H. Cowles became publisher and proprietor. Durham continued as editorial director of the consolidated property until May, 1910. W. H. Cowles, under whose talented and high-minded direction the Spokesman-Review has won rank as one of the most successful, able and fearless journals in the United States, was drawn to Spokane in the early '90s by a comparatively minor investment in the Morning Spokesman. Mr. Cowles' father had been one of the chief owners of the Chicago Tribune, and the young man was given thorough training in that notably efficient school of American journalism. It soon developed that the opposition venture of the Morning Spokesman was a losing investment, but Cowles hung to the task with great tenacity, acquired from time to time the interests of his disappointed associates, and carried on the opposition with unflagging vigor.

Unfortunately, the financial depression that followed fast upon the rebuilding of the burned city told heavily on the incomes of the rival morning dailies, and both suffered severe and increasing monthly losses. At that juncture, in the dull winter of 1892-93, the conviction came clear to the writer of this volume that for many years to come the town could not be expected to support two morning journals, and since both papers had the financial backing of powerful and wealthy interests, there seemed every prospect that the losses in the Spokane field would continue indefinitely, or at least until the combatants, grown weary of their unprofitable properties, might reach a tacit agreement to cut down expenses and find bottom, wherever bottom might be. In that event it was clear that Spokane would suffer the misfortune that has been thrust upon many other young cities, of having to endure two poor and uninfluential dailies, struggling for a starving support in a field barely capable of maintaining one that would be a credit to the town.

Under that conviction, the writer, sought an interview with Mr. Cowles in the

THOMAS HOOKER
Manager Chronicle

HENRY RISING
Editor Chronicle



W. H. COWLES
Publisher Spokesman-Review

GEORGE W. DODDS

J. F. YOUNG

MALCOLM GLENDINNING

City Editor Spokesman-Review

ROBERT A. GLEN

Night Editor Spokesman-Review

FRANK DALLAM

Founder of Daily Review

W. C. MORRIS

Cartoonist Spokesman-Review

EDWIN A. SMITH

Editor Twice-a-Week Spokesman Review

Spokesman office, then published in Carson's Hazel block, on the east side of Howard, between Riverside and Sprague, and without preliminary fencing stated the apparent advisability of bringing about, if possible, a consolidation of the two newspapers. With equal candor Mr. Cowles assented to this view of the situation. The writer then sent Mr. Scott and Mr. Pittock a statement of his conclusions and a report of the interview with Mr. Cowles, and volunteered, if they wished it, to endeavor to arrange a meeting for them with Mr. Cowles. This received their ready approval and the meeting was held in the Review editorial rooms, Mr. Scott and Mr. Pittock coming up from Portland. After several weeks of negotiation the merger was completed, having also the approval of Mr. Cannon, who held a third interest with the Portland owners. A few months later Mr. Cowles acquired Mr. Cannon's interest, and a little later, the panic of 1893 having broken upon the land, Mr. Pittock and Mr. Scott sold out their entire interest to Mr. Cowles, who thus became sole owner of the consolidated properties.

Remembrance of the part he thus played in helping to bring order out of Spokane's journalistic chaos has been a source of gratification to the writer of this history. For the results were beneficial alike to the city, the former owners and Mr. Cowles. Relieved of the burden of a losing daily in a distant town, Mr. Pittock and Mr. Scott rode out more easily the storm that tossed the financial and industrial craft of the United States. Having the concentrated support of the town, Mr. Cowles was able to press steadily forward with his ambitious plans, and print a daily journal that Spokane could offer in successful competition in the surrounding country with the competing papers to the east and the west.

In 1890-91 the present Review building was erected, and formally opened by a public reception in October, 1891.

WOMEN VOTED IN TERRITORAL DAYS

The legislature of Washington territory enfranchised women in 1883 and the bill was approved by Governor W. A. Newell November 23 of that year.

One of the first women to serve in the territory still lives in the Inland Empire, she is Mrs. Lucy A. R. Switzer of Cheney. Speaking of her experiences nearly three decades ago Mrs. Switzer said:

"The first women jurors to serve in Spokane county were doubtless Mrs. Martha Bluett, Mrs. L. M. Kellogg and Miss Mary R. Bybie, who, as well as I can recollect, served in the justice court of John W. Still in Cheney. I think it was in the latter part of winter. In the case of Heifflebower versus Heifflebower these women were called upon to serve and they did so. I know them all. The Northwest Tribune of October 3, 1884, then published at Cheney, stated: 'The district court will convene at Cheney Monday, October 6, Judge S. C. Wingard presiding.'

"There was a long list of cases, nearly 70. Five women served on the jury that term: Mrs. J. C. Davenport, Mrs. Jennie M. Mount, Mrs. H. A. Range, Miss Mary R. Bybie and myself. The fall term lasted 10 days and a half, I think. The same five women served at the adjourned term of over 10 days the following February. Three of them were chosen a clerk of the jury in different cases, one, myself, acting as foreman in two cases, and one was appointed bailiff. Mrs. Davenport and Mrs. Mount are now dead, Mrs. Range lives in Seattle and Miss Bybie in Portland."

CHAPTER LXXVIII

D. C. CORBIN'S CAREER IN SPOKANE COUNTRY

VISITS THE COEUR D'ALENES IN 1886—MEETS JIM WARDNER, PHIL O'ROURKE AND HARRY BAER—ALARMING MIXTURE OF ORE SAMPLES AND DYNAMITE—BUILDS A RAILROAD AND SELLS IT TO THE NORTHERN PACIFIC—COMES TO SPOKANE AND BUILDS THE SPOKANE FALLS & NORTHERN—TRYING TIMES AFTER PANIC OF 1893—LOYALTY OF HIS EMPLOYES—BUILDS THE SPOKANE INTERNATIONAL—ESTABLISHES THE SUGAR BEET INDUSTRY.

BY D. C. CORBIN

IN THE spring of 1886, having some leisure time on my hands, I came from New York to the Coeur d'Alenes and the state of Washington, with no other purpose than to see something of the extreme northwest. I was familiar with nearly all the states and territories west of the Missouri river, having come out to the west when a very young man, and had spent most of my life on the frontier west of the Mississippi river.

I had crossed the plains to Denver and Salt Lake, on mule back and by overland stage, several times before the Union Pacific was built. I had enjoyed the exciting sport of chasing buffalo and being chased by Indians, and had contracted a love for the west which will last as long as I live.

By invitation of Henry Villard and T. F. Oakes, I had been present at the driving of the last spike, near Gold Creek, Montana, that completed the construction of the Northern Pacific railroad, and had not then, nor until my visit in 1886, been further west on the northern route than that point. I knew something of Washington, especially the Puget Sound country, a little about Spokane and the Inland Empire, and had a desire to see it.

I stopped short of Spokane on my way west, leaving the Northern Pacific at Rathdrum, and taking the stage from there to Coeur d'Alene City—city by courtesy, for it was then a very small place, its principal feature being the military post. After spending a day there, I took the steamer Coeur d'Alene, owned by James Monaghan, Clem King and Captain Sanborn, for Old Mission at the head of navigation on the Coeur d'Alene river, and upon arriving at that point changed conveyance to a mud wagon stage that ran between Old Mission and Wardner. It was in April, and the roads were at their worst, and that, as anybody will testify who traveled them at that time, either on foot, horseback, or by stage, meant about the worst that anybody ever saw. It was not like the old time roads on the Illinois prairies, that had no bottom, when stage passengers were required to walk and

carry rails on their shoulders to pry the coaches out of the mud; there was bottom to the road between Old Mission and Wardner, but it was from two to three feet below the surface.

At the town of Wardner I found James Wardner, Phil. O'Rourke, Con Sullivan, Harry Baer and Kellogg, who owned the donkey that discovered the Bunker Hill mine. The gentlemen named, excepting Jim Wardner, were the owners of the Bunker Hill and Sullivan mines, at that time nothing more than exceedingly good prospects, and they very courteously invited me to inspect what little there was to be seen, and afterwards to have dinner with them at the miners' boarding house, both of which invitations I accepted and enjoyed.

In our examination of the prospects, Jim Wardner had secured a gunny sack, in which he deposited various samples of the ore, and upon our return to his cabin, dumped them in a pile upon the floor. Among the samples was one that would not have assayed much in silver and lead, but which would have given exceedingly high values in dynamite. In other words, Jim had picked up an empty sack—apparently empty—in which to deposit his samples, and had been dropping occasional chunks of lead ore on a stick of dynamite during the day. We were both speechless for a moment, and then some brief remarks were made which are not necessary to repeat here.

From Wardner I proceeded to the town of Wallace, which then consisted of three log houses, occupied by Colonel Wallace and his wife, another man and wife, and a single man. Mr. S. S. Glidden, who then owned the Tiger mine at what is now the town of Burke, had accompanied me from Wardner, for the purpose of showing me the mines, but we were obliged to lie over two days at Wallace, while men were clearing fallen trees from the trail—there was no wagon road between Wallace and Burke at that time—when we proceeded to the Tiger camp. There was not much development on the Tiger and Poorman mines at that time, but what there was looked good, and after a day there I returned to Wardner for a further examination of that camp, and to gain what information I could respecting other discoveries.

It all impressed me so forcibly that I concluded a transportation line, connecting the district with the Northern Pacific, the only railroad then in sight, would pay, and within a short time had arranged to build a branch from that road to Coeur d'Alene City, had purchased the transportation line on the lake and river, and commenced the construction of a road from Old Mission to Wardner, and during the following winter was transporting ore, merchandise and passengers over it. The business grew rapidly and proved very profitable, becoming so attractive that two years later the Oregon Railway & Navigation company, then under the management of Elijah Smith, commenced to look that way with longing eyes. This did not suit Mr. T. F. Oakes, then president of the Northern Pacific, who claimed that the territory belonged to his company, and he proposed to buy me out. Our negotiations were short, but satisfactory to both parties, and I sold the line to the Northern Pacific company in the fall of 1888.

The following winter I spent in New York, but early in the spring of 1889, at the invitation of James Monaghan, James Glover, Frank Moore and others, who had some time previously organized the Spokane Falls & Northern Railway company, I came to Spokane, and after a short time arranged to take the company over,

DE SMET, IDAHO, ON COEUR D'ALENE INDIAN RESERVATION

SURVIVORS OF INDIAN WAR OF 1858 ON STEPTOE BATTLEFIELD AT ROSALIA, WASHINGTON

From left to right: Thomas Beall, Michael Kenny, J. J. Rohn

VIEW OF COLFAX DURING THE FLOOD OF 1910

BEET SUGAR FACTORY AT WAVERLY, WASHINGTON, WITH FIELD OF SUGAR BEETS IN FOREGROUND

finance it, and build the road; and in October of the same season was running trains to Colville, ninety miles north of Spokane. During the following three years I extended the road to Northport and the international boundary line, and early in the spring of 1893, having obtained a charter from the Canadian government, commenced the construction of the Nelson & Fort Sheppard railway, from the international boundary line to Nelson on Kootenai lake.

Later during that season, with the road half completed, the great panic of 1893 broke upon the country, like a thunderclap out of a clear sky, and within a few months nearly half the railroads in the west, including the Northern Pacific, were in the hands of receivers.

The following year of 1894 brought the great flood in the Columbia river, which washed out some miles of my road between Marcus and the boundary line, causing very heavy damage. However, it was not a time to give up, and I went on with the determination to see it through, but with many misgivings as to what would happen next, and feeling a little like the old man who fired off a gun containing thirteen loads, and was knocked over by the concussion, when his son called out: "Lay still, dad, there are twelve more loads in her." It was a time when a man had either to brace up and fight for his life, or lie down and be wiped out. I was fortunate in having associates in the enterprise who had known me long, and who trusted me, and in the loyalty of my employes who refused, at the order of the Anarchist Eugene Debs, and his Spokane lieutenants, to go out on a strike, along with the employes of the Great Northern and Northern Pacific roads; and so, after a long and anxious spirit, I managed to sail my ship into calm waters, out of the reach of receivers.

A year or two afterwards I had the road on a paying basis, and in June, 1898, through negotiations with Mr. C. S. Mellen, then president of the Northern Pacific Railway company, sold it to that company.

I had no thought at that time of engaging in further railroad construction, but in 1904 I was strongly impressed with the belief that a connection with the Canadian Pacific railroad system would be of very great benefit to Spokane and the Inland Empire, and proceeded with a few friends to finance the enterprise (the Spokane International), having the friendly cooperation, through its very able president, Sir Thomas G. Shaughnessy, of the Canadian Pacific company.

This may complete my railroad construction—and it may not. I am on the sunset side of life, but still vigorous, and willing to be of use to the community in which I live, and work agrees with me. I have always felt great interest in the development of the country, and have unlimited faith in it. Washington has great possibilities, and will be one of the great, rich states of the Union.—D. C. Corbin.

When Mr. Corbin, in 1890, extended the Spokane Falls & Northern to the international boundary, he established a line of boats to Revelstoke, connecting there with the Canadian Pacific. Subsequently he bridged the Columbia river at Northport and built the Red Mountain railway to the Rossland mines. This railroad system, when sold to the Northern Pacific (it passed later to the Great Northern), comprised 220 miles of road. It has been one of the chief foundations of Spokane's greatness and prosperity. Development of the rich mines of the Rossland district, the Slocan, of Republic and the Granby and other properties along the international boundary, would, in all probability, have been impossible if the Corbin system had

never been constructed. Beyond all question that development would have been many years retarded.

Mr. Corbin organized in 1900 the Washington State Sugar company and built the beet sugar factory at Waverly, in the southern end of Spokane county. He purchased, in 1905, the property of the Spokane Valley Land & Water Company, then badly involved, raised money to lift its debts, developed its irrigating system, and purchased several thousand acres of land in the Spokane valley, at an outlay of $850,000.

In 1910 he built branch lines of the Spokane International to Lakes Coeur d'Alene and Pend d'Oreille.

CHAPTER LXXIX

CITY OFFICIALS OF SPOKANE, FROM 1881 TO DATE. COMPILED BY CITY CLERK C. A. FLEMING.

MAYOR R. W. FORREST, appointed by special act of legislature incorporating the City of Spokane Falls. November 25th, 1881.

Mayor J. N. Glover, April 7th, 1884, to April 15, 1885.

City Clerk Chas. E. Crellin April 7th, 1884 to July 16th, 1884.

City Clerk George Brandt, July 16th, 1884 to April 15th, 1885.

City Marshal Eugene Hyde.

Mayor A. M. Cannon, April 15th, 1885 to April 18th, 1887.

City Clerk J. C. Hanna, April 15th, 1885 to April 6th, 1887.

City Clerk J. F. Piggott, April 6th, 1887 to April 18th, 1887.

Chief of Police James Glispin, April 15th, 1885 to January 11th, 1887.

Acting Chief of Police S. B. Leininger, January 11th, 1887 to April 5th, 1887.

Mayor W. H. Taylor, April 18th, 1887 to April 13th, 1888.

City Clerk W. F. Edwards, April 18th, 1887 to April 18th, 1888.

Chief of Police J. F. Warren, April 5th, 1887 to April 15th, 1890.

Mayor Jacob Hoover, April 13th, 1888 to March 7th, 1889. Resigned on account of moving out of the city limits.

Mayor I. S. Kaufman, elected by the council to serve unexpired term of Jacob Hoover, to April 17th, 1889.

City Clerk J. J. White, April 18, 1888 to April 16th, 1890.

Chief of Fire Dept. W. W. Witherspoon, June 6th, 1888 to Dec. 2nd, 1889.

Mayor Fred Furth, April 17, 1889 to April 16th, 1890.

Chief of Fire Dept. E. P. Gillette, Dec. 2nd, 1889 to April 16th, 1890.

Mayor Chas. F. Clough, April 16th, 1890 to April 4th, 1891.

City Clerk C. O. Downing, April 16th, 1890 to May 13th, 1892.

Chief of Fire Dept. F. B. Weinbrenner, April 16, 1890 to Nov. 27th, 1896.

Chief of Police Dept. M. G. Harbord, April 16, 1890 to April 28, 1891.

Mayor D. B. Fotheringham, April 4th, 1891 to May 13th, 1892.

City Clerk C. O. Downing.

Chief of Police Dept. Peter Mertz, April 28th, 1891 to Sept. 10th, 1895.

Mayor D. M. Drumheller, May 13th, 1892 to May 12th, 1893.

City Clerk J. R. Rasmusson, May 13th, 1892 to May 12th, 1893.

Mayor E. L. Powell, May 12th, 1893 to May 11th, 1894.

City Clerk William Morse, May 12th, 1893 to May 19th, 1896.

Chief of Police, Peter Mertz to Sept. 10th, 1905.

Mayor Horatio N. Belt, May 11th, 1894 to May 14th, 1897.

City Clerk L. F. Boyd, May 19th, 1896 to May 16th, 1902.

Chief of Fire Dept. F. B. Weinbrenner to Nov. 27th, 1896 and A. H. Myers from November 27th, 1896 to date.

Chief of Police Dept. Wm. Hawthorne, March 17th, 1896 to June 11th, 1897.

Mayor E. D. Olmsted, May 14th, 1897 to May 12th, 1899.

Chief of Police Dept. J. F. Warren, July 6th, 1897 to July 11th, 1899.

Mayor J. M. Comstock, May 12th, 1899 to May 17th, 1901.

Chief of Police Dept. W. W. Witherspoon, July 11th, 1899 to June 17th, 1902.

Mayor P. S. Byrne, May 17th, 1901 to May 15th, 1903.

City Clerk H. J. Gibbon, May 16th, 1902 to February 28th, 1903.

Chief of Police Dept. John F. Reddy August 5th, 1902 to May 6th, 1903.

Mayor L. F. Boyd, May 15th, 1903 to May 12th, 1905.

City Clerk C. A. Fleming February 28th, 1903 to date.

Chief of Police Dept. E. M. Woydt, May 12th, 1903 to March 8th, 1904.

Mayor Floyd L. Daggett, May 12th, 1905 to May 17th, 1907.

Chief of Police Dept. Leroy Waller, August 16th, 1904 to May 17th, 1907.

Mayor C. Herbert Moore, May 17th, 1907 to May 14th, 1909.

Chief of Police Dept. Ren H. Rice, May 17th, 1907 to March 15th, 1909.

Mayor N. S. Pratt, May 14th, 1909 to March 14th, 1911.

Chief of Police Dept. John T. Sullivan Acting, May 14th, 1909 to Oct. 25th, 1910.

Chief of Police Dept. W. J. Doust, October 25th, 1910 to date.

Mayor William J. Hindley, March 14th, 1911 to date.

Chief of Police Dept. W. J. Doust.

A. M. Cannon

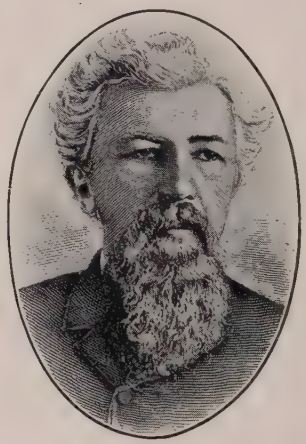
James N. Glover

W. H. Taylor

Jacob Hoover

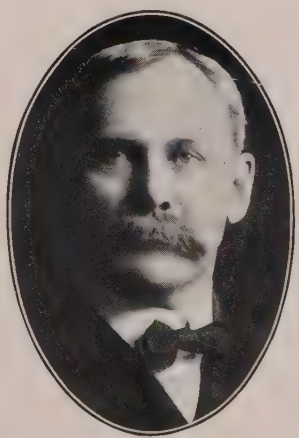
R. W. Forrest

First Mayor of Spokane



Fred Furth

C. F. Clough

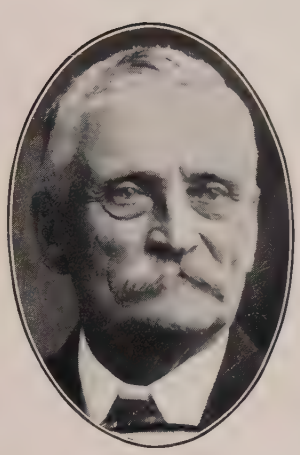


D. B. Fotheringham

Dr. E. D. Olmsted

EARLY DAY MAYORS OF SPOKANE

Floyd L. Daggett



J. M. Comstock

C. Herbert Moore

N. S. Pratt

D. M. Drumheller

P. S. Byrne

E. L. Powell

H. N. Belt

L. Frank Boyd

GROUP OF SPOKANE MAYORS

CHAPTER LXXX

BRIEF HISTORY OF THE BIG BEND COUNTRY

FUR TRADERS RANGE OVER THIS BROAD REGION—ARRIVAL OF THE FIRST STOCKMEN—TRAGIC END OF "WILD GOOSE BILL"—ARRIVAL OF THE SOLDIERS—FIRST SETTLER AT DAVENPORT—CRICKET SCOURGE OF 1882-83—CREATION OF LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS COUNTIES—HOT AND FURIOUS COUNTY SEAT CONTEST—DAVENPORT ARMS TO HOLD THE RECORDS—INVADING "ARMY" FROM SPRAGUE TAKES THEM WITHOUT BLOODSHED—A COUNTY WITHOUT A TOWN—COMING OF THE RAILROADS—WHITMAN COUNTY REDUCED TO MAKE ADAMS AND FRANKLIN COUNTIES—FIRST HOUSE IN RITZVILLE—HISTORIC OLD AINSWORTH—PASCO'S EXPENSIVE BANQUET—ADVENT OF THE GREAT NORTHERN.

DAVID THOMPSON, engineer and explorer of the Northwest Fur company of Canada, was probably the first white man to look upon the elevated prairie lands of the Big Bend country. Thompson's party crossed the Canadian Rockies in the spring of 1809, and in 1811 descended the Columbia river from Kettle Falls to Astoria.

A few weeks later an expedition from Astor's establishment near the mouth of the Columbia located a rival post at the confluence of the Okanogan and Columbia, and a year later a competing post at the mouth of the Little Spokane. Communication between the Astor depots at Okanogan and Spokane House was opened in 1812, and the party in charge of the packtrain between these points were the first white men to traverse the Big Bend region.

Hunting and exploring parties from Spokane House scouted widely over this broad region, and their old chronicles describe the Grand Coulee, lakes of mineralized waters and other topographical features.

Some thirty years later Protestant and Catholic missionaries became familiar with the geography of the country, and the site of the present town of Sprague served as a camping spot for Father Eells, Rev. Elkanah Walker and their families en route from Walla Walla to Tshimakain.

Detachments from Governor Stevens' exploring expedition of 1853 studied the lofty plateau, and four or five years thereafter, adventurous gold miners rocked out considerable placer gold from bars in the Columbia near Wenatchee and north into British Columbia. They were followed in the '60s by Chinese miners who worked over the old diggings of the white men, and about that time a few adventurous cattlemen drove their herds into the country and took up stock ranges where cattle and horses thrived well on the nutritious bunch-grass.

It is thought that John Marlin, who came in 1871, with his wife and ten children, to the spot where now stands the town of Krupp, was the first white settler within the borders of the present day counties of Douglas and Grant. Marlin built a log house and engaged in stock-raising until 1876, when he sold his interests to George Urquhart, who was followed in 1877 by his brother Donald. At that time a stockman named Irby, the Walter Brothers, R. M. Bacon and John Enos, more widely known as "Portuguese Joe," had stock ranches along Crab creek, east of the Marlin place. Mr. Bacon served as the first postmaster in Lincoln county, when Crab Creek postoffice was established, with a weekly mail service by stage.

One of the best known frontier characters in the country, was Wm. Conden, more familiarly known as "Wild Goose Bill." "When I was Indian Agent from 1887 to 1889," says Major Gwydir, "I became intimately acquainted with Bill and found him, as the Indians expressed it, a skookum Indian. Conden came to the northwest in 1856. He began packing between Walla Walla and Fort Colville. He afterwards built and operated a ferry on the Columbia, which is still known as 'Wild Goose Bill's ferry'. He also had a trading establishment at that point.

"Conden won his sobriquet by firing into a large flock of tame geese owned by a settler between Walla Walla and Colville, under the impression that they were wild. The owner of the flock had brought the eggs all the way from Oregon and was so indignant over their loss that she followed Bill to his home, delivering all the way a scathing tirade against the stupidity of a man who pretended to be a frontiersman and didn't know the difference between a wild goose and a tame one.

"Bill had considerable trouble with his first squaw wife, Julia; she was a Coeur d'Alene Indian and had had her ears trimmed by the Indian Court, that being the penalty among that tribe for immorality in women. Humiliated by the indignity and shame inflicted upon her, and disgusted with her tribe, she eloped with Bill. The Indians soon got on their trail, which Bill had taken no trouble to hide, for as he afterwards expressed it, he sort of thought he would be followed. A few days later he observed four mounted Indians coming down the trail toward his camp. Recognizing the Indians as Coeur d'Alenes he prepared for action. What the Indians thought or said upon meeting Bill has never been recorded, but after the meeting, Bill was the possessor of four ponies and their equipment, their former owners having no further use for them. Conden met his death in a tragic way, January 24, 1895. He and a man named Parks had some trouble and there was a woman mixed up with it. Bill's last words were 'I got him and I guess he's got me.' "

Grown weary of the nomadic life of the packer, Conden took a squatter's claim on which the town of Wilbur was subsequently platted, and when the country was surveyed, filed a homestead and completed his title.

Settlement of the Big Bend country showed little progress in the '70s. Discovery had not been made of the grain and fruit-growing possibilities of the uplands, and stock-raising continued the sole industry. The first settlements in the vicinity of Davenport were made in 1878 and 1879. O. B. Parks came up from California in '78 and took a claim one mile north of the present county seat; J. G. Kethroc located near Reardan, and Barney Fitzpatrick engaged in the stock-raising business, and after the establishment of old Fort Spokane at the mouth of the Spokane river, took a government contract to supply the troops with beef. Others who came

BIRD'SEYE VIEW OF RITZVILLE, WASHINGTON

VIEW OF DAVENPORT, WASHINGTON

in 1879 were Mr. and Mrs. A. D. Strout, Joseph M. Nichols, C. C. May, A. G. Courtright, L. A. Kennedy, T. M. Cooper, Byron Richards, James Hurlburt, Horace Parker and Mr. and Mrs. John Oakley.

"The site for Fort Spokane," says a "History of the Big Bend Country," "was selected in September, 1880, by General O. O. Howard, department commander, and Lieutenant Colonel Merriam of the Second U. S. Infantry. It was one of the prettiest among the frontier posts, and was selected because it was in easy striking distance of the Colville Indian reservation just across the Columbia river. To this newly selected post were brought five companies of the Second infantry and one troop of the Second cavalry under command of Lieutenant Colonel Merriam. These troops were brought from the foot of Lake Chelan, where they had been for some time exerting a wholesome influence upon the Chelan Indians. This post was officially abandoned in 1899."

The presence of so large a body of troops stimulated immigration, both by reassuring the timid and cautious and by affording an inviting market for agricultural products and live stock.

This year a man named Harker took a claim at Cottonwood Springs, the historic camping spot which subsequently became Davenport, and a postoffice named Cottonwood was established there with Harker as postmaster and owner of a small stock of merchandise. The first real business house was erected in 1881, when John H. Nicholls built a combination store, dwelling, postoffice and hotel. Mr. Nicholls freighted his goods from Spokane Falls and Cheney, the Northern Pacific having reached those towns from the west; but prior to this year, goods needed by the scattered settlement were hauled from Colfax and Walla Walla.

Many were the hardships and privations encountered by the first settlers of the Big Bend country. Necessarily the early day habitations were rough and primitive—a poor shelter for delicate women and children against the cold blasts of winter. Towns, schools and churches had been left behind, and supplies had to be freighted long distances over poor roads or no roads at all. Medical attention in case of illness was hardly to be thought of; and solitude left its depressing influence. In some instances flour could be had only by grinding wheat in coffee mills. These pioneer conditions were intensified by the severity of the winter of 1881-82, and to cap the climax of their troubles, the pioneers suffered in the summers of 1882 and 1883 from an appalling visitation of crickets.

"Myriads of large black crickets," to quote the "History of the Big Bend Country," "measuring from one to two inches long, swarmed out of the earth and up through the snow, and devastated the fields for two seasons. Settlers combined their forces and dug ditches, surrounding their farms with pits five rods apart, and men, women and children worked day and night with brooms, sweeping the pests into pits and destroying them. The bulk of their crops destroyed, families subsisted on peas and fish throughout the season. If people could have obtained the means to escape, the country would have been depopulated. Great was the rejoicing when it became known that the cricket pest was completely exterminated."

At this period Spokane county swept westward to the Columbia river, and the pioneers 50 and 100 miles distant from the county seat began an agitation for a new county. They found a responsive friend in Judge N. T. Caton, then a member of

the territorial legislature from Walla Walla county, who framed and introduced a bill creating the proposed new county of Sprague, which he afterwards amended to Lincoln, and naming the town of Sprague as temporary county seat. In committee the bill was amended to make Davenport the temporary seat of government, a change which excited a protesting petition from 420 persons, "as there are only two houses in that locality, and it is forty miles from any railroad line." Notwithstanding this opposition, the bill passed and was approved by the Governor November 24, 1883.

"At the general election of 1884," to quote from the Lincoln County Times, "the people were called upon to vote upon the location of the county seat. There were three candidates for the honor, Davenport, Harrington and Sprague. The campaign preceding the election was hot and furious. At that time women were entitled to the ballot. Few voters entitled to a vote failed to exercise that privilege, while considering the extent of the population, the figures would indicate that purity of the ballot was not a feature of the election. The total vote polled was 2,227. Of this number Sprague received 1,256, Davenport 819, and Harrington 202. Sprague cast 1,023 votes."

Davenport contested the election on grounds of fraudulent voting and refused to surrender the county records. "The roads leading into the town from all directions were lined with men carrying muskets, revolvers, Winchesters and other weapons of warfare, all determined to hold the fort at Davenport," says the history previously quoted. "For three long weeks, night and day, did they guard and garrison the town. A ditch on the hillside and a ridge mark the place where breastworks were thrown up. They are pointed out to the visitor to this day—memorials of that perilous period."

Then the defending army, grown weary of this irksome guard duty, returned to their homes, and "suddenly a force swept down upon Davenport from 60 to 100 strong and armed to the teeth, and no resistance was made. Davenport surrendered the county records. Sheriff Cody and Martin J. Maloney were at the head of the army of deputies who came up from Sprague and removed the records from Davenport. When the sheriff drove across the creek and his errand became known, Dick Hutchinson stepped forward with a pistol as long as his arm and dared Cody to shoot it out with him at twenty paces. But Cody had business to attend to and refused to accommodate the warlike Dick with an exchange of shots."

Twelve years after, at the general election in November, 1896, Davenport renewed the contest and won the county seat with a vote of 1,582; against removal, 537; for Harrington, 240.

Scarcely was the ink dry on the act which cut Lincoln county away from Spokane than adroit pressure was brought on the territorial legislature to carve again and create a county of Douglas from western Lincoln. Notwithstanding that the confines of the proposed new county held a sparse and wide scattered population, but little if any in excess of 100, the lawmakers yielded, and on November 28, 1883, only four days after his approval of the act creating Lincoln county, the governor signed the bill which called Douglas county into being. Within the entire county there was not a town of any description. The law gave "Okanogan City" the temporary county seat, a place that had been platted expressly for that purpose. Okanogan had one habitation, no more, and that a tent to shelter its ambitious popu-

PASCO, WASHINGTON, AT THE CONFLUENCE OF THE COLUMBIA AND SNAKE RIVERS

CHIEF JOSEPH'S CAMP AT NESPELIM, WASHINGTON, TAKEN JUST BEFORE HIS DEATH

WILD GOOSE BILL'S HISTORIC FERRY ON THE COLUMBIA, NORTH OF WILBUR

lation of one, Walter Mann. "There was not a store, postoffice, saloon or blacksmith shop, a railway train or a stage line in the whole territory to be subsequently known as Douglas county, a territory as large as the state of Connecticut," says the author of a local history, who adds that "in that portion of the county west of the Grand Coulee we find that before 1883 there had never been a white settler. To Platt Corbaley belongs the honor of being the first to locate west of the Coulee. He came in April, 1883, and took up his residence just west of Badger mountain, two miles southwest of the present town of Waterville."

A census taken by F. M. Alexander in December, 1883, of those who passed that winter in the Badger mountain country, which practically meant everybody living in the western portion of the county, disclosed fewer than 80 persons.

Okanogan's townsite boomers did their best to make the place a "metropolis," but all to no avail. The first meeting of the county commissioners was held in the tent, with H. A. Meyers and J. W. Adams present, P. M. Corbaley absent; and a few weeks later B. L. Martin put up a store building, 24x36, and this served as a courthouse until the county seat was transferred to Waterville, in 1887. Three or four buildings constituted the pretentious town of Okanogan in the heyday of its prosperity. The townsite was inviting; the surrounding soil excellent; and Okanogan started with the "bulge" on every possible rival. But it lacked one essential; it had no water and could procure none, although its promoters in their desperation drilled down 285 feet.

When Okanogan's dilemma became apparent, Judge Lucian B. Nash, who had invested in a sawmill on Badger mountain, platted the rival town of Nashland, so-called in honor of Major E. D. Nash, a pioneer of the county. E. D. Nash started there a store, the Badger postoffice was transferred from Mr. Corbaley's place, some one started a blacksmith shop, and the surrounding settlers resolved to contest with Okanogan for permanent county seat honors. At the election in November, 1884, Okanogan won by a single vote. Two years later Waterville captured the county seat.

From 1883 to 1890 immigration moved into the Big Bend country in constantly increasing streams. The fame of its rich soil, its invigorating climate and the hospitable spirit of its people spread afar, and settlers moved in from the west and the east. Never again, so long as time endures, will be witnessed in the United States such scenes as attended the occupation of these broad expanses of fertile government lands. For prairie soil of that quality can be found no more within the public domain. Brave and industrious homesteaders went into the Big Bend region and made good with little or no capital at all to sustain them. The men were hardy, the women patient and self-denying, the children eager for the adventures that go with the settlement of a new country. The neighborly spirit ran high, and people were content and happy when fortunate enough to have the simple necessaries of life and the plainest of attire. For ostentatious wealth had not yet entered in to arouse discontent and excite envy. "Lack of desire," saith Seneca, "is the greatest of riches."

While the pioneers of the Big Bend country were happy with the denials and hardships incident to the reclamation of a new domain, yet were they progressive and ambitious in the better meaning of the word. Schools, churches and other refining influences were fostered, the building of better dwellings followed temporary

residence in cabins and shacks; newspapers were encouraged in even the small towns; and all awaited eagerly the coming of railroads to stimulate further settlement and justify the planting of a larger acreage in grain.

With the new year, 1887, the country was stirred by rumors of railroad extensions from the main line of the Northern Pacific. One of the first projects surveyed this year was the Sprague & Big Bend railroad, from Sprague to "Wild Goose Bill's ranch" at Wilbur, with a proposed branch line to serve the Mondovi, Fairview and Davenport sections. This enterprise failed to materialize, but it stirred the Northern Pacific to action, and that company sent engineers into Lincoln county and ran surveys for a branch line from Cheney west. A. M. Cannon, Paul Mohr and others were active, too, with their projected Seattle, Lake Shore & Eastern project, to cross the state from Puget Sound to Spokane. Spokane citizens subscribed $175,000 to this ambitious undertaking, and in the spring of 1888 a contract was let for the construction of the first sixty miles west from Spokane. This road was actually built from Spokane to a point near Davenport, but the company subsequently lost its entity, its completed road was picked up by the Northern Pacific, and a few years later the steel was taken up and only an abandoned grade remained as a memorial to disappointed hopes.

Meanwhile the Northern Pacific went forward with vigorous construction of its Central Washington branch, and by February, 1889, had laid steel into Davenport. The line was extended this year to Almira, and in 1890 to Coulee City in the Grand coulee, and was graded eight miles beyond, in an ambitious effort to climb out of the coulee and continue on "to an eligible point on the Columbia, near the mouth of the Wenatchee river." Surveys were also made northwesterly towards the Okanogan country. After the lapse of nearly a quarter of a century the Central Washington still has its terminus at Coulee City.

Whether Adams and Franklin counties should be classified as a part of the Big Bend country has long been a close question. Prior to the agricultural development of the extensive wheat-growing areas in Adams county, when stockmen ranged their large herds far and wide in search of fresh pasturage, the term "Big Bend country" was used with wider latitude than in recent years; and with the country's fuller development, and attendant growth of such fine towns as Ritzville, Lind, Washtucna and Pasco, we have seen an increasing tendency to look upon these two counties as a great district unto themselves; and more recently still, to regard Adams county as an empire within itself, and to classify Pasco and Kennewick as Twin Cities with a future peculiarly their own by reason of identity of interest in irrigation, transportation lines and location at the junction of the Columbia and the Snake.

The first settlers within the area that now forms Adams county located in the Cow Creek section. George Lucas, the earliest arrival, engaged in the stock industry there in the latter '60s; his place was on the old military road from Walla Walla to old Fort Colville. Reporting this pioneer's departure for a pleasure trip to California, ten years ago, the Adams County News said: "His presence in town last Saturday, clad in blanket breeches, leathern belt, army shirt, canvas coat and wide sombrero, recalled incidents which will be remembered by some of the pioneers of the '70s, when Lucas and some of his followers donned Indian costume, and with painted faces appeared upon the high hills in a hostile manner intended to frighten

J. D. LABRIE

One of the First Settlers
at Medical Lake

ANDREW LE FEVRE

One of the first settlers
at Medical Lake

STATE HOSPITAL FOR THE INSANE AT MEDICAL LAKE

the scattered immigrants across the border and out of the country. But the sturdy adventurers were made of sterner stuff, and when their rifles began to crack on the clear morning air, the confederate redskins hiked for tall timber."

The decade between 1870 and 1880 brought other settlers, all to follow the stock industry; but with the approach of the main line of the Northern Pacific came an influx of wheat farmers, and year by year the agricultural possibilities of the soil were given increasing demonstration.

Philip Ritz, the first settler in the northern part of the county, located a homestead in 1878 immediately south of the site of Ritzville, and the following year a number of settlers came up from the Walla Walla valley.

S. A. Wells, who subsequently came to Spokane and held here official positions, was the leading spirit in the movement in 1883 to create Adams and Franklin counties from territory cut off from Whitman. "In looking over the map it one day occurred to me that Ritzville might be converted into a county capital," said Mr. Wells, many years thereafter. "Impressed with this idea, I went to the railroad station and broached the subject. The people with whom I conversed pronounced the scheme impracticable. They said, 'It can't be done.' I replied, 'Can't is a word I do not recognize in my vocabulary.' On this line I proceeded, and against great obstacles and numerous discouragements succeeded in securing the formation of the two counties and the location of the county seat at Ritzville."

The first building in Ritzville was constructed in 1881. "This was an eight room house built by William McKay," quoting from a local history. "At that period the railroad graders on the Northern Pacific were working in this vicinity. McKay's place was utilized as an improvised hotel for the accommodation of these laborers and the transient trade connected with them. The arrival of the railroad in the summer of 1881 brought more people to the country. About the same time Mr. McKay erected the second building in the extremely youthful town and put in a small stock of dry goods and groceries. The third building on the townsite was the depot, erected in the autumn of 1881. O. H. Greene, who came with his family to Ritzville in 1882, has said that at the time of his arrival there were scarcely fifty people in the place. School was conducted in a 'lean-to' on some generous man's house. Every one drew water from the same fountain—the railroad tank—and it was not thought that water could be obtained by digging. The only meeting house was the dining room of the hotel, and the hotel was the depot. This apartment also served as a dancehall, and occasional theatrical exhibitions were given therein."

Dr. G. H. Atkinson, home missionary for the Congregational churches of Oregon and Washington, held the first public religious services in the town, April 2, 1882, twenty-three persons attending; and the same day organized the First Congregational church with six members—Mr. and Mrs. George Sinclair, Mr. and Mrs. William McKay and Mr. and Mrs. J. G. Bennett.

The act creating Franklin county designated Ainsworth as the temporary county seat, and named J. W. Schull, C. M. McBride and D. W. Owen county commissioners, with authority to appoint other county officials. The old construction town of Ainsworth is now a memory and nothing more, but when Villard was the railroad king of the Pacific northwest, and with driving energy was rushing construction work on the Northern Pacific and the O. R. & N., for a connection at old Wallula, Ainsworth was the most talked of town in the whole "upper country." Two years

later, when railroad construction was over, the steel bridge across the river completed, and Ainsworth's payroll had scattered afar, the county seat was transferred to Pasco.

Captain W. P. Gray, a veteran pilot and river captain who navigated the upper Columbia and Snake in the placer rush of the early '60s, became impressed with the conviction that some day an important city would rise at the point where the waters of these great rivers commingle. After the decadence of river navigation in the early '80s, Captain Gray claimed a homestead adjacent to the present townsite, and he and a number of other aggressive spirits "boomed" Pasco in the latter '80s with a vigor and individuality that excited widespread interest. They coined the phrase, "Keep your eye on Pasco," and through all the intervening years, in the dark and discouraging days when it almost seemed that Pasco had forever faded from the map, a few faithful spirits clung bravely to the old slogan. In these later times of rapid growth and prosperity, when Pasco is ambitiously reaching out for jobbing territory, the old motto is made to do renewed service.

Distinctly the writer recalls a banquet, given in Pasco's early booming days, by the townsite proprietors to a company of newspaper men and other guests from towns in Oregon and Washington. Their hospitality was dispensed at Freeman's restaurant in Portland, and Freeman had a slogan too, as well as Pasco. His catchphrase was "Leave it to Freeman." They left it to him, and sat erect when the bill was presented for $1,800. As there were fewer than forty guests, it figured out that the average consumption was five quarts of champagne, two of whisky and 100 cigars for each guest. It was a convivial evening, but not so bad as that. The townsite owners compromised with Freeman for $900.

Construction of the Great Northern across the Big Bend country in 1892 led to the development of extensive new areas of grain lands and the building of a number of prosperous and progressive towns; but these developments were not immediate. The panic of 1893 and resulting depression retarded immigration, and an erroneous belief that the new line penetrated a grazing rather than farming region was another retarding influence. In time, though, it was seen that large areas formerly given over to the stock industry, and partly abandoned even by stockmen as the bunch-grass was eaten away, would yield bountiful grain crops, and as homebuilders bought the cheap lands and put them under cultivation, numerous places that had been but flag stations quickly developed into thriving trading centers.

The author regrets that limitations of space prohibit a more extended review of the rapid rise of these various towns, with all their attendant interest and stirring incidents. Entertaining chapters could be written on the beginning and growth of towns like Wilbur, Sprague, Harrington, Odessa, Almira, Creston, Downs, Edwall and Reardan in Lincoln county; Ephrata, Coulee City, Hartline, Krupp, Quincy, Wilson Creek and Winchester in Grant; Lind, Othello, Washtucna, Hatton and Cunningham in Adams; and Connell, Eltopia and Kahlotus in Franklin.

Central Washington alone has rich historic interest to fill a volume; and the stirring story of Okanogan and Chelan should have adequate expression in other volumes.

CHAPTER LXXXI

THE PALOUSE COUNTRY—ITS SETTLEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

ORIGIN AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NAME—GRAZING REGION FOR INDIAN HERDS—FIRST EXTENSIVE SETTLEMENT IN 1869—SITE OF COLFAX LOCATED IN 1870—COUNTY CREATED IN 1872—FIRST STORE AND SCHOOLHOUSE—EARLY DAY GRAIN SHIPMENTS—PIONEERS ALARMED BY NEZ PERCE WAR—SETTLERS SEEK REFUGE IN BLOCKHOUSE AT PALOUSE—FIRST NEWSPAPER AND TELEPHONE LINES—STAGE LINES AND STEAMBOATS—THE FIRST RAILROAD—MRS. CHASE'S REMINISCENCES—STATE COLLEGE LOCATED AT PULLMAN—ITS START AND DEVELOPMENT.

FOR a grassy expanse, the French have the word *pelouse*; and, a century ago, when French-Canadian *voyageurs* of the fur companies beheld in springtime the wide tumult of bunch-grass hills north of Snake river, they called it the *pelouse* country—the grass lands—and with a slight alteration in spelling, the Palouse country it remains today; and the Palouse country it will be forevermore.

When Clark's expedition penetrated the interior in 1812, to establish at the mouth of the Little Spokane a branch trading post of John Jacob Astor's establishment at Astoria, they left the Snake river at the mouth of the Palouse (the Pavilion the French named it), and putting their canoes and bateaux in custody of the chief of the Indian village at that point, purchased horses from the natives, and packing their supplies and merchandise, traversed leisurely this beautiful open region, which then lay wild and unpeopled, for even the Indian tribes utilized it as open range for their large herds of cayuses, preferring to pitch their tepees within the shelter of adjacent forests.

Recognition of the country's rich agricultural possibilities came slowly. The bunch-grass hills were regarded as grazing lands, and neither the fur traders, the missionaries, the miners, nor even the first settlers who came north of Snake river, thought it worth their while even to test the hillsides for agriculture. Their feeble beginnings they confined to the lowlands.

W. D. Muir of Winona informs the News that George Pangburn was the first settler in Whitman county, and that Ben Scissom, perhaps the second settler, conceded Pangburn's priority. Pangburn rode out of Walla Walla in 1862 in search of land, and took a squatter's claim on unsurveyed public land that is now a part of the Mansfield farm eight miles southeast of Winona. He returned to Walla Walla for the winter, and in the spring of 1863 came back with a packhorse to his claim. In his pack were six apple trees, five of which grew. Mr. Muir says that

some of these trees were still bearing a few years ago, and he believes that they are alive today. Pangburn farmed a little and raised chickens and hogs, which he sold in Lewiston; and he cured bacon and marketed it in the placer camps of Idaho. He was unmarried and long solitude made him eccentric. It is related that he buried his money about the place, and contracted the habit of conversing with inanimate objects. On one occasion he became angry with a neighbor, and naming a fence post for his enemy, extracted satisfaction by roundly abusing it. In a great rage one day he struck the post and broke a knuckle bone. His death occurred about nine years ago.

The first considerable settlement within the area of present-day Whitman county came in 1869, when several families located on Union Flat. A year later, in July, 1870, James A. Perkins and Thomas J. Smith took claims at the forks of the Palouse, site of the present Colfax, and promptly set about the task of cutting bunch-grass hay for the winter and assembling logs for the first house; but Mr. Smith decided to move to Union Flat, and Mr. Perkins was left alone to complete it. A. C. Harris occupied for a little while the abandoned Smith claim, but he moved away and Mr. Perkins was again without a neighbor, until the spring of 1871, when he persuaded H. S. Hollingsworth of Waitsburg to take up the twice abandoned claim.

Settlers were now entering the country in a thin stream, and a demand arose for lumber which Perkins, Hollingsworth and Anderson Cox of Waitsburg met by erecting a small "muley" saw. The following year, in February, 1872, they employed A. L. Knowlton to survey a townsite, and a few months later Belcher & Whitcher of Waitsburg opened the first general merchandise store.

James A. Perkins, J. H. Logsden and Mr. Lucas, a committee authorized by the legislature to locate the county seat of the new county of Whitman, reported in February, 1872, that they had selected the "Forks of the Palouse." The lands were still unsurveyed, but a town was platted and called Colfax, in honor of the vice-president of the United States. Walla Walla, 80 miles away, was the nearest trading point, and Waitsburg the nearest postoffice. The first stock of general merchandise was stored in a cave cut in the hillside, with hewn logs for shelves, a dry goods box for a counter, and canvas for a store front. Then came the post-office, with mail once in two weeks, and in the fall a hotel was built by Captain Nosler. In 1873 a livery stable was added, two store buildings constructed, and several residences erected. Main street was partly graded, and the town lighted by two street lamps.

Meanwhile the needs of education had not been overlooked, for a schoolhouse was built in 1872, a primitive frame structure, 20 by 36 feet. The site was chosen by D. S. Bowman, George Hall and James Cooper, and E. H. Orcutt was the first teacher. The district comprised all of Whitman and Franklin counties and a part of Adams.

The first marriage ceremony performed in Colfax, and the second or third in the county, says Lever's History of Whitman county, was on April 6, 1873, and united James A. Perkins and Miss Jennie Ewart. Rev. A. W. Sweeney of Walla Walla was the officiating clergyman. The first white girl born in the county is said to be Miss Nina Keith, who afterward became Mrs. W. S. Thompson, on

WHITMAN COUNTY COURT HOUSE, COLFAX, WASHINGTON

C. B. KEGLEY

Master of Washington State Grange, Palouse

E. A. BRYAN

President of State College of Washington, Pullman

STEPHEN J. CHADWICK

of Colfax, Justice of State Supreme Court

Union Flat, May 23, 1872. Miss Minnie Perkins (Mrs. L. L. Tower) was the first white child born in Colfax, April 18, 1874.

Mrs. C. G. White, still a resident of the town, was the first white woman in Colfax, arriving in 1870. August Paulsen married her daughter.

The adaptability of the hills to wheat growing had slow demonstration, but shipments of about 10,000 bushels were made to Portland in 1876, from the steamboat landing of Almota on Snake river. The late H. H. Spalding, son of the noted missionary, is authority that there were shipped from Almota this year 300 tons of produce, and that four threshers, three sulky plows, three reapers, three headers, fifteen new wagons and 100 tons of merchandise were unloaded there. Thirty passengers came from down the river to Almota.

Gilbert estimates Whitman county's population at the date of organization at about 200, and says that in 1875 it had increased to 1,465, and in 1877 to 2,247. But these 2,200 settlers were scattered over a wide area, and the Nez Perce uprising brought alarm to all and wild terror to many. Unfounded rumors ran over the country that the Palouses, Spokanes and Coeur d'Alenes had taken to the warpath, and that Chief Moses was marching south to join Joseph's warriors on Camas prairie. "Reason seemed to have temporarily surrendered her citadel and wild fancy ruled," says Lever. "Farms were deserted, and the stock which happened to be in corrals at the time was left without food or drink. A camp meeting was in progress on the banks of the river near Palouse, when a messenger arrived announcing that the hostiles were coming. The meeting broke up in disorder, and the people rushed pellmell for Colfax. Wagons were driven down the steep hills leading to the county seat at a gallop. Many of the fugitives dared not trust even Colfax or Palouse for protection, but pushed on to Walla Walla or Dayton. A blockhouse was built near Palouse City, 125 feet square, and this served 200 people for several days as a protection against imaginary dangers. Gilbert says that 480 loads of poles entered into the construction of this fortification."

Scouting parties sent north and south to gather trustworthy information returned with reassuring reports. They found no evidence anywhere of massacre or pillage, and in the Spokane valley the Indians themselves were alarmed over the feverish activity of the settlers, their hasty arming and building of fortifications, and in turn were apprehensive that the white people were preparing to march upon them with hostile intent.

Rev. H. T. Cowley, protestant missionary at Spokane, wrote under date of June 30 to James Ewart and J. C. Davenport: "I hasten to give assurance of the pacific disposition of the Spokanes; also of the Snake river, Palouse and Nez Perce Indians camped here. In public council held last Monday at the Falls, they unanimously declared their friendliness towards the whites, and we have found them thus far unusually careful to avoid giving offense. The Spokanes have, of course, been somewhat alarmed, both of the gathering of whites at Colfax and at the Falls, but now that all have returned to their homes everything has quieted down."

D. S. Bowman and James Tipton, hearing that Father Cataldo, the Catholic missionary, was held a prisoner at Coeur d'Alene mission, went there to investigate, and found the Indians alarmed by fears of an attack by the white people. They explained the pacific attitude of the settlers, and in turn bore back to Colfax certificates of peaceful intentions from the chiefs which were procured by Father

Cataldo. Thus reassured the settlers regained their composure and the memorable Indian scare of 1877 passed into history.

The period immediately following the Nez Perce war was one of rapid growth. A census taken by F. Duff in June, 1879, gave Whitman county 5,243 population; Colfax nearly 600.

The year of the Nez Perce war brought the first newspaper into the broad region north of Snake river, the Palouse Gazette, whose initial number was printed in Colfax, September 29, 1877, by Charles B. Hopkins and E. L. Kellogg. Mr. Kellogg subsequently withdrew from the firm and was succeeded by Ivan Chase.

To Mr. Hopkins belongs the chief credit as pioneer builder of telephone lines in the Inland Empire. In 1884 he and his associates bought the old government telegraph lines between Almota and Colfax, and this, says Lever's history, "formed the beginning of a system which was extended with great rapidity, its phenomenal growth being largely due to the wonderful energy of Mr. Hopkins." Extensions followed to Palouse, Pullman, Moscow, Garfield and Farmington. "In 1886 W. S. Norman built an exchange at Spokane, bought the government line between Spokane and Fort Sherman, and established exchanges at Coeur d'Alene City, Wallace, Mullan, Murray and Burke. In the fall of 1888 Hopkins and Norman bought the government telegraph line connecting Spokane Falls and Fort Spokane, touching all the principal points in the Big Bend region."

After the Spokane fire in 1889, Norman and Hopkins consolidated their interests into the Inland Telephone & Telegraph company and built a line to The Dalles, where connection with the Oregon line of the American Bell company gave them an entry into Portland. Up to this period they had been operating with instruments leased from the American Bell, but on completion of the Portland line they formed a combination with that company, and later sold their interests to it. "The Bell company," Mr. Norman informs me, "operated for several years under the name of the Inland company, and subsequently changed to the Pacific States."

The first barbed wire telephone line in the Palouse country was completed at Pullman, February 25, 1901. It connected True's hotel with the farms of J. S. Klemgard, John Metsker and J. M. Klemgard, and was nine miles in length, and including instruments, cost only $100. Mr. Metsker caught the idea from a similar line operated out of Heppner, in eastern Oregon. The system became instantaneously popular, spreading to all parts of the Palouse country, the farming sections of northern Idaho and the Big Bend region. Some of these primitive systems developed later into strong independent telephone lines, strung regularly on poles and owned by groups of progressive farmers.

For fifteen years after the earliest agricultural settlement of the Palouse country the pioneers were without railroad connection, and were dependent on the waterways and stage lines. "In 1871," says the authority previously quoted, "an extensive stage line began to operate throughout this region. This was the Northwestern Stage company. It connected the Central Pacific railroad at Kelton, Utah, with The Dalles, Pendleton, Walla Walla, Colfax, Dayton, Lewiston and Pomeroy. It used 300 horses, twenty-two stages, 150 employes, and annually fed out 365 tons of grain and 412 tons of hay. Local stage lines also operated in all directions, connecting with each other all the principal points of the county, and transporting passengers and freight to Snake river landings, to be there loaded on the boats.

STREET SCENE, GARFIELD, WASHINGTON

STREET SCENE, CITY OF MOSCOW, IDAHO

"The first railway to enter the county was in part constructed in 1883. It was built by the Oregon Transcontinental Railway company (the Villard holding company which then controlled the Northern Pacific and the O. R. & N.), was known as the Columbia & Palouse Railway, with which it connected at Palouse Junction. Its construction was temporarily suspended after the Villard crash, and the ensuing two years were a period of relative inactivity in the Palouse country. In 1885, however, work was resumed on the road, and the Palouse section again took up the forward march with renewed vigor."

The Rev. W. S. Turner came to Colfax in 1879, then a village of about 200 population. His Methodist Episcopal church started with seven members. In the second year of his pastorate it ambitiously and successfully entertained a conference of sixty members. So generous was the hospitality of the frontier villagers, so well spread their tables, that the day after their adjournment the little weekly ran an amusing cartoon of the notable gathering of ministers. Two roosters stuck their heads through the fence on opposite sides of an alley, and beneath the picture these lines were printed:

"And are we yet alive,
And see each other's face?"

Mrs. Ivan Chase of Colfax has recorded a pleasing sketch of the town and its pioneer environment, as she found them some thirty years ago. "When there was a snowfall the whole town went sleigh-riding. The country home of James S. ('Cashup') Davis was a favorite resort. There was a fine floor in the large room above his store and stage station, where the merry-makers could dance all night if they wished, being served at midnight, not with dainty refreshments, but a square meal—oyster soup, chicken, cakes, pies, hot biscuits. 'Cashup' Davis was a famous character in the old days. He was as active as the youngest of the dancers, although his hair was snow white, and he could dance the sailor's hornpipe with perfect precision of step and with many a nautical flourish. An evening spent at his place, then called Steptoe station, always brought him to the front with one or more of these dances, and then he would form the guests for old Money Musk and the Virginia Reel, in which the older members of the party would shine. . . .

"Let me bring from my memory the picture of the Ewart House as it was 35 years ago. Like all the buildings in town at that time, it was made of rough lumber—a box house battened. There were two gables toward Main street, connected by a long room running parallel with the street, the whole front being protected by a wide porch. The structure was a story and a half high and was whitewashed, the house and its surroundings being scrupulously well kept. Three doors opened onto the street, the first one to the south into the parlor, the second into the dining room, and the third into the office. The dining room, which was spacious for those days, was always dainty with the whitest of table linen, the cleanest of bare floors, and the brightest of table ware. White muslin curtains swayed at the low windows, and all was homelike and beautiful. This pioneer hotel was the social center of the town and surrounding country, and its well loved host and hostess were an inspiration to all who came to their hospitable home. It stood where the Fraternal block is now, and was soon replaced by a new Ewart house, a handsome three story building which was burned at the time of the great fire."

Temptation is strong to linger with the many interesting details associated with the pioneers' task of developing the beautiful and rich region which we term the Palouse country; for it constitutes a stirring story—their quick conversion of a wild and savage region into a land of pleasant homes, of schools and institutions of higher learning, of churches, towns and cities, with all the refinements that grace an older land over which history has slowly penned a story that runs into the centuries or the ages. Lamentably, however, the limitations of a comprehensive history of the Inland Empire forbid extended treatment of a single county, and I must hasten to a close. Volumes could be written on the rise from homesteads of such flourishing towns as Palouse, Pullman, Elberton, Oakesdale, Farmington, Garfield, Rosalia, Albion, Colton, Uniontown, Endicott, Thornton and a dozen others. Another volume would be needed for a history of the Whitman county press, and yet other volumes to tell in adequate way of schools and churches.

A history, however, of the Inland Empire that failed to touch the State College of Washington would be singularly incomplete. For while, by reason of location, the fine little city of Pullman may claim this superb institution as peculiarly its own, it belongs in a broader sense to the State and the Inland Empire, for it has exerted a profound influence on the culture of this broad region, and has been a potent factor in the development of the material resources of all Washington and parts of Idaho, Montana and Oregon.

The college was instituted, by an act approved March 28, 1890, as the State Agricultural College, Experiment Station and School of Science, but its title was subsequently changed to "the State College of Washington." Selection of the site was entrusted to a commission of three, and keen competition instantly developed between eastern Washington towns and cities, notably North Yakima, Walla Walla, Spokane, Colfax, Palouse and Pullman. As the institution was the beneficiary by grant of the United States government of 190,000 acres of land, and an annual appropriation from the United States government of $40,000, aspiring towns realized that the prize was a great one, and the liveliest political rivalry arose between them. Deep disappointment was felt by the losers when the award went to Pullman.

The school opened in January, 1892, in temporary buildings, with George Lille its first president and a small faculty of four or five members. It passed through a stormy period of political manipulation, and for the first five years grew but slowly; but with the elimination of politics and the calling to the presidency of E. A. Bryan, an educator admirably fitted by scholarship, character and versatile ability to develop a western institution, it quickly emerged into the sunshine of prosperity. In 1900 the total enrollment, including the summer school, had grown to 638, and the faculty to forty professors and instructors. At this writing, January, 1912, the enrollment is about 1,600, and the faculty numbers about 125 professors and instructors.

TWO BUILDINGS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF IDAHO, MOSCOW

GROUP OF BUILDINGS, WASHINGTON STATE COLLEGE, PULLMAN

CHAPTER LXXXII

PIONEER WHEAT-GROWING AND FLOUR MILLING

FIRST MILL BUILT AT FALLS ON COLVILLE RIVER, NINETY YEARS AGO—MISSIONARIES AND INDIANS WENT THERE WITH THEIR GRIST—FIRST PATENT FLOUR AND FARINA IN THE U. S.—HISTORIC OLD MILLSTONES PRESERVED—FIRST AMERICAN MILL BUILT BY "JUDGE" YANTIS—OLD-TIME MILLER WORKS ON A FLYING MACHINE—INVENTS A MACHINE CALLED "HELL ON THE GRAB"—TRIP THROUGH COLVILLE VALLEY IN 1882.

WHEAT growing and flour milling had their faint beginnings in the Colville valley, about ninety years ago. At the falls on the Colville river, four miles from the Columbia, a flour mill was built, probably by the Northwest Fur company, prior to the advent of the Hudson's Bay company in 1821, or at least by the latter company soon after that date. "This first mill," says W. P. Winans, "had probably gone to decay before the second mill was built by the Hudson's Bay company in 1843. The present mill, the third, built in 1872 by L. W. Meyers, occupies the site of the Goudy mill."

To this old mill the missionaries Eells and Walker packed their grain on cayuses, from Tshimakain, now Walker's prairie, and there, too, such Indians as took up grain growing in this region for a hundred miles about carried their grist and returned with the precious flour.

"When I first saw the mill in 1861," adds Mr. Winans, "it was a hewn log building, about 30x50, two stories, with an attic, covered with cedar bark. It had a single pair of stones, made of the granite of the neighborhood; a home-made fanning mill was the only wheat-cleaning machinery, and the bolt to separate the flour from the bran was a wire screen, stationary, with a revolving brush on the inside. On November 19, 1866, L. W. Meyers and George B. Wannicott, under the firm name of Meyers & Co., leased the property. That fall a number of men came down the Columbia from the French creek mines, among them John Houser, a practical miller, who was employed by Mr. Meyers in December, 1866." In a letter to Mr. Winans, Houser says: "I came to Colville in the fall of 1866, and went to work for Mr. Meyers, and we remodeled the Old Hudson's Bay mill and made the first patent flour in 1867, and the first farina in the United States." Farina made by this mill was freighted to Walla Walla long before patent breakfast food entered the general markets of the United States, and took first prize at the Oregon state fair at Salem about 1868.

"I have the millstones of the old mill," writes Mr. Meyers in a letter to Mr.

Winans; "also those from the Goudy mill, with some of the original irons. The oldest set of stones were never used in the Goudy mill."

Mr. Meyers retained the property when the Hudson's Bay company withdrew from the United States. He rebuilt the mill in 1872, but it has not been run now for several years.

B. Y. Yantis, generally known as "Judge" Yantis, built the first American mill in the Colville valley. "He started from Olympia for Spokane," says Mr. Winans, "with the grinding machinery of a small flour mill, intending to build on the Little Spokane for the Indians. The Judge told me that after he commenced the building, Spokane Garry, the chief, thinking he could not carry the mill machinery further, repudiated his contract. The Judge then took the grinding machinery to Colville valley, and located on the Little Pend d'Oreille, where in 1859, with the assistance of Michael Lafleur, he put in a dam and built a log house 12x14, without nails, using only wooden pins, Thomas Brown doing the carpenter work. The stones were about eight or ten inches in diameter and set to run vertically."

Speaking of this mill C. H. Montgomery said: "I went one day to get some bran, and found the Judge bolting the product as it came from the stones. He was shaking a small box over a larger one; the bottom of the small box was covered with cotton cloth like mosquito bar, and the larger box was receiving what went through. He asked me how much bran I wanted. I said half a bushel, and he replied, 'I can't get that much today.' I watched him a short time and began to think so myself, for the cloth was so coarse that all went into the larger box."

Yantis sold the mill in 1861 to a Canadian named Hoag, and he in turn conveyed it the following year to D. H. Ferguson & Co., who made improvements from time to time, putting in French burrs in 1863, and building an addition in 1865. Their miller, Thomas Martin, chiseled a set of stones from native granite, added cleaning machinery, and made a good grade of flour.

In the summer of 1868 Ferguson sold his interest in the mill and mercantile business to his partners, Joseph and Samuel Oppenheimer, who employed John Houser to enlarge and remodel the mill. They then put out an excellent patent flour and farina, and used the old granite stones for chopping grain. Mr. Winans says that S. Oppenheimer filed a homestead on this property, April 15, 1870, and commuted September 5, 1872, "which was the first filing on government land in Stevens county." It may have been the first under the homestead act, but the first filings were made under the donation land act, prior to the Indian wars in the '50s; and these filings, made by French Canadian settlers who had taken the oath of allegiance soon after the arrival of Governor Stevens, constituted one of the grievances which brought on the Indian outbreak.

Quoting again from Winans' manuscript:

The first sawmill in the country was built in 1856-57, at the falls on Mill creek, about three miles below where the United States Fort Colville was afterwards located in 1859. The money necessary was furnished by Francis Wolff, and the work of building by R. H. Douglass and John Nelson.

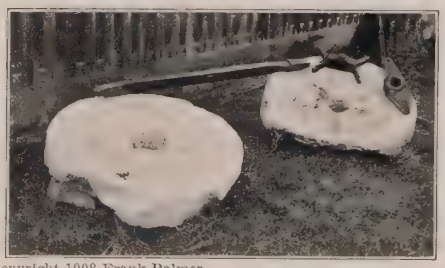
The partners in the sawmill did not work in harmony; there was some litigation. Mr. Douglass claimed the water right and froze the others out. He afterwards, about 1860 or 1861, built a flour mill adjoining the sawmill, the power being buckets on a fifty-foot endless chain over a three-foot pulley. He called the mill

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY ERECTED THIS MILL AT MEYERS' FALLS, STEVENS COUNTY.

Some of the timbers were put there in 1826, remodeled in 1843 and again in 1873.

OPPENHEIMER MILL ON THE LITTLE PEND D'OREILLE, SIX MILES SOUTH OF COLVILLE, WASHINGTON

United States Government operated this mill in the early days



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MILL STONES USED BY HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY IN MARCUS FLATS, WASHINGTON

Moved in 1827 to Meyers Falls, where they were successfully used for four years

"Love Defeat." He also built at the foot of the falls a distillery, and generously sampled its product. His inventive genius was shown in a water pipe boring machine that was fairly successful. He also worked many years on a flying machine and a saw to cut mahogany veneering. He also invented a machine to remove boulders from sluice boxes, which he called "Hell on the Grab," and sent it to the United States patent office under that name, but was refused a patent on account of its name. Mr. Douglass may have been noted for his industry, enterprise and inventive powers, but not for his financial success, for he made none of his enterprises paying investments.

A correspondent of the Portland Oregonian, who rode horseback from Spokane to Colville in May, 1882, in company with W. C. Jones, was informed by James O'Neill of Chewelah that there were then living in the Colville valley about 125 families, most of them French and Indians. Only four townships had been surveyed in the entire valley. Between Chewelah and Colville the correspondent stopped at "a nicely furnished farm owned by Jasper Roberts," who had been there since 1860 and had 100 acres under cultivation. The writer visited that afternoon the old Oppenheimer mill on the Little Pend d'Oreille, which "even the Chicago (?) of the Pacific coast, Spokane Falls, gives credit with turning out better flour than can be purchased in Walla Walla." The mill was described as "a quaint old structure, made principally of logs, and standing in a little corner against the mountain on the bank of the Calispel river. Going inside," added the correspondent, "the first thing that attracts one's attention is the total absence of that creaking noise and jarring peculiar to all other mills. Not a single piece of iron shafting, no pulleys, connecting rods or gearing of any kind can be seen. Everything is made of wood. The shafts and pulleys are large, cumbrous-looking things, but run easily and without the least noise, and, with an old turbine water wheel, were all made by hand from timber cut on the hillside. Even one of the millstones was taken from a bed of granite on the neighboring hill. It has a capacity of about thirty barrels per day, although it is seldom called upon to turn out that amount."

At "the new town of Colville" the correspondent found a brewery, a store, and two or three residences. The only person found at Fort Colville was J. Stitzel, clerk of the Stevens county court, who had a fine ranch a few miles from the fort and "seemed perfectly contented."

CHAPTER LXXXIII

RAILWAY CONSTRUCTION IN THE INLAND EMPIRE

PACIFIC RAILROAD FIRST ADVOCATED PUBLICLY IN 1834—FORECAST OF TEN MILES AN HOUR, AND ROUND TRIP IN THIRTY DAYS—PORTAGE ROAD AT CASCADES FIRST LINE IN WASHINGTON—NORTHERN PACIFIC STARTS CONSTRUCTION IN 1870—DR. BAKER'S FAMOUS ROAD FROM WALLA WALLA TO THE COLUMBIA—LATTER-DAY CONSTRUCTION OF MAIN AND BRANCH LINES.

IN THE first annual report of the Washington state railroad commission is given a concise review of the railroad history of this section. The first public discussion of railroad construction affecting what is now the state of Washington is credited to Dr. Samuel B. Barlow, of Granville, Mass., in an article published in the Intelligencer, a weekly paper of Westport, Mass., in about 1834. He proposed a government railroad from New York to the Pacific, near the mouth of the Columbia river. Its length was estimated at 3,000 miles, and the cost at $10,000 a mile, a total of $30,000,000. At an average speed of ten miles an hour it was estimated that a passenger could take the trip from New York to the Pacific ocean and return in thirty days. "What a glorious undertaking for the United States," exclaimed the writer. "The greatest public work—I mean the greatest in its end and utilities—that mortal man has ever yet accomplished."

Ten years later, continues the commissioners' report, Asa Whitney of New York took up the subject and advocated the building of a railway from Lake Michigan to Puget Sound. He advocated a grant of land by congress of thirty miles on each side of the track, the proceeds to be used to build the road. This was the first definite attempt to secure the building of such a road.

About ten years later, in the early '50s, Edwin F. Johnson, an eminent civil engineer of Vermont, took up the project and succeeded in securing the appointment of two officers of the army to make an exploration for a railroad to Puget Sound. These two officers were Isaac I. Stevens, afterward first governor of Washington territory, and George B. McClellan, afterward commander of the army of the Potomac.

Ten years later, by an act approved by President Lincoln, July 2, 1864, the Northern Pacific Railroad company was incorporated and given a grant of land to aid in the construction of a railroad from Lake Superior to Puget Sound.

First actual construction in the state of Washington was done by another company, a portage railroad on the north bank of the Columbia around the cascades. This company was incorporated by an act of the legislative assembly of Washing-

ton territory, January 31, 1859, to be known as the Cascade Railroad company. The act provided that a good railroad of wood should be constructed within three years, and iron tracks within five years. The road was surveyed in 1861 and built the following year. It was afterwards acquired by the Oregon Steam Navigation company. In 1879 the Oregon Railway & Navigation company succeeded to ownership of the road, which was never extended beyond the portage for which it was constructed. It is a narrow gauge, and has been put to but little use in recent years.

It was not until 1870 that actual construction of the Northern Pacific was begun. This was a twenty-five mile section between Kalama, on the Columbia, toward Puget Sound. This was extended and completed to Tacoma in 1873.

Then followed a period of financial depression, and no further construction was done until 1879, when work was started at the junction of Snake river and the Columbia, now Pasco. The line was built to Wallula, and extended to a transcontinental connection, which was made in 1883. The line from Pasco to Tacoma was completed in 1887.

The Northern Pacific, by purchase or otherwise, has acquired ownership or control of several local companies, among them the following:

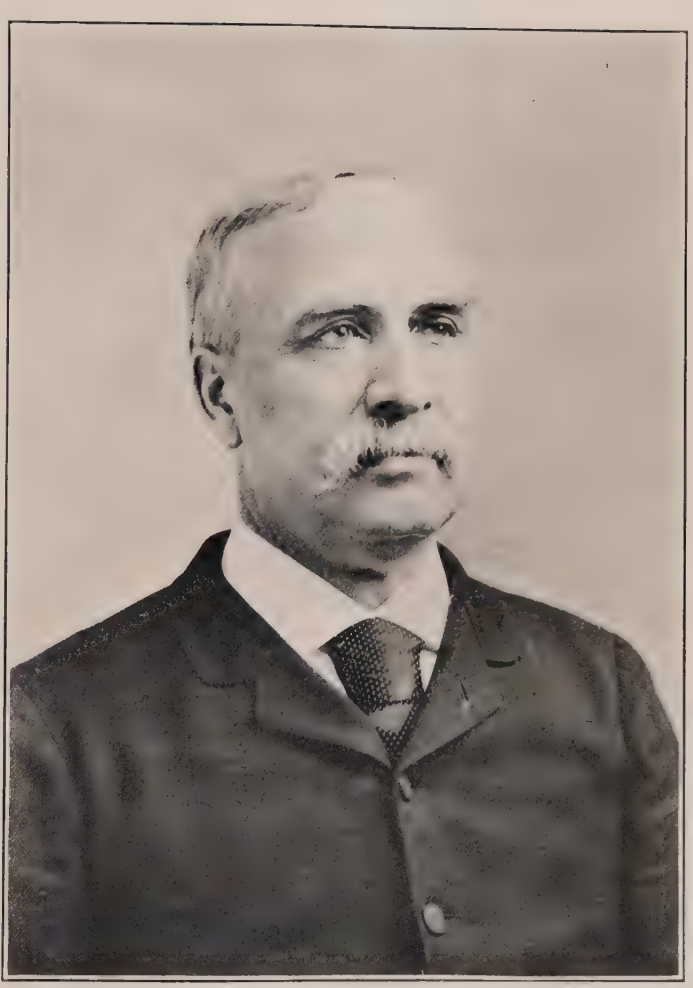
Seattle, Lake Shore & Eastern, in 1892. This company was incorporated in 1885, and afterwards constructed a line from Seattle to Snoqualmie falls. It also constructed a line from Spokane westward as far as Davenport, intended to connect with the line from Seattle through Snoqualmie pass. Pending efforts to raise money for the completion of the road, eastern capitalists interested in the Northern Pacific purchased from New York stockholders control of the stock, and the road passed to the ownership of the Northern Pacific.

The Spokane & Palouse, operated from Spokane southerly. Construction of this line was begun in 1886, and completed the following year. Later extended from Pullman to Moscow, Idaho.

Washington Central, operated from Spokane to Coulee City. Construction was begun in 1888, and completed in 1891. It was extended to connect with the Great Northern in 1903.

The Washington & Columbia River railroad, originally organized as the Oregon & Washington Territory railroad in 1887, and locally known as the Hunt road. Its first construction was in 1887, the road being completed to Hunt's Junction, near Wallula, in 1888, with a line to Walla Walla and Eureka Flat. The following year the line was extended from Walla Walla to Dayton. The Washington & Columbia River railroad, a subsidiary company of the Northern Pacific, acquired ownership in 1892.

The Oregon Railroad & Navigation company acquired ownership of a road from Wallula to Walla Walla, known as the Dr. Baker road. The company which built this road was incorporated in 1868; construction began in 1872 and was completed in 1873. The first ten miles were built entirely of wood. Fir stringers, 4x6, were laid on cross ties. Subsequently strap iron was placed on the stringers, and later a light 26 pound rail was laid the entire distance. Dr. Baker built the road practically with his own money. No bonds were placed on it during his ownership. It was a money-maker from the beginning, a rate of $4.50 per ton being charged for the haul of 31 miles. The road was originally a narrow gauge.



HENRY VILLARD

President of the Northern Pacific when the rails were laid into Spokane

It was widened to a standard gauge in 1882, when turned over to the Oregon Railway & Navigation company.

This latter company in 1881 completed a line from Portland to Wallula, which, with the Baker road, reached Walla Walla. The same year the line was extended from Walla Walla to Riparia, and from Bolles to Dayton, and in 1883, under the name of the Columbia & Palouse, from Connell, then Palouse Junction, on the Northern Pacific, to Colfax, and in 1885 to Pullman and Moscow, Idaho.

The company, the same year, extended its line from Starbuck to Pomeroy; in 1886, as the Columbia & Palouse, from Colfax to Farmington; in 1888, as the Washington & Idaho, from Farmington to Rockford, and in its own name from Riparia to LaCrosse; in 1889, as the Washington & Idaho, from Rockford to Spokane, and from Tekoa to Mullan, Idaho, in the Coeur d'Alenes; the same year, as the Oregon Extension company, from Winona to Seltice; as the Snake River Valley railroad, from Wallula to Grange City in 1899, and in its own name from Dayton to Turner, and from Fairfield to Waverly.

In 1906 a line was completed from Lewiston, Idaho, along the north bank of Snake river to Riparia.

The work of construction of the main line of the Great Northern was begun April 9, 1892, and completed January 6, 1893. This was from the Idaho line to Lowell. The Washington & Great Northern, Curley to Midway, was commenced August 19, 1905, and completed November 28, 1905. Marcus to Republic, commenced October 3, 1901, and completed July 29, 1902.

CHAPTER LXXXIV

NATIVE RACES IN THE INLAND EMPIRE

ORIGIN AND MEANING OF "SPOKANE"—INDIAN LANGUAGES—LEGENDS OF THE SPOKANE RIVER—HOW CHIEF GARRY WAS NAMED—INDIAN ROCK PICTURES—GAMBLING AND GHOST DANCING—GRAPHIC DESCRIPTION BY FATHER DIOMEDI—STRANGE LEGEND OF THE COEUR D'ALENES—CRUDE RELIGIOUS BELIEFS—HABITS AND CUSTOMS OF THE NEZ PERCES—A RICH AND BEAUTIFUL LANGUAGE—ELOQUENT SPEECH BY AN INDIAN ORATOR.

They waste us—ay—like April snow
In the warm noon, we shrink away;
And fast they follow, as we go
Toward the setting day,—
Till they shall fill the land, and we
Are driven into the western sea.

—*William Cullen Bryant.*

SPOKANE" is a word of Indian origin, signifying the sun, though slightly altered by the usage of civilization. M. M. Cowley says the native sun word was "Spo-kan-ee." H. T. Cowley recalls it as "Puk-ka-nee." The Rev. Samuel Parker, who traveled through this country in 1835, learned that the chief of the Spokanes was called "Illum-Spokanee," meaning "Son of the Sun," and the tribe called themselves "Children of the Sun."

"I always thought that the fur traders must have named these Kootenai Siwashes, 'The Spokanes,' " said M. M. Cowley, who settled on the Kootenai river near Bonner's Ferry, Idaho, in 1867, and moved to the Spokane Valley in 1872. "The Indians called themselves the 'Sinkomahnahs.' If the Indians had wanted to call themselves 'Children of the Sun,' they would have made it 'Spo-kan-ee,' that means sun, and the ordinary Indian greeting, instead of good morning, is 'Hust-Spokanee,' which merely means 'good sun.' "

Colonel Thomas W. Symons, who made a report on the upper Columbia river in 1881, for the engineer corps of the U. S. army, says, "It is fair to infer that the tribe name meant something like 'Children of the Sun.' I have been told by men long resident in the country, that the aboriginal word was pronounced with a slight vowel syllable 'e' at the end. This vowel syllable, indistinct at best, was soon dropped by the busy whites."

Bancroft, in "Native Races," says, "The Spokanes live on the Spokane river and

plateau, along the banks of the Columbia from below Kettle Falls nearly to the Okanogan. The Spokanish or Spokanes live south of the 'Schroolyelpi' and chiefly upon or near the Spokane river. The name given to a number of small bands is that given by the Coeur d'Alenes to the ones living at the Forks. They are also called the 'Sinkoman' by the Kootenaies."

Father Desmet, the Jesuit priest, refers to the Spokanes as the "Zingomenes," obviously a varied spelling for Mr. Cowley's "Sinkomahnahs" and the "Sinkoman" of Bancroft.

With minor variations the Spokanes spoke the Selish or Flathead language, as also the Coeur d'Alenes, the Upper and Lower Calispels, and the tribes in the Colville country. "Their language," says Father Palladino ("Indian and White in the Northwest"), "is in many points original and difficult to master. Its utterance is slow, tolerably clear and distinct, though some of its sounds are aspirated and others intensely guttural. Five of the consonants commonly heard in other tongues, that is b, d, f, r and v, are wanting in theirs and are supplied by p, t, l and m; thus Adolph with them is Atol; Ambrose, Amelo; Raphael, Apel; Mary, Malee; Rosalie, Usalee; Victor, Mitt'to, etc., the accent in all these names falling on the last syllable."

H. T. Cowley, who came among the Spokanes as a missionary in 1874, recalls the following specimen words from their language:

Man	skul-ta-meehu	Cat	poos
Woman	sim-a-am	Hand	chels
People	skal-ihu	Head	spel-kain
Boy	tit-a-weet	Heart, mind	spo-oas
Girl	shy-shu-tum	Tomorrow	na-ha-lup
Day	hul-hult	Yesterday	spees-stah
Night	sko-qua-ats	Today	yitl-wha-s-hulhult
Morning	ha-leep	When?	spees stamh
Evening	tche-luh	Already, now	tlam-me
House, dwelling	sheethu	Many, much	whai-eet
Fire	so-ro-sheets	Few, little	fle-thuwat
Water	saulkhu	Great, big	que-toont
World, region	stoluh	Chief	eel-a-me-hoom
Soil, earth	muhl	Horse	sintl-chas-kah
Sun	puk-ka-nee	Cold	tsar-rat
Good	hasht	Bad	taya
Dog	hah-tle-seen		

Father Diomedi, who labored many years as a missionary among the Coeur d'Alenes and other tribes who speak this common language, believed it to be of Semitic origin, and that these tribes are descendants of Asiatics who probably found their way across frozen Bering sea, and slowly drifted down the Alaskan coast and out into the interior.

A strange fact, baffling to philologists who have inquired into the characteristics of the Indian tongues of this section, is presented in the total dissimilarity between the language of the Spokanes and that spoken by the Nez Perces. Close students have searched in vain for one common word in the two tongues, a mystery which

deepens when one considers the close similarity of European languages, and the large number of identical root forms relating them to many Asiatic tongues.

In their folk-lore of the river, the Spokanes carried a tradition which resembled the English myth of the dragon and St. George. Ages ago (so ran this myth) the land was devastated by a monstrous dragon of fetid, reeking breath and claws that uprooted in a single stroke the largest pine tree. The people everywhere stood in constant dread and awe of it. An Indian girl, gathering berries on a summer day, discovered the monster, sleeping in the sunshine, on a hillside near the present mouth of the Spokane. Slipping away, she ran to the village of her tribe and reported the scene that had burst upon her astonished vision. Instantly the chief assembled his warriors, and gathering up every cord and thong in the village, they stole upon the sleeping dragon and stealthily bound it to many an adjacent tree and crag. This accomplished, the whole tribe fell upon the drowsy mammoth with all their implements of chase and war. Under this rude reveille the dragon bestirred himself, by a single mighty lunge broke all his bonds, and vanished like the wind, tearing as he went a deep gorge and channel to Lake Coeur d'Alene. The imprisoned waters of the lake rolled down the dragon's course, and ever since the pleasant Spokane has gone fretting to the sea.

In a paper prepared for the Inland Empire Historical Association, Major R. D. Gwydir, former Indian agent on the Colville reservation, narrates a legend, as told to him by Chief Lot of one of the three bands of the Spokanes. "Lot or Whistleposum, his Indian name," says Mr. Gwydir, "was one of the best and most truthful Indians I ever knew. He gave me a traditional history of Spokane and the country surrounding it, which as I recall it, ran as follows: Centuries ago and long before the pale face was known on this continent, the region where Spokane is now situated and for many days' travel east of it, was an immense and beautiful lake, with many islands rising from its surface. The country swarmed with game, the lakes abounded with fish, and it was a hunter's paradise. Many well populated villages lay along the shores of the lake. One summer morning the entire population was startled by a rumbling and shaking of the earth. The waters of the lake began rising and were tossed into mountainous waves which threatened to engulf the entire country. To add to the horror, the sun became obscured by an eclipse and darkness enveloped the frightful scene. The terror stricken inhabitants fled to the hills for safety. The quaking of the earth continued for two days, when a rain of ashes began to fall so heavy that there was little difference between day and night. This downpour of ashes continued for several weeks. The game abandoned the country, the waters of the lake receded, dry land appeared and desolation spread over the entire country. The Indians died by thousands from starvation. The remnants that escaped followed the course of the receding waters and arrived at the falls of the Spokane. Here they founded their first village, which was located nearly where the Galland-Burke Brewery now stands. The place north of Bridge avenue and between Post and Monroe streets was their swimming pool. The tradition further states that the devil in the form of a coyote gave them a great deal of trouble, but finally they snared him and all the Indians were in at the killing, after which they divided the carcass among the different tribes.

"From that time on prosperity smiled upon them until the coming of the white

man, who could not be snared. The Indians often declared that the pale face was the worse devil of the two for he left them nothing and that is their present condition."

George Gibbs, who accompanied, in 1853, the government expedition which surveyed the country between St. Paul and Puget Sound in search of feasible routes for a railroad to the Pacific, was charged with the duty of making a first-hand study of the Indian tribes of Washington territory. His conclusions are set forth in an interesting and informative report to his superior, Captain George B. McClellan, and from it we extract the following particulars:

"The Spokehnish, or Spokanes, lie south of the Schwoyelpi, and chiefly upon or near the Spokane river. The name applied by the whites to a number of small bands, is that given by the Coeur d'Alenes to the one living at the forks (mouth of the Little Spokane). They are also called Sinkoman by the Kootenaies. These bands are eight in number: the Sin-slik-hoo-ish, on the great plain above the crossings of the Coeur d'Alene river; the Sin-too-too-lish, on the river above the forks; the Sma-hoo-men-a-ish (Spokehnish) at the forks; the Skai-schil-t'nish, at the old Chemakane mission; the Ske-chei-a-mouse, above them on the Colville trail; the Schu-el-stish; the Sin-poil-schne, and Sin-spee-lish, on the Columbia river; the last named band nearly extinct. The three bands on the Columbia all speak a different language from the rest, but are claimed by the Spokanes. . . . They were a wilder looking race than the tribes to the westward. The men are generally spare, even when young, and soon become withered.

"Their principal chief is Spokane Garry, whose name was bestowed upon him by Governor Sir George Simpson, by whom he was sent, when about twelve years old, to the Red River for education, where he spent five years. Garry is now (in 1853) about 42 years of age, is very intelligent, and speaks English fluently. He bears an excellent character, and is what he claims to be, and what few are among these tribes, a chief. Of petty chiefs there are, besides, an abundance, each band having two or three. Garry himself accompanied us to the forks of the Spokane, where his band usually reside. A few lodges, chiefly of old men and women, were there at the time. His own, in neatness and comfort, was far beyond any we had seen. His family were dressed in the costume of the whites, which in fact now prevails over their own. Many of the Spokanes, besides their intercourse with the fort, visit the American settlements, where they earn money by occasional work, most of which is spent in clothing, blankets, etc. The chief offered us the hospitality of his house with much cordiality—a cup of tea or coffee, and bread. The 'Spokane House,' which is a landmark upon all the maps of this country, was an old Hudson's Bay fort, situated at his village, but has long since been destroyed.

"This tribe claims as their territory the country commencing on the large plain at the head of the Slawntehus—the stream entering the Columbia at Fort Colville; thence down the Spokane to the Columbia, down the Columbia half-way to Fort Okinakane, and up the Spokane and Coeur d'Alene to some point between the falls and the lake, on the latter. There is in this direction a question of boundary between them and the Coeur d'Alenes, which appears to be as complicated as some of those between civilized nations. No resort to arms has, however, occurred, and the territory continues under joint occupation. An additional source of cool-

STREET SCENE, CITY OF LEWISTON, IDAHO

STREET SCENE, CITY OF PALOUSE, WASHINGTON

ness between them arises from a difference in religion—the Spokanes being Protestants, or of the 'American religion,' and the Coeur d'Alenes Catholics. The latter taunt the former as heretics, whose faith is worthless. Garry narrated to us the evils arising from this state of feeling, with a forbearance and Christian spirit of toleration which would have honored any one. The tribe at present have no missionary among them, but they seem to have been consistent to what they learned under the tuition of Messrs. Walker and Eells, of the Chemakane mission. The country of the Spokanes, though in most respects unattractive to settlement by the whites, is well suited to the pursuits of the Indian. . . .

"Of the larger game there is but little in their own country. The buffalo, it would seem, in former times penetrated, at least occasionally thus far to the westward, though now they never come through the northern passes. We were informed by an old Iroquois hunter at Fort Colville, who has been some forty-eight years in the company's service, that the last bull was killed some twenty-five years ago in the Grand coulee.

"The Skitwich, or Coeur d'Alenes, live upon the upper part of the Coeur d'Alene river (the Spokane of the present day), above the Spokanes, and around the lake of the same name. They are estimated by Dr. Dart as only 200 in number, which is believed, however, to be too low an estimate. Father Mengarini, formerly missionary among the Flatheads, gives as his opinion, that they reach 450.

"The Kalispelms, or Pend d'Oreilles of the lower lake, inhabit the country north of the Coeur d'Alenes, and around the Kalispelm lake (the Pend d'Oreille of the present day). Dr. Dart gives their population as 520, which is but little short of Father Mengarini's."

When in the Yakima valley, Captain McClellan's party received a visit from Owhi—that Owhi who, two years later, was to play an active part in the outbreak of the Yakimas, Cayuses, Walla Wallas and other hostiles, have a hand in the murder of several miners in the Colville country, and who, at the end of the Wright campaign was to be taken prisoner, see his son hanged in a camp on Hangman creek. and, himself attempting to break away from his guards a few days later, find death in his desperate dash for liberty.

"Owhi's two sons," says Gibbs, "both tall, handsome men, had their blankets and dress profusely ornamented, and the wife of one of them, a very pretty woman, wore a dress stiff with beadwork and porcupine quills. Owhi himself, on the other hand, appeared in full American suit, and touched his hat by way of salutation—a compliment which he clearly expected to be noticed and returned. He, like Kamiaken, has adopted some of the forms of Catholicism, and professes to pray habitually, but there seemed to be a shadow of hypocrisy in his devotion. He is, however, a man of very considerable understanding and policy, and inclined to profit by the example of the whites."

As McClellan's party traveled north along the west bank of the Columbia, Owhi pointed out two landmarks near the mouth of the Wenatchee, and related the Indian tradition associated with them. Two columns of sandstone stand apart from a bluff of similar material. "Once upon a time," he said, "two women of the race of Elip Tilicum lived here and were very bad, being in the habit of killing those who passed by. The Indians prayed the Great Spirit to destroy them, and He, granting their petition, sent an enormous bird which picked out their brains, and

then turned them into stone." In proof of which, says Gibbs, the narrator pointed out a hole in the top of one of the columns, from which a boulder had fallen, as the aperture broken by the bird in extracting his meal.

"A short distance beyond," adds Gibbs, "he turned a little off the trail to point out to us another curiosity. It was a perpendicular rock, on the face of which were carved sundry figures, most of them intended for men. They were slightly sunk into the sandstone, and colored, some black, others red, and traces of paint remained more or less distinctly on all of them. These also, according to their report, were the work of the ancient race; but from the soft nature of the rock, and the freshness of some of the paint, they were probably not of extreme antiquity. Nothing could, in this connection, be ascertained from the Indians, whether they had any traditions of their own migration from another country."

Gambling and incantation dancing were passionate vices of the pagan or non-Christianized Indians of the Inland Empire. Father A. Diomedi, who condensed in his "Sketches of Modern Indian Life" ten years of close observation and experience, gives a lively description of the favorite gambling game, called *nzelalkom,* or the stick game. "The people assemble in a lodge, arrange themselves in a circle, and then begin to sing the Indian tune which is a prelude to the game. This done, one of the gamblers takes two small sticks, about one-fourth of an inch thick and two inches long, to one of which a long thread is attached, and holds them, one in each hand, in such a way as to show the thread passing through the fingers of both hands. The others must then guess in which hand is the stick to which the thread is fastened. Excitement reaches a high pitch before the guessing begins, and singing and yelling will go on for several minutes before any one will venture to guess. The man who guesses right gains one point, and loses one if wrong, and when the number agreed upon is reached, the game is over."

Before the Spokane Indians were closely confined to the reservation, the writer chanced occasionally upon little groups, seated in grassy glades beneath the shading pines, within the present city limits, gambling at this game with an absorption so intense that they would scarcely look up at the approach of a spectator. In their desperate infatuation players would frequently gamble away their last remaining article of personal property—the bedding and household utensils of their families, the very clothing upon their backs. Father Diomedi narrates a case which fell under his observation, wherein a player gambled away his wife's wearing apparel, and the impoverished pair were left in an abandoned hut for two days, naked and exposed to the inclemency of the weather, miserable laughing stocks of the community.

"In horse gambling," says Father Diomedi, "they have the very peculiar custom of staking a part of the animal; for instance, they will begin with one foot, then with another, and so on to the neck and head, which will transfer the whole animal to the winner. This occupation is continued throughout the night, and is such a disturbance to the camp, on account of the screaming and yelling accompanying it, that those engaged in it are frequently sent off in disgust to a distance where they can not be heard."

Indulgence in this vice, however, lowered the respectability of the players, even among the pagan Indians. Youths aspiring to matrimony found it advisable to abstain, or gamble surreptitiously; and widowers who were known to possess the

weakness before bereavement found it necessary to refrain from the vice, often over a period of several years if they would again enter the wedded state.

Father Diomedi gives a graphic description of ghost-dancing, as witnessed by him in a great winter encampment at the mouth of the Okanogan. The dancing tent had been constructed by driving poles into the ground, and stretching around them skins or canvas, about the height of a man's head; the top was left entirely open. In a row down the center were three places prepared for fires, and the space on each side of these was covered with pine branches upon which were spread blankets and buffalo robes. This constituted the dancing floor. These winter dances were usually conducted in the severest weather, as one purpose of the incantation was to make "medicine" for a chinook wind. Although the temperature was around twenty below, many of the dancers were clothed about the waist only, "the rest of the body being painted either red or in stripes. Their necks and wrists were adorned with strings of beads, whilst their heads were encircled with eagles' feathers, or sometimes a tall hat made of the skin of a coyote or a polecat towered above them."

Within the large, open lodge, some 30 by 20 feet, men and women crowded indiscriminately, only the children and the very aged were excluded. "They were so closely packed," adds Father Diomedi, "that it seemed to me impossible for anybody to move. I then learned that their dance did not mean movement, or turning around; they stood with their arms raised, and their thumbs touching their shoulders, the only motion being the moving of the upper part of the body, up and down from the knees.

"While this was going on, and all eyes were watching with intense anxiety for the entrance of the 'medicine man,' a voice was heard in the distance humming an Indian tune. As the spirit man approached, thus singing, those inside endeavored to catch up the same tune. This lasted a short time until the song had been learned by all the people, who, in wild confusion, and with most uncouth sounds, were screaming at the top of their voices. While all were singing, and the 'medicine man' was going around the outside of the lodge, pretending to be a spirit in search of an entrance, another man was telling the people what the 'medicine man' had received from the world of spirits. When he at last entered, the scene at once changed; all turned towards him as hungry wolves upon their prey, extending their necks towards him and imitating the snapping of Indian dogs. The 'medicine man' stood in the midst of that pack of human hounds and took out the little bag in which he kept his sacred charm, and shaking it, as if to stir up the spirit which it represented, commanded silence. Then he began to experiment with his superstitious performances. A sick man was slipped into the tent among the people, so that they might witness the power of the 'spirit man,' and see for themselves whether or not he was able to effect an instantaneous cure. The 'medicine man' then began to shake his charm, or, as the Indians called it, somesh, and to sing a song in order to invoke the power of the spirit. He spat all over the sick man, and then, beginning to grow excited and wild, he rushed at him, seized him by the head with one hand and by the throat with the other as if to choke him, and finally approaching his mouth to that of the patient, he blew powerfully into it. By this time the sick man was worked up to the most excited condition; his hair stood on end as though charged with electricity, and with the strength imparted by the excitement, he began to throw dirt

at the spectators and to make use of the foulest language, until at length he fell back exhausted upon his buffalo robe."

What was apparently a remarkable cure accomplished by one of these "medicine men" is narrated by the same authority. A young Indian was brought before him, bleeding from an ugly arrow wound over the heart, and with the iron arrow point embedded in the flesh. A "medicine man" was called in to treat the patient, "The second day after the occurrence, I saw young Theodore sitting on a fence and walking about as well as if he had never been hurt. I did not see, however, whether the wound had disappeared, nor whether the iron point had been extracted; neither did I see whether the cure had been effected by sucking the blood, as an Indian told me, or by the use of some instrument."

According to a myth of the Coeur d'Alenes, a spirit named Amotkan ruled over the waters of the earth, and singularly they bestowed this same name upon the president of the United States. Once he grew angry with all the Indians, and withheld from the people the last drop of water, so that they all perished of thirst. One day while Father Diomedi was floating down the Coeur d'Alene river between the Mission and the lake, his Coeur d'Alene guide narrated this interesting tradition:

One day a little wolf (the favorite hero of Indian stories), was going around in search of water, and seeing a little bird carrying a drop to his young ones, asked him where he found it. The bird answered, "I found it where Amotkan dwells, but I had to wait until he was asleep to take away this little drop, because he was so angry with the people that he has refused to give them any."

"Then," said the little wolf, "show me the way and I will go and kill him, because otherwise all creatures will be destroyed."

So they went, and the wolf killed Amotkan while he was asleep, and then the water began to flow, and kept on so powerfully that it flooded the whole country and covered everything.

"But," asked the priest, "how does it happen that there are any men on earth now, if they were all destroyed, either by thirst or by flood?"

"Well," replied the guide, "Amotkan's body was carried down by the waters, and when they dried up, the little wolf, which was always strolling around, discovered it on the shore in this very place. Then he cut it into pieces, and threw the heart into our land, and from this sprung our people, called 'pointed hearts' or Coeur d'Alene. From the other parts sprang other people, such as the Nez Perces and the Sgoielpi (the Indians around Kettle Falls). The Spokanes, though, came into existence in this way: After the little wolf had finished this work he cleaned his paws with some straw, which he then threw into the Spokane land, and from this came those people, whom we call derisively 'Men of Straw.'"

Father Diomedi asked the guide if they believed that man's soul lived after death.

"We had very little knowledge about that," replied the guide, "but still we thought that it did live, and now and then some of the old people would say, 'I saw such and such a one, some one who had been dead a long time.' Our people believed in spirits a good deal, and thought they dwelt in everything—trees, stones, mountains and animals. When any one went out hunting, he would embrace whatever he met in his way, praying to the spirit and saying, 'let me find game.' Each one tried to make friends with some spirit. A girl, when she reached the age of

about twelve years, would leave her home and go into the woods; boys would do the same at about fourteen; they would walk on in search of the spirit, and not drink water or taste fruit and roots until they found him. After a day or two they would fall asleep, and then they would see the spirit, who taught them a song, and gave them something to keep sacred. Then they would come home, persuaded that they had found a friend who would always protect them during life. Sometimes we would see a bear, and then he would give us one of his claws to keep; sometimes a deer, and he would give a hoof; again a bird, and then we would kill another just like it, and keep either its feathers or its head; sometimes a snake, and then we would keep a snake skin or rattle always with us. Wherever we went we always kept our somesh, but never showed it."

Clair Hunt, allotting agent on the Colville reservation, thus describes a ceremonial war dance: "A group of old men sit in a circle in a big tent, doing nothing; just sitting there. By and by one drops out and brings in a big stone pipe a foot long. First the leader takes two or three puffs and hands it to the man on his left, and so on around the group for quite a while. By and by the drummer begins playing, so lightly one can hardly hear it; but he gradually increases the sound, and at last they begin to sing. They keep this up for an indefinite time, and then they begin their dance. When they are warmed up and dancing good, an Indian rushes in with news of an attack by another tribe. Then a number of the dancers mimic what they think of it. They keep this dancing up all night. When the leader notes that they are tired, he makes three big flourishes, which means that they may rest. The Indians take care to train their children in the war dance.

"I drove up to a group of Indians one day and they did not hear me, and I asked what was the matter. My interpreter said it was a gambling game. There were about twenty Indians in all, sitting in two rows. I saw between the two rows a pot of money, silver dollars and bills. If they bet a horse there was a stick in the pot; if a blanket, another stick of different size or shape. They play the game with two bone sticks. On one of these is tied a black cord. The opposing side will try to guess in which hand is the stick with the black cord, and if they guess right they win. When the game is over the chief takes the money and distributes it among the group. Every one seems satisfied, and disputes almost never occur. That game lasted two nights and a day.

"In my labors among the Indians the past twelve years I have never seen them steal anything. Back on the reservation, away from civilization, there is no need of my hiding anything. My goods and also my family would be safer in the middle of the reservation, without any protection than in any outside settlement.

"When an Indian dies it is customary for a near relative to invite all the relatives and friends to a feast in honor of the deceased. Acquaintances for fifty miles or more come and remain till the food supply is gone. The time is occupied in talk."

The Nez Perces were the largest and most powerful tribe of the interior. They called themselves Chipunish, but were termed Nez Perce, or pierced nose, by French Canadian trappers and traders, and that designation they bear to the present day.

Lieutenant Lawrence Kip, who accompanied the Wright expedition and afterward wrote a little classic, "Army Life on the Pacific," was a close observer of the traits and customs of this tribe, and we are indebted to that work for an interesting description. Their habitat then extended from the great plains of Montana, where

they hunted the buffalo, to the Rocky mountains and the rivers in the country that we now term the Inland Empire. They were expert hunters of the elk, the bear, the buffalo and the mountain sheep, and trapped beaver for the trading posts. They were celebrated for their large droves of horses, which they branded and turned loose to graze upon the fertile plains till needed by their owners. Everything save war, gambling and the perils of the chase was held beneath the dignity of the men and all menial tasks were laid upon the women.

"When at home and not occupied in preparing their arms, or in feats of horsemanship," says Kip, "they are gambling, lounging in groups, or listening to some story teller who recounts the exploits of the old warriors of the tribe."

And yet they had a devout side, and as Kip said, a strictness in some religious rites which might shame those "who profess and call themselves Christians." They took readily to the religious instruction of the Presbyterian missionaries, notably Spalding of the Lapwai mission in the Clearwater country, and adhered zealously to their Christian services long after the missionaries, alarmed by the Whitman massacre, had retreated to the Willamette valley in Oregon. Some of them came under the teachings of the Catholic missionaries, and Kip quaintly remarked that "the theological creed of the Nez Perces, if now investigated, would probably be an odd system which would startle an ordinary D. D." That author continues:

"Still it exerted a very perceptible influence over their system of morality and daily life. When, with Lieutenant Gracie at the council on this spot (Walla Walla) in 1855, 2,500 of the Nez Perce tribe were present, and as we were camped among them for three weeks, I had an opportunity of learning something of their habits. I found they had prayers in their lodges every morning and evening, service several times on Sunday—and nothing could induce them on that day to engage in any trading.

"On one occasion at that time, visiting the old chief Lawyer in his lodge, on some evening in the middle of the week, I found him surrounded by his family and reading a portion of the new testament. On another occasion, on a Saturday evening, he was employed with a number of his tribe in singing sacred music to prepare for the worship of the morrow. The next day, therefore, we rode over to the Nez Perce camp, where we found they were holding service in one of the largest lodges. Two of the chiefs were officiating—one of them delivering an address (taking the ten commandments for his text), and at the end of each sentence the other chief would repeat it in a louder tone of voice. This is their invariable custom with all their speeches. Everything was conducted with the greatest propriety, and the singing, in which they all joined, had an exceedingly musical effect."

Kip "found an odd mixture of this world and the next in some of the Nez Perces —an equal love of fighting and devotion." It will scarcely escape the reader's observation that this mixture is not peculiar to our old friends the Nez Perces. One encounters it, indeed, through all history and among all peoples, and even the white man today, with all his superior civilization and education, retains a strong penchant to that self-same mixture.

It is a pleasure to add, in this connection, that our Nez Perce allies have prospered with the flight of time, and less, perhaps, than any other western tribe, have suffered from contact with the white man and the white man's civilization. Their reservation, near Lewiston, Idaho, is a region of great beauty and natural wealth,

and they have taken kindly, for the most part, to the arts of peace. Many of them are well to do and even wealthy, and they have good houses that are comfortably and even showily furnished. Physically they are a rugged type, their fine forms and massive necks and heads suggesting unusual strength and vigor. They are truly a superior people, possessing many kindly virtues, and adhering faithfully to the religious training imparted them some seventy years ago by devout and self-sacrificing missionaries.

They possess a rich and beautiful language, having varied and carefully expressive verb forms, and a grammar inferior only to that of the more highly developed tongues of civilization. Perrin Whitman, a nephew of the martyr missionary, who enjoyed, perhaps, a more intimate knowledge of these Indians than that acquired by any other white man, frequently said that the Nez Perce tongue bore close resemblance to the Greek, and he had found it so rich and expressive that it had largely displaced English in his thoughts, and he did most of his thinking in it. Whitman, when a boy, was brought to the Walla Walla mission by Dr. Whitman, and grew to manhood among Indian associations. He served often as interpreter for the government, and held to the last the implicit confidence of his Nez Perce friends.

WORDS FROM THE NEZ PERCE LANGUAGE*

God	hemakis Tota	Yesterday	watish
Father	tota	Black	cinmo cimmeo
Woman	iat	Vermilion	ailish
Child	meaits	Spirit	koonapa
Sister	axsip	Man	hama
Wife	waipna	Mother	peka
Heaven	accompenaka	Brother	uskeep
Water	coos	Husband	hama
Snow	maika	People	tetokan
Wood	haitsu	Earth	waitush
Hell or bad spirit	koonapa kapseish	Fire	aula
Grizzly bear	hahats	Rain	waikit
Beaver	taxpull	Grass	pax
Moose	taissheep	Horse	shecum
Wolf	siyah	Black bear	eakat
Trout	wowalthum	Deer	enishnim
Stone	pishwa	Buffalo	cocoil
Hair	hookoo	Salmon	natso
Leg	waiu	Gun	temoon
Cloth	tahea	Head	hooshus
Beads	collowin	Arm	artum
Bad	kapseis	Foot	akkoa
Yes	ai	Saddle	supen sapoos
Small	coots	Good	tois
Well	penamina	No	waiitu

*As compiled by Rev. Samuel Parker in 1835.

Great	hemakis	White	hihi
Sick	comitsa	Red	ilpelp
Today	tax	Paint	penasuet

When Wright's command was resting at the camp of the Four Lakes, Lieutenant John Mullan, moved by a strong sense of justice, penned an earnest appeal to the commissioner of Indian affairs at Washington on behalf of this people. "Allow me, my dear sir," said Mullan, "while this general war is going on, to point you to at least a few green spots where the ravages of war do not as yet extend, and which thus far are untainted and unaffected, with a view of so retaining them that we may hereafter point to them as oases in this desert of war. These green spots are the Nez Perces, the Flatheads and Pend d'Oreilles. . . . This is the same people who, meeting the flying column of Colonel Steptoe in hot night retreat, having abandoned animals, provisions and guns behind them, received him with open arms, succored his wounded men, and crossed in safety his whole command over the difficult and dangerous south fork of the Columbia, at a time when no other means whatever to outreach a foe, who, already triumphant with success, had determined his complete destruction. Here, then, is an instance in Indian history that must and will stand long on record, not to be forgotten. Colonel Wright, on entering their country, was not unmindful of this noble act when we might—aye, justly, too—have anticipated a lurking foe in that same tribe, and he took such measures as to keep their friendship. It is now for you to say whether this shall be inviolable. . . .

"They have no agent who lives among them. They are far advanced, already raise wheat, corn and vegetables, with the rudest of means. When asked by Colonel Wright what they wanted, their reply was well worthy of a noble race: 'Peace, ploughs and schools.' . . . I point you, commencing with Lewis and Clark, in 1804, to the present day, to the accounts of all travelers across the continent; and with one accord they point to the Nez Perces and Flatheads as two bright, shining points in a long weary pilgrimage across a prairie desert and rugged mountain barrier, alive with savage hordes of Indians, where they have been relieved and aided when most in need." Oregon came into the union in 1859, a year after the penning of this appeal.

Ex-President Roosevelt has justly said that our subsequent treatment of the Nez Perces, when Joseph's band were pleading eloquently for the retention of the homes of their ancestors in the Wallowa valley, constitutes an enduring reproach to our national sense of justice and gratitude. At another place in this volume we shall touch upon the incidents of that affair and the Nez Perce war of 1877, fought by our long-time friends and allies only after the severest provocation.

The speech of Chief George Moses of the Nez Perces at the conclusion of a war dance at Lewiston in 1907 was a model of Indian eloquence. Prefacing his remarks by stating that the war dance just concluded had been given with a desire to assist in the entertainment of the guests of the Lewiston Interstate Fair association, Moses said:

"In the circle of warriors back of me, who have just given a war dance for your pleasure, are the sons of those chiefs and warriors of the tribe who ninety-eight years ago welcomed the intrepid explorers, Captains Lewis and Clark, when they had crossed the Bitter Root mountains and entered the land of the Nez Perces. Their

forefathers then received the white man as friends. Of their few goods they gave largely. The Indians' slender stock of camas and couse, of dried roots, berries, venison, elk meat and fish was depleted that the starving party of whites might be fed. The party was guided to safe camping places. The Indians assisted in the construction of canoes in which the party of white men made the voyage down the Clearwater, Snake and Columbia rivers to the sea. All this was done in loving friendship.

"All through the intervening years the Nez Perces as a race have held the white man in blood brotherhood. At all times have the great majority of the tribe been as willing to protect and defend the family of the white man as their own. With this undisputed history of the Nez Perces' peaceful and friendly association with the white race before you, we ask that you look upon our fading race with respect. We ask your friendship and assistance in fitting ourselves for the duties of American citizenship. Help us to the benefits of free schools and churches and other good gifts that white men enjoy and profit by. We are ready to appreciate the benefits of citizenship and would willingly exercise the voting privilege in assisting in securing good government. But we are still children in comprehension. The complex objects and aims of the white man's government are to us mysteries. We only know the rule of the chiefs and patriarchs—the law making of the council fires, with the execution of its decrees on the warpath, marked with the bodies of the scalped and slain.

"Oh, white man!" continued the orator, standing with outstretched right arm, the hand grasping an eagle feather, while with the other arm he folded about him his blanket robe of somber color, "look at these warriors, the few feeble remnants of our once all powerful armed array. You see in them only the faded shadow of a once all-pervading power among the savage nations of the northwest. Time was when we ruled these hills and valleys and no man came or went save by the consent and desire of the tribe. This point where now stands a prosperous city, trading and trafficking for wealth, was once the meeting place of all the scattered branches of our people. Here we assembled on each recurring autumn to offer thanks to the Great Spirit for his watchful help and to supplicate the continuance of his favoring smile.

"Then the Nez Perce was a king—free as the bird whose winged flight the river mirrored. His thought was of the highest of which he knew. Kind to his friends, severe to his enemies, he gave the best to the Great Spirit ungrudgingly. And yet the white man came, was received as a brother and the glory of the Nez Perce departed, never to return. The sun no longer gilds the deerskin tepees on a thousand hillsides; the warrior does not count the scalps he has taken in battle and ambush by the eagle feathers in his war bonnet; the modest Indian maiden no longer prays to the Great Spirit for a brave husband, nor the young wife make offerings for handsome boys. With the conquest of the white man has apparently come to the Indian only the vices of his conqueror. And yet I see the light of better days to come. The remnants of the race will know and appreciate the good ambitions of the white man, and will follow them. When this comes, there will be the dawning of a new and better day. The old glories of our race will not return, but better glories will have taken their place. The boast of the Nez Perces a hundred years ago: 'We conquered our enemies,' will be changed to the happy cry, 'We have conquered ourselves.'"

The manner of the orator throughout was dignified and impressive. More than 5,000 people crowded the grandstand and listened in silence and with close attention to the Indian's address, and its interpretation by Albert Moore, a full-blooded Nez Perce graduate of Carlisle Indian school and former undergraduate of Idaho university.

CHAPTER LXXXV

ORIGIN OF CERTAIN INDIAN NAMES—JOAQUIN MILLER'S ROMANTIC EXPLANATION OF THE MEANING OF IDAHO—LAKE PEND D'OREILLE ONCE KNOWN AS KALISPELM, AND PRIEST LAKE AS ROOTHAN—AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A NOTED PIONEER WHO SERVED WITH GOVERNOR STEVENS—DEDICATION OF MONUMENT AT CAMP WASHINGTON, NEAR SPOKANE—KETTLE FALLS INDIANS SUFFER FROM FAMINE AND EAT PINE MOSS —HOW PRIEST RAPIDS WERE NAMED.

HENRY GANNETT (in a publication of the United States government, "Origin of Certain Place Names in the United States"), says that the word "Idaho" is an Indian name of unknown meaning. But the poet Joaquin Miller, who was an express rider in the early '60s between Walla Walla and the placer camps, rhapsodizes over a poetical meaning. Miller's statement, which the reader will take with some salt, awards to his old friend Colonel Craig, of Craig's Mountain, Nez Perce county, "the distinction of naming Idaho. The facts are these," says Miller: "I was riding pony express at the time rumors reached us, through the Nez Perce Indians, that gold was to be found on the headwaters and tributaries of the Salmon river. I had lived with the Indians; and Colonel Craig, who had spent most of his life with them, often talked with me about possible discoveries in the mountains to the right, as we rode to Orofino, and of what the Indians said of the then unknown region. Gallop your horse, as I have a hundred times, against the rising sun. As you climb the Sweetwater mountains, far away to your right, you will see the name of Idaho written on the mountain-top—at least you will see a peculiar and beautiful light at sunrise, a sort of diadem on two grand clusters of mountains that bear away under the clouds, fifty miles distant. 'That,' he said, 'is what the Indians called E-dah-hoe, which means the light or diadem on the line of the mountains.' That was the first time I ever heard the name. Later, in September, '61, when I rode into the newly discovered camp to establish an express office, I took with me an Indian from Lapwai. We followed an Indian trail, crossed Craig's mountain and Camas prairie, and had all the time E-dah-hoe mount for an object point.

"On my return to Lewiston, I wrote a letter containing a brief account of our trip and of the mines, and it was published in one of the Oregon papers. In that account I oftened mentioned E-dah-hoe, but spelled it Idaho. So that, perhaps, I may have been the first to give it its present spelling, but I certainly did not originate the word."

According to Ex-Senator Nesmith of Oregon, "the bill first passed the house of representatives designating the present territory of Idaho as 'Montana.' When

it came up for consideration in the senate, on the 3d of March, 1863, Senator Wilson of Massachusetts moved to strike out the word 'Montana' and insert 'Idaho.' Mr. Harding of Oregon said, 'I think the name Idaho is preferable to Montana. Idaho, in English, signifies "The Gem of the Mountains."' I heard others suggest that it meant in the Indian tongue, 'Shining Mountains,' all of which are synonymous. I do not know from which of the Indian tongues the two words Ida-ho come. I think, however, if you will pursue the inquiry among those familiar with the Nez Perce, Shoshone and Flathead tribes, you will find the origin of the two words as I have given it above."

It is also said that William H. Wallace, the delegate to congress who introduced the bill making a new territory out of the eastern portion of Washington, pleased with the beauty of the name Idaho, suggested it as an appropriate one.

Other Indian names in the Inland Empire are given by Mr. Gannett as follows:

Spokane—Named for an Indian tribe, the name meaning "Children of the Sun."

Okanogan—An Indian word and tribal name, signifying rendezvous, and so applied first to the river on account of the assembling of Indians to lay in supplies of fish and game.

Lapwai—Place of division, or boundary.

Latah—Said by one authority (not given) to be an Indian word meaning "succession."

Chelan—An Indian word meaning deep water, or big water.

Yakima—Said to have been named for a tribe of Indians, the name meaning "Black Bear," or, according to other authorities, "coward."

Wallowa—An Indian word meaning a tripod for holding a fishtrap in the water.

Walla Walla—From a Nez Perce Indian word used to designate a rapid stream.

Missoula—The name is said to have the same meaning as Missouri, "muddy water."

Kittitas—The word means "shoal" in the Yakima language.

When Governor Stevens passed through this region in 1853, and again in 1855, Lake Pend d'Oreille was called Lake Kalispelm, and the Priest lake of the present day was Lake Roothan. Dr. George Suckley, who as a member of Governor Stevens' exploring expedition, voyaged down the Clark's fork to the lake, down the lake and Pend d'Oreille river to the Columbia, and thence down the greater stream to Fort Vancouver, near the present city of Portland, recorded in his journal the following interesting entry:

"November 6, 1853.—Thirty-two miles below Lake Kalispelm. Today, after paddling ten miles along the river, which is here about three-fourths of a mile wide, we got into swift water and a quick succession of rapids. The nineteenth mile brought us to our last portage, this side of the mission of St. Ignatius (Albani falls, near the present town of Newport). Here an island blocks up and dams the river, which relieves itself on both sides of the island by a cascade of about six and a half feet perpendicular fall. In the middle of the island is a cleft, now dry, which becomes a third channel in high water. Below the island a bay makes in to within thirty feet of the water on its upper side. Over this thirty feet of rock we made a portage of our stuff, and dragged our boat across. I learn that about thirty-five miles to the north there is a beautiful sheet of water called

RIVERSIDE AVENUE AND STEVENS STREET, LOOKING NORTH ON STEVENS

Lake Roothan. It is about the same size as Lake Kalispelm, and like it, beautifully clear, and surrounded by lofty mountains, but surpasses the latter in beauty by the great number of small islands it contains. The outlet of the lake (Priest river) enters Clark river (the Pend d'Oreille) about five miles above the fall. From Lake Roothan a mountain ridge runs southwest to the Spokane country, a distance of about seventy miles. The river and ridge intersect at the fall, the island between being wrought into its present shape by the continual action of the water."

ADVENTUROUS CAREER OF FRANCIS WOLFF

One of the noted pioneers of the Spokane country was Francis Wolff, who lived for more than fifty years in the Colville valley, and died June 24, 1909. He enlisted in the regular army in 1849, and was sent to the Pacific coast in 1852, by way of Panama, to take station at The Dalles. In 1853 he was one of the command sent to meet Governor I. I. Stevens at Fort Benton. I quote now from Mr. Wolff's autobiography:

"In 1854 we went by the Lolo fork trail over the mountains and down the Clearwater, and I was discharged at The Dalles in July, 1854, where I located. In the spring of 1855 I went into partnership with H. P. Isaacs, merchandising at The Dalles; remained at The Dalles about six months, and during the mining excitement started for the Pend d'Oreille mines. I met the miners returning on the Umatilla, where in September I stopped at Fort Henrietta.

"Led by Kamiaken, the Indians had commenced a war in the Yakima country, and Major Haller had been defeated. The four men I had employed got on their horses in the night and went to The Dalles. I stayed with my goods, and traded one day for thirty horses, which were let out of the corral during that night and returned to their range on the mountains. I locked up my store, went after them, was gone two days, and when I returned my goods were all gone. I traced the goods to one branch of the Umatillas. Winnumsnute, the head chief, was my friend, and wherever I could find an Indian with my goods he would compel him to give them up. I then gave them to Winnumsnute's people, who had no hand in the stealing. About that time Indian Agent Olney came along, gathering up the settlers by order of Governor Curry of Oregon, and I was glad to get out of the country, having lost all my goods, wagons, oxen, etc., valued at about $4,000. This was in October, 1855.

"When we reached The Dalles, I found Captain Humason organizing a company of volunteers, which I gladly joined, and next day was on my return for the seat of war at Walla Walla, and was in the three days' fight near Whitman's station, had my horse shot, and had a talk with Winnumsnute. I was in this service 122 days. Lieutenant James McAuliff, afterwards mayor of Walla Walla for ten years, said to me 'that Wolff used to sit on a hill during a lull in the fight and read a novel; he was the most fearless man I ever saw.'

"I returned in the spring of 1856 to The Dalles and was discharged; sold my house to Major Lougenbeel for $1,100, and put that, with $2,000 more, into goods, with Vic. Trevett as a partner, bought the goods of H. P. Isaacs, and started with them by ox teams for Colville. This was the first time goods were carried to Colville by wagons. The winter of 1856-57 I stopped about five miles north of the

present town of Colville, but in the spring of 1857 I moved to the John Wynn ranch, on which the town of Colville is now located. I had miners' and Indian supplies and goods, and was in direct competition with the Hudson's Bay company, and as they claimed and exercised exclusive control of the trade, they claimed I was trespassing on their territory, and forbade me building or trading thereon, and I believe encouraged the Indians to steal from and otherwise annoy me. This continued until the United States fort was established.

"In the spring of 1858, with eighteen miners whom I had fitted out, and with some goods, I started for Fraser river. I sold the goods, and with what had been collected for goods sent the previous year, I took out $5,000 in gold dust, going to The Dalles and purchasing more goods of H. P. Isaacs.

"I went to Walla Walla, and in July, 1858, joined the McLaughlin party bound for Fraser river. On reaching the Fraser mines I traded off what goods the Indians had not stolen, and started to Yale for more, and learning that there was war between the Indians and miners, we joined the volunteers and helped clean out the Indians, seeing at one place in a cave sixteen mutilated dead miners.

"After the war I returned to the mines with supplies, and from there went to San Francisco in the fall of 1858, wintering there and returing to The Dalles in the spring of 1859. Joining Major Lougenbeel's command, I came to Colville in June, 1859, and was employed by him to ride express to Walla Walla, which I did for seven months. After that I engaged in farming, first turning over to H. P. Isaacs the Jacques Demers ranch and my interest in the sawmill built by Douglass, to satisfy my indebtedness to him.

"I have resided in Colville valley nearly fifty years; have been sheriff two terms, probate judge four years, county commissioner several times, served as justice of the peace, and was deputy collector of U. S. customs. Have lived under the dominating influence of the Hudson's Bay company, have fought with the Indians from Walla Walla to Fraser river, and have seen the savage give way before the pushing civilization of the western pioneer."

DEDICATION OF CAMP WASHINGTON

In an address delivered on the occasion of the dedication of the monument marking the historic site of Camp Washington, on Four Mound prairie, Wednesday, October 28, 1908, Secretary W. H. Gilstrap of the State Historical society, said:

"According to Indian traditions, this has been a camping place for many generations. Lieutenant Johnson's party of the Wilkes expedition in 1841, either camped here or passed within a few rods of this spot, on the way from Fort Colville to Lapwai. He says of this place: 'After traveling five miles from the Spokane river, we reached a camp of Spokane Indians, numbering about 300, at the entrance of a fine meadow, where they had a number of horses feeding, while they were digging camas roots.' The old Indian trails either crossed or branched out from here. Where the rough ground has not been cultivated, the trails may yet be seen.

"Here on this ground culminated that great engineering expedition. Here, fifty-five years ago today, two divisions, one from the east and the other from the west, met and recounted their achievements. Although Governor Stevens halted

in his onward march back in the Rocky mountains and formally assumed the office of governor, it was on this spot that he really began his work as governor. This is where he was really inaugurated. His aids and assistants were all here with him. It was a great meeting, one of the greatest of our state.

"This stone that we place here today fitly represents the character of the men and their times. It is rugged and pointed, but it is solid and granite. It cannot be pushed over on one side. The same was true of Governor Stevens; he stood for something. He may have been a little rugged and pointed, but he was a true patriot, and stood four square to the world."

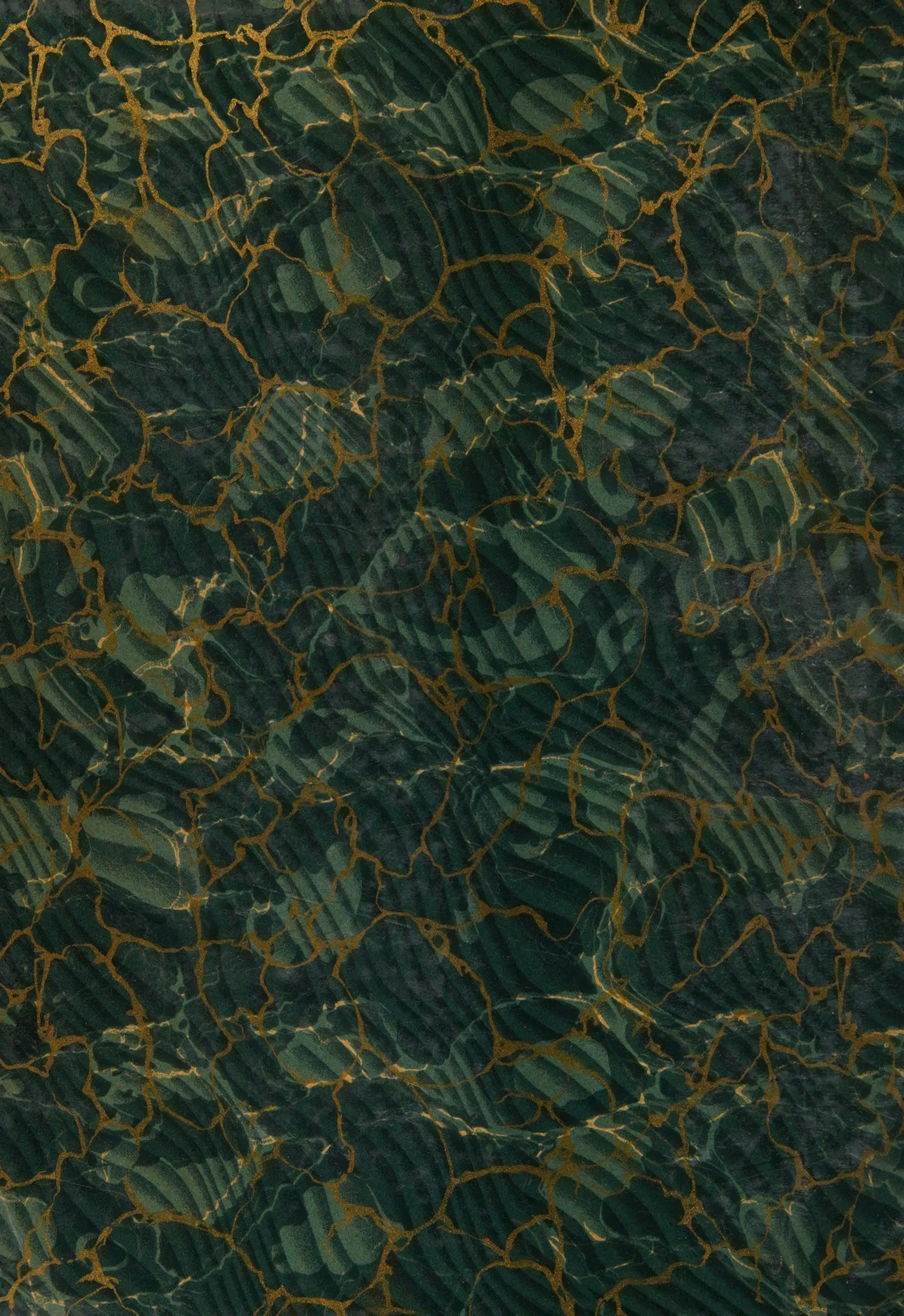
An audience of 500 was drawn together by the ceremonies. Five nearby schools were dismissed for the day, to enable the pupils to attend, and farmers drove to the scene from twenty miles around. A survivor of the expedition, Francis J. D. Wolff, was present. Rev. C. S. Pringle, a pioneer minister of Spokane, delivered the invocation. An address of welcome followed by Owen B. Gilstrap, who homesteaded the site, and this was responded to by Judge C. H. Hanford. Governor A. E. Mead eulogized Stevens, and L. B. Nash spoke on "Stevens the Governor." Reminiscences of the first governor, by John Miller Murphy, pioneer editor of Olympia, were read by Francis H. Cook. A military aspect was imparted by the presence of 240 soldiers from Fort George Wright, and when the flag fell away from the stone, these presented arms, and the buglers of the Third regiment played "America."

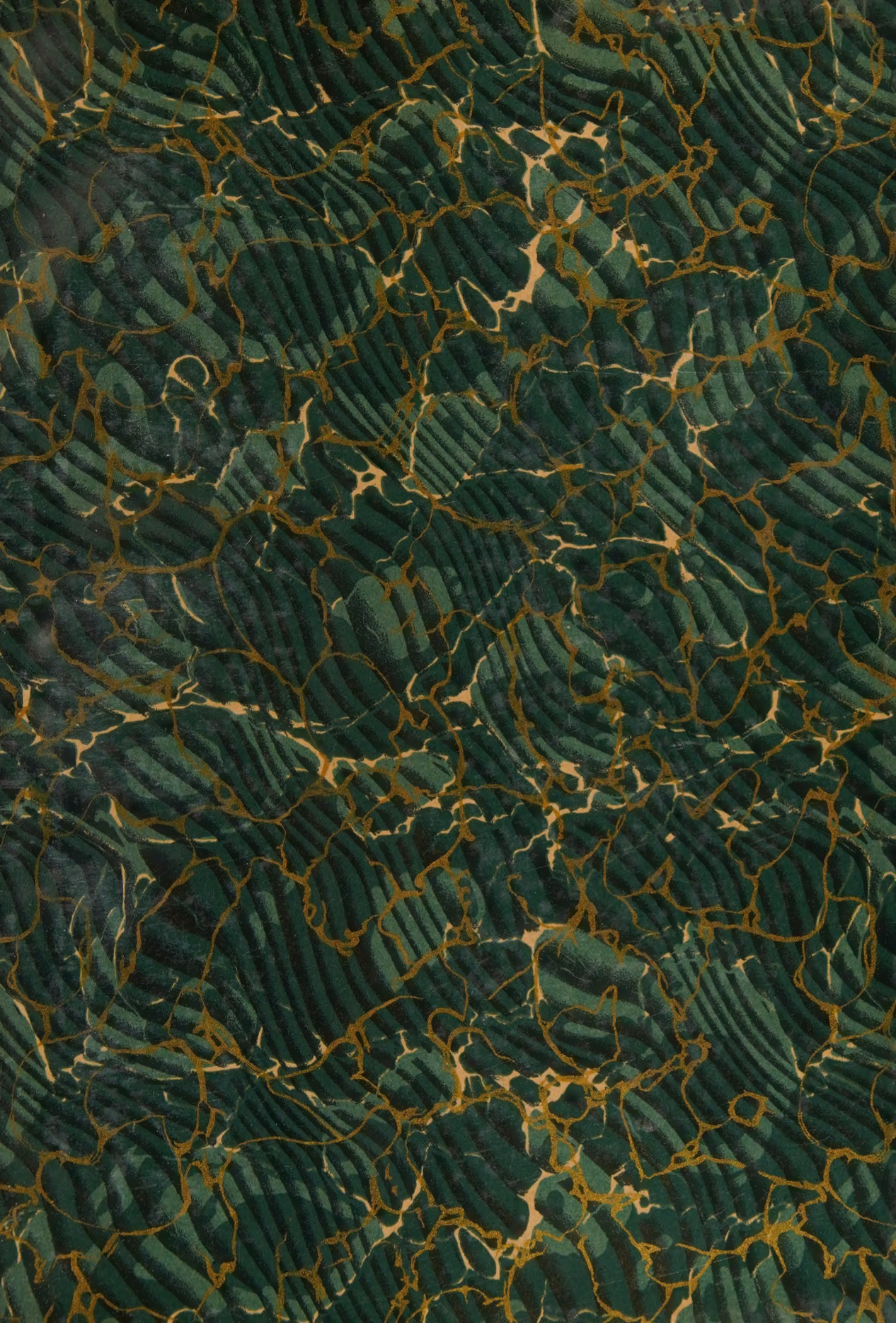
INDIANS REDUCED TO PINE MOSS

Gabriel Franchere, who came to the northwest in 1811 with the Astor party, found at the Kettle falls of the Columbia, a number of Indians who were reduced, by springtime famine, to subsisting on a product made from pine moss: "They had been fasting, they assured us, for several days. They appeared, in fact, reduced to the most pitiable state, having nothing left but skin and bones, and scarcely able to drag themselves along, so that not without difficulty could they even reach the margin of the river, to get a little water to wet their parched lips. It is a thing that often happens to these poor people, when their chase has not been productive; their principal nourishment consisting, in that case, of the pine moss, which they boil till it is reduced to a sort of glue or black paste, of sufficient consistence to take the form of biscuit. I had the curiosity to taste this bread, and I thought I had got in my mouth a bit of soap. Yet some of our people, who had been reduced to eat this glue, assured me that when fresh made it had a very good taste, seasoned with meat. We partly relieved these wretched natives from our scanty store."

Franchere's Narratives give the following explanation of the origin of the term "Priests' Rapids:"

"On the 18th we passed Priests' rapids, so named by Mr. Stuart and his people, who saw at this spot, in 1811, as they were ascending the river, a number of savages, one of whom was performing on the rest certain aspersions and other ceremonies, which had the air of being coarse imitations of the Catholic worship."





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